



W., 10,000—20/9/98.

Groydon Public Libraries.

CENTRAL REFERENCE LIBRARY.



Accession No. 8577

Class No. 932.742

Besides the class topic, other topics treated of in this book are as follows:—

TOPIC NO.	PAGES.	TOPIC NO.	PAGES.

BROMLEY LIBRARIES



CALENDARS.

Instructions to Editors.

The Master of the Rolls desires to call the attention of the Editors of Calendars to the following considerations, with a view to secure uniformity of plan in the important works on which they are engaged:—

He is anxious to extend, as far as is consistent with proper economy and despatch, the utility of the Calendars of State Papers now publishing under his control: 1st. As the most efficient means of making the national archives accessible to all who are interested in historical inquiries; 2nd. As the best justification of the liberality and munificence of the Government in throwing open these papers to the public, and providing proper catalogues of their contents at the national expense.

The greater number of the readers who will consult and value these works can have little or no opportunity of visiting the Public Record Office, in which these papers are deposited. The means for consulting the originals must necessarily be limited when readers live at a distance from the metropolis; still more if they are residents of Scotland, Ireland, distant colonies, or foreign states. Even when such an opportunity does exist, the difficulty of mastering the original hands in which these papers are written will deter many readers from consulting them. Above all, their great variety and number must present formidable obstacles to literary inquirers, however able, sanguine, and energetic, when the information contained in them is not made accessible by satisfactory Calendars.

The Master of the Rolls considers that, without superseding the necessity of consulting the originals, every Editor ought to frame his Calendar in such a manner that it shall present, in as condensed a form as possible, a correct index of the contents of the papers described in it. He considers that the entries should be so minute as to enable the reader to discover not only the general contents of the originals, but also what *they do not* contain. If the information be not sufficiently precise, if facts and names be omitted or concealed under a vague and general description, the reader will be often misled, he will assume that where the abstracts are silent as to information to be found in the documents, such information does not exist; or he will have to examine every original in detail, and thus one great purpose will have been lost for which these Calendars have been compiled.

As the documents are various, the Master of the Rolls considers that they will demand a corresponding mode of treatment. The following rules are to be observed :—

1st. All formal and official documents, such as letters of credence, warrants, grants, and the like, should be described as briefly as possible.

2nd. Letters and documents referring to one subject only should be catalogued as briefly as is consistent with correctness. But when they contain miscellaneous news, such a description should be given as will enable a reader to form an adequate notion of the variety of their contents.

3rd. Wherever a letter or paper is especially difficult to decipher, or the allusions more than ordinarily obscure, it will be advisable for the Editor to adhere, as closely as is consistent with brevity, to the text of the document. He is to do the same when it contains secret or very rare information.

4th. Where the Editor has deciphered letters in cipher, the decipher may be printed at full length. But when a contemporary or authorised decipher exists it will be sufficient to treat the cipher as an ordinary document.

5th. Striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c. are to be noticed.

6th. Original dates are to be given at the close of each entry, that the reader may know the exact evidence by which the marginal dates are determined.

7th. Where letters are endorsed by the receivers and the date of their delivery specified, these endorsements are to be recorded.

8th. The number of written pages of each document is to be specified, as a security for its integrity, and that readers may know what proportion the abstract bears to the original.

9th. The language of every document is to be specified. If, however, the greater part of the collection be in English, it will be sufficient to denote those only which are in a different tongue.

10th. Where documents have been printed, a reference should be given to the publication.

11th. Each series is to be chronological.

12th. The Prefaces of Editors, in explanation of documents in the volume are not to exceed fifty pages, unless the written permission of the Master of the Rolls to the contrary be obtained.

* * Editors employed in foreign archives are to transcribe at full length important and secret papers.



CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN.

CALENDAR
OF
LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND
STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN,

PRESERVED IN

THE ARCHIVES AT SIMANCAS AND ELSEWHERE.

Vol. III.—Part II.

HENRY VIII.

1527-1529.



EDITED BY

PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY,
UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

LONDON:

LONGMAN & CO., PATERNOSTER ROW; TRÜBNER & Co., LUDGATE HILL:

ALSO BY PARKER & CO., OXFORD;

MACMILLAN & CO., CAMBRIDGE;

A. & C. BLACK, EDINBURGH; AND A. THOM, DUBLIN.

1877.

BROMLEY PUBLIC LIBRARIES	AL 25
CLASS L 45	
ACC. 01996 8438	

[942.052]

LONDON:
Printed by GEORGE E. EYRE and WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.



CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION	-	-	-	p. ix
CALENDAR	-	-	-	p. 1
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS	-	-	-	p. 997
GENERAL INDEX	-	-	-	p. 1007

ABBREVIATIONS.

S.	Archivo General de Simancas.
L.	Legajo or bundle.
Bul. Suel.	Bulas Sueltas.
Pat. Re.	Patronato Real.
T. c. I.	Tratados con Inglaterra.
Cap. c. l. cas. d'Aus.	Capitulaciones con la casa de Austria.
T. c. Pont.	Tratados con Pontífices.
E.	Estado or Foreign affairs.
Co. d. C.	Corona de Castilla.
Co. d. A.	Corona de Aragon.
Co. d. N.	Corona de Navarra.
F.	Flandes.
A.	Alemania.
Po.	Portugal.
I.	Inglaterra.
R.	Roma.
Na.	Napoles.
Si.	Sicilia.
Mi.	Milan.
V.	Venecia.
Ge.	Genoa.
To.	Toscana.
Pr. d. It.	Príncipes de Italia.
Var. De.	Varios Despachos.
L. Suel.	Legajos sueltos, or, bundles of papers not yet classified.
L. d. Berz.	Libros de Berzosa.
Se. d. Guer.	Secretaria de Guerra.
Mar y T.	Mar y Tierra.
H.	Hacienda or Finances.
M.	Madrid.
Re. Ac. d. Hist.	Real Academia de la Historia.
Salazar.	Coleccion de D ^{na} . Luis de Salazar.
Muñoz	—— de Don Juan Bautista Muñoz.
Car. Var.	Cartas varias.
Bib. Nac.	Bibliotheca Nacional, at Madrid.
B.	Archivo General de la Corona de Aragon, at Barcelona.
D. Pasc. d. G.	Library of Don Pascual de Gayangos, at Madrid.
Pap. r. a. l. Hist. d'Esp.	Papeles relativos á la historia de España.
P.	Archives de l'Empire, now Archives Nationales, at Paris.
Mo. Hist.	Monuments Historiques.
K. u. K. Haus- Hof. u. Staats Arch. Wien.	} Kaiserlich und Königlich Haus- Hof- und Staats Archiv, at Vienna.
Arch. d. Roy ^{me} , de Belg.	
Doc. Hist.	Archives du Royaume de Belgique, at Brussels.
Doc. Hist.	Documents Historiques.
Pap. d'Etat. Neg. d'Ang.	Papiers d'Etat, Negotiations d'Angleterre.
Arch. Cent. Priv. y Cart.	} Archivo Central at Madrid: Privilegios y Cartas Reales de Santa Maria de
Re. d. S ^{ta} . Mar. d. Naj.	
	Najera.



INTRODUCTION.

THE present volume, or Part II. of the *Calendar of Papers, Letters, &c. relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain*, comprises the period from January 1527 to May 1529. It was the editor's original plan to extend the compilation to August, when the peace of Cambray, or "La Paix des Dames" as it has been ingeniously called by French writers, was concluded and signed; but from the already immoderate size of the volume, and the mass of letters and documents still to be abstracted and calendered, he has judged it better that this volume should end at that period of time when Margaret of Austria and Louise de Savoie, equally anxious for peace, yet desirous of not wounding in any way the susceptibilities of Charles and Francis, first met at Cambray to discuss the preliminaries of a general peace. The moment, indeed, could not have been better chosen: the Italian war was fast drawing to a close; both conqueror and conquered were growing sick of the conflict, and Europe sighed for peace. A separate convention was being negociated at Barcelona, and the Emperor himself was preparing to land in Italy for the purpose of receiving the Imperial Crown from the hands of Clement. The efforts of the two ladies were therefore crowned with success, and the peace of Cambray, definitively signed on the 5th of August, was ratified by the contracting powers early in September.

Respecting the sources from which the papers and documents abstracted in this Second Part are respectively derived, the editor has little to add to the statements already made in the Introduction to the First. No further

discovery has been made, and, notwithstanding the announcement so frequently made of the speedy removal of the Spanish Public Records to Toledo or Alcalá, they are still suffered to remain in their place at the Castle of Simancas, about six miles from Valladolid, in bad order from the absence of proper registers, and with no greater facilities of access to the historical student.

The same observation may be applied to the writers of this correspondence. With one or two exceptions, the Imperial agents in Italy were the same as in 1525 and 1526, the period embraced in the First Part. The Duke of Sessa [Don Luis Fernandez de Cordoba], who died at Rome on the 18th of August 1527, a few days before the surprise and partial sacking of the Holy City by Don Hugo de Moncada and the Colonnese, was succeeded by his

secretary, Juan Perez, of whose ability and zeal
Perez. for the Imperial service abundant proofs are given in his numerous and well-penned despatches, generally written in cipher, and mostly in his own hand. He it was, who, in compliance with orders received from Charles, was bold enough, on the 12th of December 1526, to present to the Cardinals assembled in Consistory the threatening letter of Charles in answer to the Pope's brief of the 23d June,—an act* which so provoked Clement's anger that not considering himself secure at Rome, Perez left abruptly for Naples and never returned, as long as Clement lived, to the estates of the Church. On the 26th of January 1527 he wrote to the Emperor: "Much difference
" of opinion prevails here amongst the Cardinals as to
" whether your Imperial Majesty had, or had not, a right
" to ask for a general council of the Church. I have been
" told by some of them that your Majesty's letter was

* See Nos. 550, 631, and 633 of Part I.

“ conceived in rather harsh words, and that your wishes
“ might have been expressed in terms more decorous and
“ mild.” Again, on 23d of February: “ I have re-
“ peatedly been told that my life is in danger, as the Pope
“ is exceedingly angry with me on many accounts, and
“ principally for having presented the Imperial letters
“ summoning him to assemble a Council of the Church.
“ Letters have been received here from England expressing
“ surprise that I had not been immediately committed
“ to prison for such a daring, and they add disrespectful,
“ act. This, however, will be no reason for my aban-
“ doning this post unless I receive express orders to that
“ effect; I will rather die a martyr in the Emperor’s
“ service.”

Later on, in March, Perez was accused by the Pope of being in treaty with Count Pitigliano and with a son-in-law of Cardinal Farnese for the purpose of creating a revolution at Viterbo and Orbieto, and making those cities declare for the Emperor; and not only did Clement credit the report, which, according to Perez, was quite false, but he told Knight-Commander Aguilera, who repeated it to him: “ Were it not for the Emperor’s sake I would have that man thrown into a dungeon.”

Again, after the sack of Rome, and when Perez, leaving the Imperial affairs in charge of Dr. Solis, had retired to Naples with the army, he was formally accused of sending a dominican friar to Viterbo to take away the Pope’s life!

At Naples Perez went on writing to the Emperor and his ministers in Spain—in what capacity is not exactly known—giving a detailed account of the events of the siege till the death of Lautrec and subsequent defeat of the French on the road to Aversa. Whether he then returned to Spain, or was again employed in the diplomatic service

is a point which I have hitherto been unable to ascertain, since he disappears suddenly from the scene, in Italy at least.

Soria. Lope de Soria remained in charge of the Imperial affairs in Genoa until the taking of that city by the confederates on the 18th of August 1527, which obliged him to take refuge with the deposed Doge, Antoniotto Adorno, in the estates of Gian Francesco Pico, lord of La Mirandola, by whom he was kindly received and, according to his own account, "handsomely entertained." Some time after, in consequence of the demise of Fernando Marin, the Abbot of Najera, who died at Rome from the plague, he was appointed to the post of Commissary-General of the Imperial armies* in Italy. His despatches in that capacity are highly important as depicting in vivid colours the disorderly habits of Imperial administrators; the almost total want of resources to carry on the war; the insubordination and mutinous spirit of the army; the frequent squabbles of the Imperial generals; his own dissensions with Duke Henry of Brunswick, who once threatened to have him arrested,† and above all his own views on the political changes and proclamation of the "Union" at Genoa, where he tried, though unsuccessfully, to be reinstated as Imperial ambassador.

Sanchez. Alonzo Sanchez remained at his post in Venice even after the declaration of war made by the

* As the Abbot died in August, and Soria's nomination is dated the 13th of December 1527, there must have been in the meantime a commissary in Milan, and another in Rome. Soria was most probably appointed *ad interim* for Lombardy, and I suspect that Giovan Bartholomeo da Gattinara, Mercurino's nephew, held similar functions at Rome.

† It appears that the nonpayment of certain bills of exchange drawn upon the Affaita bank by Charles' treasurers, and payable to his order, was the cause of his protracted stay in Venice, as he obstinately refused to sign an affidavit which one of the Signory's secretaries put into his hands, declaring that no coercion of any sort had been practised upon him.

confederates to Charles. He had formerly as his colleague in that embassy Prothonotary Marino Caracciolo, who in 1527 was promoted to the post of Chief Justice and Chancellor of the Duchy of Milan. Sanchez was not allowed to quit Venice until the ambassador of the Signory, Navagiero, reached the frontiers of France. He then removed to La Mirandola, to Mantua, Reggio, and Piacenza, wherever he considered himself most secure, and finally went to Naples, at which city he obtained the place of Imperial Treasurer.

Hurtado. Lope Hurtado, who had formerly been employed by Charles in various important missions to Savoy, Milan, and Rome, was in 1528 sent to Portugal as ambassador, there to promote the sale, or rather pawning, of the Spice Islands to Dom João III., for a large sum of money, as well as the recovery of Isabella's marriage portion, and lastly to procure the assistance of that monarch first in his intended duel with Francis, and secondly in Katharine's divorce case.

The easy possession of Genoa by the French had arisen not so much from the wish of the inhabitants to throw off the Imperial yoke, as from their desire to proclaim what was called the "Union" of the Fregosi and Adorni. The refusal, however, by France to surrender Savona, and place it again under the direct dominion of the Community, as it was before, contributed in no small degree to alienate the affections of the Genoese. At this juncture Andrea Doria, who from various causes had previously forsaken the part of France, personally interfered, and, having made his peace with the Emperor, was enabled to establish his rule in Genoa as chief magistrate of that Community. Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, third

Suarez de Figueroa.

count and afterwards first duke of Feria,* was the person designated by Charles to represent him at Genoa, and keep Andrea Doria firm in his service. He appears from his despatches, which, however, are not so frequent as might have been desired, to have been a shrewd and clear-sighted politician well versed in Italian affairs, and principally in those connected with Genoa.

During the few months that elapsed between Muxetula. Clement's hasty flight from Sant Angelo and his return to Rome, the Imperial affairs at the Papal Court were conducted by Giovan Antonio Muxetola, a Neapolitan lawyer. Whether he was or was not directly accredited by Charles is difficult to determine. He seems to have resided first at Orbieto, and afterwards at Viterbo for the express purpose of treating of certain business relating to Naples, and only as agent of the Viceroy and Collateral Council of that Kingdom. That he had besides something to do with the divorce case, such as presenting petitions and entering protests in the Emperor's name, conjointly with the general of the Franciscans or Minor Observant Friars, and that he otherwise took charge of Katharine's affairs at Rome until the arrival of Miçer Mai, appears from the letters abstracted in this volume. His name is variously spelt: Muscetula,† Muxetula or Mussetola, according to the dialects of the various writers; but in

* Such is the statement made by Lopez de Haro and other Spanish genealogists; but there is an objection to it, namely, that in 1568, that is 40 years later, this very duke was ambassador of Philip II. at the Court of England, where he is said to have married on a former occasion an English lady called Katharine Dormer.

† As no original letter of his occurs in this correspondence, I have been unable to ascertain how he signed his name. That, however, is no rule; for, as I have had occasion to observe, it is not uncommon for a writer to spell his name in two or three different ways.

this case, as in others, I have followed the form most used by the native historians.*

Of Fr. Francisco de Quiñones, or “de Los Quiñones.

Angeles,” as he is more generally called previous to his obtaining the purple under the title of Cardinal Santa Croce, some account is necessary, as he played no inconsiderable part in the affairs of the time. He was the second son of Don Diego Fernandez de Quiñones, first Count of Luna, the representative of an ancient and illustrious family in the kingdom of Leon. Having from early youth manifested a vocation for the Church, he entered a convent of Franciscans when he was scarcely sixteen, obtained in 1519 the priorate of Los Angeles, near Cáceres, in Extremadura, and became a few years later general of the Minor Observant Friars, in which capacity he had to go to Assisi and thence to Rome as early as 1522. Four years afterwards, in 1526, Charles employed him in the intricate negociations that followed the battle of Pavia. His mission seems to have been a secret and confidential one, for the Duke of Sessa seldom mentions him in his despatches, and when he does, it is merely for the purpose of advising his journey to Spain on a mission from Clement.† Most likely Charles was unwilling to entrust to Sessa so delicate a mission as that of inducing the Pope to forsake the league he himself had brought about, and thought that the general of the Franciscans was better suited for that purpose than a

* Guicciardini writes *Muscetola*. Paolo Jovio calls him *Marco Antonio Mussetula*, senatore di Napoli.

† “Father Francisco (says he on the 16th of May 1526), who is a pious and virtuous man, spoke freely to His Holiness, and told him what the Romans thought and said of him, and the injury likely to result to Christianity from his present behaviour. So strongly did the friar speak that the Pope was deeply moved, and decided at once to send him over to Spain with a message. Yesterday, however, he suddenly changed his purpose, &c.” Part I. No. 419, p. 689.

layman. However this may be, Fray Francisco took the Pope's message to Spain, and in September 1526 the Reverend Father again landed at Genoa bearing the Emperor's ultimatum. This time he came in disguise under the pseudonym of Alvaro Perez—which seems to have greatly puzzled his namesake at Rome—took up his quarters at Araceli, a convent of his order, and did all he could to persuade Clement to accept the truce proposed by Lannoy and Don Hugo. Though he failed on this occasion, and was not more fortunate when he went to Naples, in 1528, to procure the immediate liberation of the three Cardinals retained there as hostages, as well as the surrender of the fortresses placed in the hands of the Imperialists as security for the fulfilment of the Roman capitulation, he so gained the affections and esteem of Clement that without any apparent recommendation from Charles he was raised to the purple at the end of 1527, and took his seat among the cardinals early in 1528. Mai speaks of him in rather disparaging terms, and in such a manner as to make us suppose that he was more given to mundane than to spiritual affairs;* and yet the chroniclers of his order uphold him as a pattern of wisdom and virtue! When in February 1529 Clement's life was despaired of, and the majority of the Cardinals were thinking of having the election out of Rome, Fr. Francisco, now Santa Croce, was one of the first to advocate the measure put forward by the partisans of France and of the League, and which, as Mai observes in one of his despatches, was entirely due to Wolsey, who, having lost all hopes of being elected Pope, wished to take his colleagues to Avignon, where he considered himself sure of the election. "Santa Croce (says Mai) is generally supposed to be the secret friend and ally of all the Cardinals of the French party; he frequents their society,

* No. 654, Part II., p. 933.

“ dines with them, makes them presents, and yet they laugh
 “ at his simplicity and make fun of him. He has often
 “ been heard to say in public that should the Pope die, and
 “ the Cardinals quit Rome for the purpose of making a
 “ new election elsewhere, he will be the first to go ; which
 “ threat has so influenced Cardinal La Valle and other
 “ staunch Imperialists that they have also declared their
 “ intention to quit, alledging that if the Imperial minis-
 “ ters, whose duty it is to oppose that measure, favour it,
 “ they themselves are unwilling to take such a burden on
 “ their shoulders. Firmly believes that all this is nothing
 “ more than sheer levity on the part of Santa Croce, and
 “ perhaps, too, some hope he has of securing the votes of
 “ his colleagues at the next election, for he is known to
 “ aim at the Pontificate, and naturally considers himself
 “ the candidate of the Imperialists.”

In another of his despatches, after openly declaring that he will no longer trust to a man who thus held with the enemy and thwarted the negotiations, Mai adds : “ Such
 “ is the Cardinal’s obstinacy in this blessed question of
 “ his colleagues leaving Rome in the event of the Pope’s
 “ death, that having the other day, in the very presence of
 “ Monte, who is no friend to the Emperor, spoken to him
 “ on the subject, he replied : ‘ That is also my opinion ;
 “ ‘ I think the Cardinals are in their right. If they go,
 “ ‘ I shall go also. I have already announced my intention
 “ ‘ to the Emperor, which is to behave in these matters
 “ ‘ as a good ecclesiastic. If I do not serve God first
 “ ‘ I cannot serve him afterwards.’ ”

Conjointly with Fr. Francisco, though greatly
 Mai. differing from him in politics, Micer Miguel Mai, a
 Catalonian lawyer of some repute, and President (Regente)*

* As I have had occasion to observe elsewhere (p. 126), the word *Regente* was generally applied in Spain, in old times, to the presidents of the different boards (*salas*) in the Councils of Aragon and Naples, also to the presidents of “ Audiencias ” and Chancillerias or Chancery Courts.

of the Audiencia or Court of Law of Barcelona, was entrusted with the Emperor's affairs in Rome. He seems at first to have been designated by Charles to act as counsel to Katharine in the divorce case, and help Don Iñigo de Mendoza in his multifarious and intricate negotiations in England, principally directed towards preventing Henry from making common cause with France. At least such appears to be the substance of his instructions,* wherein he is ordered "to proceed to London, assist Don " Iñigo in all matters connected with the Queen's case, and " report generally on English affairs." The instructions, however, were never signed or delivered, as the Emperor for some reason or other seems to have changed his mind, and sent Mai straight to Rome, where he arrived at the end of 1528. His despatches, mostly written in cipher, are generally obscure, and at times almost unintelligible, owing not so much to his own peculiar style,† as to the frequent blunders of the deciphering clerks, who very often mistook one sign for another, and transcribed whole paragraphs entirely devoid of sense. That he was a shrewd politician, well acquainted with the humours of the Roman Court, as

* See No. 563, p. 805.

† As a native of Catalonia, or Aragon, as others will have it, Mai must have been imperfectly acquainted with the Castillian, which was at that time the official language, and has since become the Spanish of our days. I suspect even that though residing at Barcelona, his ancestors were perhaps natives of Sicily, for his name—which is frequently written *May* and *Maij*—does not sound to me as of Spanish origin, besides which the title *Micer*, which in Catalonian is *Mossen*, seems more Italian than Spanish. In what relationship he stood to *Joannes Maius* or *Juan Mai*, one of the secretaries to the Archduke Ferdinand, mentioned in a letter of Balthasar de Waldkirch or Walthkirk to Alfonso de Valdés, published by D. Fermin Caballero in his very recent work, *Alfonso y Juan de Valdés*, Madrid, 1876, 4to., pp. 380–4, I cannot determine; but in another of Vicente Navarra to the same, which I have had occasion to quote in a note (Part II., p. 835), and has also been given at length by Caballero (pp. 395–7), Mai is called *Maius noster*, as if he were the bosom friend of both correspondents.

well as with the character of Clement and his Cardinals, whom he often portrays with a masterly hand, appears evident from his despatches.

Besides the above-named, Charles had at Ferramosca, various times in Rome, and in other parts of Italy, confidential agents to whom he entrusted most delicate missions to the Pope, to the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este), to the Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga), or to the commanders of his several armies. Among them was the gallant and unfortunate Cesare Ferramosca,* who, at the end of 1526, was sent to Naples and Rome for the purpose of persuading the Pope to ratify the convention made with Don Hugo and the Colonnese. Ferramosca was a native of Capua. He was present with his two brothers at the famous "Disfida di Barletta," where 13 champions of each camp, the French and the Spanish, fought against each other for the honour of the field.† Having obtained a captaincy of horse under Prospero Colonna, he was subsequently promoted to the rank of first Equerry to the Emperor in lieu of Lannoy, who had gone to Naples as viceroy. Sandoval tells a gossiping story about him, which I find in no other writer of this time. He says that‡ when Lannoy returned to Spain with his royal captive he asked the Emperor to restore him to his office of first Equerry, for which he alledged he had only presented Ferramosca that he might undertake its duties during his absence, and that Ferra-

* The name of this individual is differently written by the authors of the time: Guicciardini and Jovio call him *Feramosca* and *Fieramosca* indistinctly; Sandoval *Ferra Mosca* and *Aferramosca*. Others again make him a native of Gaeta instead of Capua.

† Such at least is the account which Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, the well known historian of the Indies, gives of him in his *Quinquagenas y Batallas*, a work much quoted, and which remains still in manuscript; but it must be said that Jovio, who gives the list of the Italian champions, mentions only *Ettore Fieramosca*.

‡ *Historia del Emperador Carlos V.*, lib. xiii., § 21.

mosca, desirous of retaining that or a similar post in the Imperial household, tried to court the Viceroy's favour by slandering and malicious reports about Bourbon, who, he maintained, notwithstanding their public reconciliation in the Emperor's presence, continued to be his bitter enemy, and to speak of him in the most injurious terms. Further, he relates that the Emperor had the case inquired into, and finding the accusation to be entirely gratuitous, a mere invention of Ferramosca, had him banished from his Court. Sandoval does not inform us of his authorities for this courtier's gossip; but whatever they be, it will be found that the statement is at least incorrect in one principal point, since, instead of losing the Emperor's favour, as that historian asserts, and being exiled from Court, Ferramosca was at the end of that very year (1526) sent to Rome on a most delicate and trusty mission.*

Ferramosca embarked at Barcelona, and arrived in Naples. On the 20th of January he was at Gaeta with Lannoy, Moncada, and Fr. Francisco de Quiñones. On the 25th he saw the Pope, delivered his credentials, and commenced—without, however, communicating the nature and extent of his instructions to Secretary Juan Perez—negotiating first a truce of four months, and afterwards an armistice of eight days, neither of which Bourbon would ratify; and, having visited that general's camp at San Giovanni, returned to Rome without accomplishing the object of his mission.

But let us hear, in Ferramosca's own words, the account of this interview:—"At this juncture (he says) " Secretary Seron brought us a paper bearing the Viceroy's " signature and seal, which he had offered to take to the " Pope at Rome. I myself promised to go to Bourbon's

* He was then in constant communication, and, as it would seem, on very good terms, with Lannoy; not so with Bourbon, to whom, as will be seen hereafter, he conveyed the Emperor's order to stop on his march.

“ camp with a letter [from the Viceroys], ordering him, in
“ the Emperor’s name, to adhere strictly to whatever
“ Lannoy should determine respecting the truce. Went
“ accordingly to San Giovanni, where the Imperial army
“ was at the time detained, owing to the almost total want
“ of provisions, and also to the rain and snow that had
“ fallen on the previous days. The men, I found, had
“ mutinied for their pay, and tumultuously surrounded
“ Bourbon’s quarters, obliging him to leave them suddenly,
“ and pass the night away from the camp. The tumult,
“ however, was appeased, and the men quieted, on the
“ promise of one crown (*escudo*) per man, and the free use
“ of the Mohammedan religion.* When the men heard
“ of my coming with a message of peace they became like
“ infuriated lions. As the Marquis del Vasto was absent
“ from the camp, at Ferrara, I had to wait some days for
“ his return, when I intimated to him and to Bourbon
“ the orders whereof I was the bearer. The latter then
“ insisted upon having Lannoy’s letter read to all the
“ captains assembled. This I refused at first to do, as I
“ knew that general’s intentions not to be honest, and
“ that he was nowise disposed to follow the Imperial
“ commands ; but on mature consideration, and to avoid
“ greater evils, I at last consented. For a whole hour did
“ I represent to the captains of the army the extreme
“ want in which they all were, the difficulties they would
“ have to encounter in their march upon Florence, and

* The words are : “ A la fen on composa en donnant un ecu par homme, et en leur promettant la loix de Mahomet.” However startling the assertion, there is nothing improbable in it, as it would appear that the Spanish infantry brought by Bourbon and Lannoy was chiefly recruited at Alicante, Cartagena, Valencia, and other towns on the eastern coast of Spain, where the population consisted almost entirely of *Moriscos*, or newly converted Moors, who, for the sake of escaping persecution at home, willingly enlisted under the Emperor’s banners, or crossed the Atlantic to settle in the newly discovered continent.

“ the preparations that the enemy was making to impede
“ the same by laying waste the country all round, and
“ stopping the supplies. I observed to them how much
“ your Imperial Majesty might benefit by a peace which at
“ my departure from Spain was considered as certain. I
“ tried to impress them with the fact that Paolo d’ Arezzo,
“ the Pope’s chamberlain, had since arrived [in Italy] to
“ confirm your Majesty’s views; and if at that time,
“ when the Imperial arms were most prosperous, the
“ terms of the peace had been approved in Spain, it could
“ not be expected that they were to be rejected now that
“ circumstances had materially changed, &c. To these
“ arguments of mine the captains made no answer, but
“ recommended that I should first go and speak to the
“ men, whilst they themselves would assemble their re-
“ spective companies. Bourbon, on the other hand, sum-
“ moned the men-at-arms, whom I addressed according to
“ my instructions. Ramirez, the Viceroy’s lieutenant,*
“ answered for his comrades, that they were ready to obey
“ orders. As I was addressing them a message came from
“ the infantry captains to say that their men were deter-
“ mined to go forward; and, moreover, the answer was
“ couched in such insolent terms that I was strongly
“ advised to leave San Giovanni that very night. After
“ consulting Bourbon, Vasto, and the Abbot of Najera, all
“ of whom were of opinion that my life was in danger,
“ I asked Ferrante Gonzaga for a horse and rode off. As
“ I was mounting, a trooper arrived at full gallop, and
“ said that the whole of the infantry had broken out
“ into mutiny, and that numbers of them had gone to
“ Bourbon’s quarters to look out for me. This happened

* Lannoy, the Viceroy of Naples, was captain of the Neapolitan men-at-arms. His lieutenant, Ramirez (Diego Ramirez Burman?), was killed before Lodi in 1528. See p. 742.

“ on Monday, the day of our Lady. On Tuesday I wrote
“ to Bourbon from the place where I was, desiring him
“ to give me a definitive answer. He came to see me
“ on Wednesday, whilst the Marquis del Vasto addressed
“ the infantry, one company after another. On this
“ occasion Bourbon, after expressing strong doubts
“ respecting the men under his orders, and saying
“ that most likely they would not be satisfied with the
“ offers made to them, but would carry out their designs,
“ held most diabolical language to me, declaring that he
“ was about to resign the command, and that your
“ Majesty might confer it on another general, as he would
“ serve no longer. He accused me of having prevented
“ the Duke of Ferrara from sending him money, and
“ thereby arresting his course when he had intended to go
“ on, and he ended by calling me out, and saying that
“ he would maintain his accusation against me sword in
“ hand. This I declined on the plea that as lieutenant-
“ general of your Imperial Majesty in Italy, and himself
“ so great a Prince as he was, I could not accept his chal-
“ lenge; but he insisted, and said: ‘That may well be;
“ ‘but, nevertheless, I am a man of honour, and will prove
“ ‘it to you whenever you like.’

“ After this, having repaired to Ferrara to ascertain what
“ truth there was in Bourbon’s accusation, and having
“ obtained from the Duke an affidavit to the effect that
“ neither in word nor in writing had I influenced him to
“ refuse the money demanded, I wrote to Bourbon, and
“ added that if he wished to know more about the affair
“ I was ready to answer him and to accept his challenge.
“ Up to this moment he has sent me no reply.

“ But no more of my own private affairs, and let me
“ return to Vasto. His men said to him: ‘We are deter-
“ mined to go on, whether we get money or not.’ The

“ Marquis replied : ‘ Had we had money, we should have
“ ‘ marched long ago. But in our present situation it
“ ‘ behoves us to take another resolution.’ ‘ What then do
“ ‘ you want us to do ? ’ inquired the men, knowing, as
“ they did, that the Germans being in greater numbers,
“ they (the Spaniards) would naturally be obliged to abide
“ by their determination. ‘ If you give us leave, we will
“ ‘ send a deputation to the Germans, and inquire from
“ ‘ them what they purpose doing.’ Now the Marquis knew
“ very well what the answer of the Germans to Bourbon
“ had been the day before ; they had unanimously declared,
“ ‘ we will obey orders.’ He also knew that if he refused
“ the permission required, the men would take it, and,
“ therefore, gave the Spaniards leave to choose 12 of their
“ own number, the very same who on a previous occasion
“ had gone to consult the Germans. The Marquis left San
“ Giovanni, and came to see me soon after my conversation
“ with Bourbon. He related all that had passed with his
“ men, said he expected to have soon a definitive answer,
“ and promised to let me know the result next day at
“ Ferrara, whence this present letter is written. He like-
“ wise spoke to me of the animosity that both Germans and
“ Spaniards had conceived against me, and that when the
“ former were consulted they had replied : ‘ We will do
“ ‘ what the Spaniards do,’ though on a previous occasion,
“ and in answer to Bourbon, they had only said : ‘ We
“ ‘ shall follow the general’s orders.’

“ Two days after Vasto met me at Ferrara, and related the
“ issue of this affair. The German deputies had called next
“ day upon Bourbon, desiring him to say what he intended
“ to do. His answer was : ‘ I will do what you do, or would
“ ‘ wish to do.’ Our wish (said the Germans) is to go
“ forward. ‘ Then,’ retorted Bourbon, ‘ I shall go with you,
“ ‘ neither more nor less, without taking the Emperor’s

“ ‘ interests into account ;’ and accordingly they decided
 “ to march on Friday, the 29th, though in reality the
 “ tents were not actually struck until Saturday the 30th.
 “ The Marquis having heard of it went to Bourbon, and said
 “ to him : ‘ As I do not wish to disobey the Emperor’s
 “ ‘ orders I will not go with the army.’ To which Bour-
 “ bon replied : ‘ Have you not been told to obey my com-
 “ ‘ mands implicitly ? Must I give you the order in
 “ ‘ writing ?’ The Marquis answered : ‘ True enough you
 “ ‘ are the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial army,
 “ ‘ I am your subordinate ; but as you yourself do not
 “ ‘ obey the Emperor’s commands, but act contrary to
 “ ‘ them, I do not consider myself bound to obey yours.’

“ Thus the matter ended. The Marquis left the camp
 “ that very night, followed by a strong escort of his own
 “ men and by several of the captains ; spent the whole of
 “ Friday at a place two leagues from San Giovanni, and
 “ on the ensuing Saturday, after dismissing his escort and
 “ all those who had accompanied him, came to Ferrara,
 “ where he now is.”

Such is Ferramosca’s remarkable letter, dated Ferrara the 4th of April 1527, one month before the sack of Rome. I have not seen the original, but only an old French translation, preserved in the Archives of Brussels, and published for the first time by Dr. Lanz in his *Correspondenz des Kayser Karl V.** It will help to dispel certain doubts as to the part which the Emperor

* A most valuable compilation published at Leipzig, 1844, 3 vols. 8vo. The letter may be found at page 230 of the first volume. Dr. Lanz’s contributions to the history of these times have been much used by the editor of this Calendar, as well as William Bradford’s *Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V. and his ambassadors at the courts of England and France, from the original letters in the Imperial Family Archives at Vienna*. London, 1850, 8vo. : a work conscientiously written, though singularly defective in the spelling of the proper and geographical names throughout, and especially in the Itinerary at the end.

took in the affair, some writers having gone so far as to assert that Bourbon acted in conformity with express orders received from Spain, whereas it is quite evident from Ferramosca's simple and trustworthy narrative of the affair that the Constable was prompted by his own ambition, goaded to the quick by Clement's dilatory expedients, and perhaps too irritated at the vacillating policy of Lannoy, his old enemy. That his design at first was only to oblige Clement to come to terms by a sudden attack upon Florence or Bologna, and at the same time to procure provisions and money for his half starved and undisciplined army, is sufficiently demonstrated not only by the despatches of Marin, Sanchez, Soria, and other Imperial agents, but by the Italian historians themselves.* Juan Seron, Lannoy's secretary, in his despatch to the Emperor, dated from Rome the 28th of April, says distinctly: "The Imperialists, who had left Siena behind
 " them the better to ensure a supply of provisions and
 " march afterwards on Florence, have suddenly retraced
 " their steps and returned to their old quarters near that
 " city. The object of this movement is evidently to leave
 " Florence on one side and come here to Rome. If so, all
 " of us ought to rejoice at Bourbon's determination; for
 " if the Imperial army should approach Rome under
 " present circumstances, the Pope will be prevented in
 " future from acting against the Emperor's interests."

The consequences of Bourbon's march on Rome are well known, as likewise the details of the direful trial to which the Holy City was subjected, and which Lope de Soria calls a "visitation from God; a warning to the Vicar of Christ on earth, and to the rest of the Christian princes."† Authentic accounts by eyewitnesses, published at the

* Consult Guicciardini, *lib.* xviii., and Jovio, *lib.* xxii.

† No. 76, p. 209.

time or shortly after, differ little as to the horrible scenes enacted during this sack. All writers, whether Italian or Spanish, agree that the atrocities perpetrated by the soldiers had no precedent in history, and that the sacking of Rome by Attila and his northern hordes was nothing in comparison with the one of May 1527. Indeed, Francisco de Salazar, an agent of the High Chancellor Mercurino da Gattinara, says : “ So great were the atrocities committed “ on this occasion that the pen actually refuses to write “ them down, and that the memory of man is incapable of “ recording them.” The writer, himself, though a Spaniard and an ecclesiastic ; Secretary Perez, at that time in charge of the Imperial embassy ; Don Martin, the envoy of Portugal, and many other Imperialists of note residing at Rome, were obliged to pay a heavy ransom, whilst the Secretary, as he himself asserts, was twice in danger of his life. There is no need to mention here the various accounts of this remarkable event attributed to Guicciardini, Buonaparte,* and others. Suffice it to say that, however partial the authors, their narratives do not materially differ from the letters of Perez, Salazar, Gattinara, and others in the present volume. The last-named individual, whose real name was Giovan Bartholomeo da Gattinara, seems to have written for the private inspection of his uncle, the Grand Chancellor, a separate and fuller account of the sack of Rome by the Imperialists, which Baron D. Camillo Trasmondo—Frangipani dei Duchi di Mirabello published 10 years ago under the following

* That attributed to Jacopo Buonaparte da San Miniato, though written in 1527, was not published till 1756 at Cologne. A French translation of it, as it is said, appeared in 1809 at Paris accompanied by the Italian text, and another, and a different one, at Florence in 1830 ; but in 1758, also at Cologne, an anonymous Italian reprinted *Il Sacco di Roma*, by Guicciardini, (Paris, 1664,) which he found to be substantially the same as the one attributed to Buonaparte.

title: *Il sacco di Roma sotto Clemente VII. relazione del Commissario Imperiale Mercurino Gattinara*. I need scarcely observe that Mercurino [Arborio] da Gattinara was the Emperor's Grand Chancellor; that he was not at Rome during the sack, but at Toledo or Granada, in Spain, and, therefore, that the account published could not be written by, but addressed to, him by his nephew Giovan Bartholomeo da Gattinara,* at that time Commissary General to the Imperial army at Rome, who in his various attempts to persuade the Pope to sign the capitulation was wounded by the Germans as he came out of Sant Angelo.†

Two more agents of Charles seem to have been employed about this time, Pierre de Veyre,‡ Baron of St. Veyre. Julien, and Rupt sieur de Wauldry or Waury. Of the former there is a long and interesting despatch dated the 30th of September 1527, giving an account of his embarkation at Barcelona, landing at Naples, and subsequent journey to Rome. He was killed at the naval engagement in the Gulf of Salerno on the 28th of April 1528.

* Giovan Bartholomeo da Gattinara has been frequently mentioned in these pages. In 1525, shortly after the battle of Pavia, he went to Rome on a mission from Lannoy to Clement, and we occasionally hear of him at Siena, Florence, and other places negotiating in the Emperor's name. Besides his post of Imperial Commissary he seems to have been "Regente" at Naples.

† The original letter which Giovan Bartholomeo addressed to the Emperor on this occasion is preserved at Simancas; not so the private and more detailed one, which he intended for his uncle's perusal; the same, or a contemporary copy of which, Baron Trasmondo has discovered, and published at Geneva, 1866, 8vo., and which, notwithstanding the pains taken by its editor, contains many gross mistakes, such as confounding the Spanish captain Juan de Urbina with Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, &c.

‡ Also called Verey, Vere, &c., Sieur de Migliau, or Millew according to English pronounciation. His letter to the Emperor is at page 407 of this Part.

Respecting the Sicur de Waury, who was one of Bourbon's confidential secretaries, and consequently obliged to quit France and follow the fortunes of his master, very little is known. His real name appears to have been Rup or Rupt, and his prefix Adolphe or Antoine. He was Seigneur de Waury, elsewhere written Vaury, Wauldry, and Wauldrey, which Spaniards and Italians soon converted into *Babri*, *Bauri*, *Bauberi*, and *Babery*. A letter from him will be found at page 814 of the First Part,* written to the Emperor while his master was still in Spain; but he must have had a brother of the same name, *François de Rupt*, who, after the death of Bourbon, became gentleman-in-waiting to the Prince of Orange, and was employed by him in various missions to Spain,† the same who in August 1528 signed the articles of the contract entered into with Andrea Doria.

Respecting Gattinara, the Emperor's High
 Gattinara. Chancellor, enough has been said in the Introduction to Part I. At one time he seems to have lost the Emperor's favour, and to have asked for leave to visit his estates in Savoy. This appears to have been preceded or followed by a pilgrimage to our Lady of Monserrat, in the neighbourhood of Barcelona, an expedient to which Spanish statesmen of all times seem to have had recourse in their disgrace. What may have been the cause of his estrangement from Charles is not positively stated, though the rather exulting manner in which Salinas announces the fact to the King of Hungary makes me presume that it was connected with Italian politics, and chiefly with the Duchy of Milan, which the Emperor had then promised to his brother. However this may be, Gattinara landed at Genoa, spent a few days in that city, and, just before it

* See No. 497, p. 814, Part I.

† Le Glay, *Negociations Diplomatiques entre la France et l'Autriche*, vol. ii., p. 9, speaks of *les deux de Vaury*.

was taken by the Leaguers, sailed off to Monaco and returned to Spain. He continued to be at the head of affairs, as Imperial Chancellor, until the Emperor's journey to Italy, when he was replaced by Granvelle.

Jean Lalleman, or L'Allemand, the Emperor's Chief Secretary, lost also the Emperor's favour, and indeed was deprived of his charge, imprisoned at Toledo, his papers searched, and a legal inquiry instituted on his acts. Whether the temporary disgrace of Chancellor Gattinara had anything to do with it, or, as Martin de Salinas informs us in one of his despatches, Lallemand was calumniated by his enemies at Court, certain it is that he was accused, and perhaps convicted, of peculation, as well as of having, by the dexterous intercalation of certain words in a ciphered letter from the Emperor to Antonio de Leyva, assigned to himself a pension of 1,000 ducats on the estate of Milan. Of course, Salinas, Ferdinand's ambassador in Spain, would naturally represent Lallemand as innocent of the charges brought against him, inasmuch as he had always promoted his master's general interests in Spain, encouraged and favoured his pretensions to the Duchy of Milan,* the investiture of which had so often been promised to him. However this may be, Lallemand never from this time seems to have recovered the Emperor's favour; and though one or two Imperial letters are countersigned by him, and another, a private one, was addressed by him to Cardinal Wolsey, he seems from that time to have been excluded from the management of affairs, his secretaryship being given to Francisco de los Covos.

If the statements made in a recent life† of two celebrated Spaniards of this time, *Alfonso* and

* See No. 36, p. 98.

† Alonso y Juan de Valdés por Don Fermin Caballero. Madrid, 1875, 4to.

Juan de Valdés, be taken into account, we can easily come to the conclusion that Lallemand's unfair dealings, whatever they might be, were brought to light by the former of the above-mentioned brothers, at one time Gattinara's clerk, and subsequently Secretary to Charles. Alfonso de Valdés, who, like his brother *Juan*, was one of the leaders of the Reformation, kept up a curious correspondence with Peter Martyr, Maximilian of Transylvania, Erasmus, Stansaërt, Scepperus, and other learned men of his time. Some of his own private letters, as well as those he wrote in his official capacity and in the Emperor's name to Pope Clement, to the College of Cardinals, to the Roman nobles, and so forth, have already seen the public light in various collections; but the importance of some in an historical point of view, as well as the circumstance of the original draft of most being preserved in one volume in the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, have induced me to print a few of them.* Alfonso was also the author of the *Dialogo en que particularmente se tratan las cosas acaecidas en Roma el año 1527*, hitherto attributed to his brother *Juan*, but which, as the above-mentioned biographer of the two brothers has sufficiently demonstrated,† is the exclusive work of *Alfonso*‡. This book seems to have been the bone of contention between Valdés and Lallemand, and the origin also of their enmity, the latter having denounced it, when still in manuscript, to the Inquisition as containing Lutheran doctrines. It was in

* First of all in the *Apologetici pro Carolo Quinto Imperatore libri duo*, first printed at Alcalá, and which is entirely the work of Alfonso de Valdés, then in the collection of Melchor Goldast, Francfort, 1613; in the *Annales Reginaldi*, Rome, 1646; in the *Codice Diplomatico Italiano* of Lunig, 1732, &c.

† Caballero, *ibid*, p. 157.

‡ Besides *Juan* and *Alfonso*, there was a third brother called Didacus Diego, or Santiago, who became canon of Cartagena, and whom I wrongly presumed to be a cousin at page 771, note.

his turn Valdés who accused Lallemand of having made erasures and intercalated words and passages in the Emperor's letters to his ambassadors; and it must be said, that though the former came out of the charge innocent, the latter was thrown into prison, tried, convicted, and dismissed from the Imperial service.

Respecting Martin de Salinas, who since 1522
 Salinas. was the ambassador of the Archduke Ferdinand, subsequently King of Bohemia and Hungary, at the Court of his brother Charles, very little is known except what may be gathered here and there from the original copy-book of his correspondence preserved in the library of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, a thick and closely written volume with the following title: *Libro de las Cartas que Don Martin de Salinas escribió á Alemania.*" He was probably a native of some town in the province of Burgos, and perhaps, too, one of the gentlemen named to compose the household of the young Archduke* when in 1518 he repaired to Vienna to take possession of his father's inheritance. Among Katharine of Aragon's Spanish maids of honour there was one named *Doña Maria de Salinas*, who seems to have exercised great influence over her; and among the poets who wrote in commendation and praise of Illescas' *Historia Pontifical y Catholica*, printed for the first time at Alcalá in 1564, there is one *Lope de Salinas*, inhabiting Burgo de Osma, in the province of Burgos, who may have been a son or close relative of Martin. However this may be, the volume of his correspondence—which contains also letters written

* It must be observed that Sancho Cota, himself one of the gentlemen of Ferdinand's household, who gives the list of those appointed on that occasion, does not mention Martin de Salinas in the number. His "Memorial," which contains many interesting details for the history of Charles V., has never been printed. The original is preserved in the National Library at Paris.

to him by the Archduke's secretaries—begins with several addressed to Treasurer Salamanca, and dated from Brussels, where he seems to have arrived on the 26th of April. After visiting Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, and other towns in Flanders, Salinas came over to England in the Emperor's suite, visited Greenwich, London, Windsor, and Winchester, and finally embarked at Southampton, or Antona, as he calls it, to land with the Emperor at Santander on the 16th of July. After which, in his quality of ambassador, he followed the Imperial Court wherever it went, crossed over to Italy, was present at the Emperor's coronation in Bologna, attended the expedition to Germany, and was most likely present also at the taking of Tunis in 1535.

His correspondence is not private but official, his letters being mostly addressed to King Ferdinand, or to his secretaries Castillejo* and Sanchez. The last bears the date of the 11th November 1539, after which the volume finishes abruptly.

Of Maximilianus Transylvanus, of John of Dantzic, ambassador of Sigismond, King of Poland; of Cornelius Duplicius Scepperus, sent by Charles on a mission to the electors of the empire as well as to Poland, Denmark, and the Hanseatic towns; of the Provost of Waldkirch, Balthasar Merklin, and others—all of whom kept up a valuable correspondence with Alfonso de Valdés—sufficient notice is given in the above-mentioned work by Don Fermin Caballero,† whose diligence and zeal in collecting materials for

* Christoval, the author of several poems, mostly lyrical, first collected by Velasco, and printed at Madrid in 1572, 8vo. As to Sanchez his name was Gabriel, probably a brother or cousin of Alfonso, the ambassador in Venice.

† Whilst this Introduction was in progress, the editor of this Calendar received intelligence of the death at Madrid, on the 18th of June, of this learned and conscientious writer. His last volume is the fourth of a series of biographies of illustrious men born at Cuenca in Castille.

the life of the two brothers, Alfonso and Juan de Valdés, cannot be sufficiently commended.

Having so far disposed of the civil and diplomatic writers who figure in this correspondence, a few lines will not perhaps be amiss respecting each of the generals in command of the Imperial forces in Italy during the period of time comprised in these two parts, 1525-9. Of Lannoy, Pescara, and Bourbon enough has been said in the Introduction to the First Part. I shall only record here certain circumstances and facts relative to the others.

The gallant Marquis of Pescara, whose death took Vasto. place at Milan on the 3d December 1525, was succeeded in the command of the Imperial forces in Italy by his cousin — sometimes, though erroneously, called nephew — Alfonso Davalos d'Aquino, Marquis del Vasto.* Of Pescara himself there is, besides the well known biography by Paulo Jovio, the historian, another by Ulloa, and a third by Vallés; but of his heir and successor in command I know none, and yet he was at the head of the Imperial forces in Italy until the arrival of Bourbon, to whom the Emperor, no longer able to give him the hand of his sister Eleanor, had solemnly promised the command-in-chief of his Italian army and the Duchy of Milan as a fief.

His letters to the Emperor are few and short, but the private and confidential ones written to Giovan Battista Castaldo,† his agent at the Imperial Court, contain much valuable information, and reveal the character of the man. Castaldo had been sent by Pescara to Spain for the purpose

* I have already had occasion to observe that this word is variously written *Basto*, *Vasto*, *Gasto*, and *Guasto*. This last is the one most commonly used by English writers, and the one I have adopted, though there can be no doubt that *Vasto* and not *Guasto*, is the real name of the castle on the coast of Naples, whence Alfonso Davalos took his title.

† Sometimes written *Gastaldo*.

of revealing to the Emperor the deeply laid plot of Clement and the Venetians, which that general is said to have joined for the sole purpose of discovering the object of the conspirators. He was at Court when Pescara died, and therefore it was directly to him that Vasto confided the secrets of his responsible charge, the difficulties he had to contend with, and his resentment at certain grave accusations preferred against him in connexion with his civil administration in the Duchy. On the 18th of May he wrote to him: "I am told that his Majesty the
" Emperor has seen with displeasure the grant of certain
" public offices here at Milan. If so, I beg you to tell
" the Emperor that up to the present date nothing has
" been given away except to captains who have lost their
" arms or legs in the service, or have been so disabled
" that they cannot earn their livelihood otherwise. And
" besides that the offices and charges which have been
" conferred upon them are precisely those which some of
" the Milanese who are now with the Duke [Francesco
" Sforza] inside the castle held formerly. If his Imperial
" Majesty disapproves of the grant, nothing is more easy
" than to deprive the said captains of their offices, and
" deduct from their pay whatever sums they may have
" received. As to myself, I may tell you that not only have
" I not preceived a single 'quatrino' from such a source,
" but since your departure for Spain in May I have given
" orders for the sale of two of my best estates in the king-
" dom of Naples, and that those which I hold in this
" Duchy are mortgaged. Another of my castles I have
" given away to Juan de Urbina in order to keep him
" contented," &c.

After Vasto's departure for Naples, Antonio de
Leyva. Leyva, the veteran of Pavia, succeeded to the

command of the Imperial army of Lombardy, where his great experience and undaunted courage enabled him to keep his ground against superior forces of the enemy. Yet his position at Milan was a difficult and precarious one. With a small army chiefly composed of foreigners, Germans and Italians, to whom 4,000 or 5,000 Spaniards were occasionally added; very frequently—not to say always—without money and provisions, or even news from home, and having to quarter his undisciplined bands on the citizens of Milan, it is a wonder how he could defend the Duchy from the aggressions of Lautrec, St. Pol, and at one time the Papal and Venetian troops combined, not to mention the frequent riots and tumultuary risings of the Milanese, unwilling to bear the burden of war, and always ready to shake off the foreign yoke. To these disturbances—some of which were of a most serious character—Leyva is supposed to have greatly contributed by the heavy taxes imposed upon the Milanese, and the excesses committed by his men. He is even accused of rapacity, and, which is a still more serious charge, of peculation. On the 2d of June 1526, Herrera* wrote to the Emperor in cipher: “Leyva is discontented. “Your Majesty should write to him, for certainly these are “not times to let a captain of his quality and parts be “put in bad humour. If, as private letters from Spain “announce, he and Vasto are accused of having appropriated the proceeds of certain offices and taxes here “at Milan, it is a most horrible calumny, the money “having been paid into the Imperial coffers, as the “Treasurer himself and I can testify.”

On the 11th of July the Abbot of Najera writes in still stronger terms: “Leyva is much concerned (he says) at

* No. 433, p. 724.

“ hearing that your Imperial Majesty attaches faith to
“ the report of his being the chief cause of the risings
“ at Milan, and likewise of the present war, by his
“ extortions from the inhabitants of this city. I declare
“ upon oath that ever since the death of the Marquis de
“ Pescara, your Majesty has never had at the head of his
“ army a general so strict in his military duties, so honour-
“ able, and so skilful in warfare. As for taking ransom
“ money, I can swear that ever since I was appointed to
“ the post of Commissary-General to this Imperial army,
“ I never knew him to take any. Nor is he the sort of
“ man to do anything of the sort ; on the contrary, he
“ and the Marquis del Vasto have frequently sold their
“ property, or pawned their jewels and other valuables for
“ the support of this army in times of need.”

Leyva's answer to such accusation is, if possible, still more energetic : it is that of an innocent man wounded in what he most prizes, his honour and reputation. The whole seems to have originated in the complaints of certain parties at Court, who in the distribution of grants of land and pensions on the confiscated estates in the Duchy of Milan, made by Bourbon soon after the deprivation of Francesco Sforza, had no share allotted to them. The grants were subsequently revoked by the Emperor, and the estates, with very few exceptions, returned to their legitimate owners. It is true that a pension of 10,000 ducats was promised by Sforza to Wolsey, if he would secure the support of England ; that Don Iñigo, again, in the Emperor's name, offered it to the Cardinal, increased to double the amount, with a view to detach him from the French alliance. Bribery was then the common resort of politicians and statesmen, and whenever other means of attraction failed, money and pensions were offered or given

to ambassadors and ministers. Clement, as will be seen in these pages, was at all times lavish of his Cardinal's hats, for the purpose of obtaining money, or ensuring the success of his political views, whilst Charles and Francis paid pensions right and left to Wolsey, to the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, to Brian Tuke, and to other noblemen and officials in England. The revenues of the Duchy of Milan, and the firstfruits of rich bishoprics in Spain, Naples, or Flanders, seem to have been set apart for this purpose at a time when ambassadors principally, and high functionaries in general, seem to have had but scanty salaries. Some dealing of this sort appears to have brought into trouble one of the Emperor's secretaries, Pero Garcia, accused of having received a bribe for getting ready in time the investiture of the Duchy of Milan for Francesco Sforza-Visconti; whilst Pierre Lallemand, another of Charles' secretaries, and especially entrusted with the foreign correspondence, was actually cast into prison, and his papers searched, for a similar motive.*

Moncada. After the death of Lannoy at Aversa, the command at Naples devolved upon the gallant Don Hugo de Moncada, who met with a glorious death at Capri,† in the Gulph of Salerno, on the 28th of April 1528. Of the active part which, previous to his appointment to Naples, he took in that famous-conspiracy against Pope Clement, which ended in the sack of St. Peter, and of the palaces of the disaffected Cardinals, sufficient evidence is given in some of his own despatches to the Emperor. There can be no doubt that the suggestions which the Colonnese themselves made from time to time that "no

* See above, p. xxii.

† Not far from Cuma, and near the Cape Orso in the Terra di Lavoro. See Alarcon, *Comentarios*, p. 357.

“ concessions were to be obtained from Clement, except “ by sheer force,” found an echo in Spain, and that the Emperor approved their plans, sending orders to Don Hugo to “ help with all the forces of Naples,” to forward the designs of the conspirators. To that effect a treacherous truce was concluded between the Pope and the Colonnese, through the intermediate action of Vespasiano Colonna, for no other purpose, as is confessed in Moncada’s letter to Sanchez of the 14th of September,* than that of “ lulling “ Clement into security, and making him lay down his “ arms.”† Yet it is very remarkable that, with the exception of this letter, where the Spanish general plainly avows his intention of attacking Rome, no other despatch of his should be found at Simancas or in the Archives of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, and that the very one he is known to have written [on the 22d, giving a full account of the undertaking should also be missing.

Moncada was succeeded in^{Chalon.} the vice-royalty of

Naples by Philibert de Chalon, Prince of Orange, who, after Bourbon’s inglorious death in sight of Rome, obtained the temporary command of the Imperial forces. He was very young at the time—scarcely six and twenty ; and though he had seen some service, been made prisoner close to Marseilles, and, as commander of the German infantry, wounded at the taking of Rome, he was not considered by Charles’ ministers a fit person to command an army composed of Germans, Spaniards, and Italians more or less undisciplined, and accustomed since the taking of Rome to have their own way in every respect. However, as

* No. 545, p. 897.

† In the Emperor’s letter of instructions, dated Granada, 11th June 1526, Don Hugo is informed : That three days before (on the 8th), the Cardinal’s agent at Court said “ he had now a good chance of expelling the Pope from Rome, and stirring up Siena and even Florence against him.”

the lansquenets were by far the most numerous ; as Lannoy, upon whom the command-in-chief of the Imperial forces naturally devolved, in his capacity of Viceroy of Naples, and older general in the service, was purposedly absent ; as the Marquis del Vasto, who refused to follow Bourbon, resided at Ferrara, and Antonio de Leyva remained in Lombardy* ; as Alarcon himself would not accept that post unconditionally, and when offered to Alfonso d'Este it was also declined under specious pretences, and more particularly† owing to the “constant mutinies of the soldiers,”—the Prince forcibly remained for the time at the head of the Imperial army in Rome. His despatches to the Emperor are generally dated from Naples. Chalon evidently had neither the experience nor the talents required to govern an army composed of such elements, much less to repress the mutinous spirit and insatiable cravings of his German bands. After an inglorious retreat through the Abruzzi, and a battle fought against Lautrec near Troia, he shut himself up in Naples, where he remained, until, having marched against the Florentines, and laid siege to their city, he was slain in August 1530. Few of his letters have been preserved, and, with the single exception of two or three discovered by Dr. Lanz in the Archives at Brussels,‡ and published in 1844 at Leipzig, the present volume contains scarcely any of importance.

Hernando de Alarcon is another of the Alarcon. Imperial captains who figures most in these pages. He had served in Africa as well as in Italy, under Gonsalvo de Cordoba, the Great Captain. In 1527 he was

* The command was also offered to Don Hugo, see p. 254.

† See his confidential and private letter to his ambassador at Venice, Part II., No. 146.

‡ Part II., page 707, No. 456.

Viceroy of Calabria, but was soon summoned to Rome, after the sack of that city, as were also Lannoy and Don Hugo, to re-establish the broken discipline of the Imperial army. Though he failed in this task, and could not obtain better terms for the Pope, almost entirely at the mercy of the Germans, his honourable character and long services, as well as his conciliating manners, ensured him the confidence of the soldiers, and he was accordingly appointed Governor of Sant Angelo, and keeper of the Pope until the latter should pay the promised ransom. He followed the army to Naples, where his eminent services were soon to be rewarded by the Emperor with the title of Marquis de la Val Ciciliana. In 1665 one of his descendants, D. Antonio Suarez de Alarcon, count of Torresvedras, published at Madrid a handsome volume with the following title: *Comentarios del Señor de Alarcon*; which being compiled from the original papers and correspondence of Don Hernando himself, constitutes a considerable addition to the history of these times in Italy.*

It now remains for me to say a few words on a subject closely connected with compilations of this kind, and to which no sufficient attention has, in my opinion, been paid. I mean the transcription and spelling of proper names. Now it is an acknowledged fact that about this time—and perhaps as late as the end of the XVIIth century—proper and geographical names were written in a capricious manner, better calculated to convey an idea

* Among the despatches contained in this Second Part those of Camillo Pignatello, count of Burrello, of Garci Manrique, the commander in Calabria, of Alonso de la Rosa, or Larossa, governor of Gaeta, and other Imperial officers, will be found to contain much historical information. In one, however, from the last-mentioned governor to the Emperor (Naples, 25th January 1528), “19,000 men” is evidently a mistake for 1,900. See No. 301, p. 553.

of their sound than of the letters of which they were composed. And as the letters themselves had different sounds and value in the Teutonic or Neo-Latin languages, hence originated the singular fact of a proper name being at first differently pronounced, and afterwards variously written, by people of the same nation or locality, and the still more perplexing one of individuals of the same family often spelling their own names differently. If to this be added that, according to a custom prevalent throughout Europe at the time, the titled nobility, the bishops, cardinals, and high functionaries were generally designated by the titles they used or the charges they held, it will be found by no means an easy task to ascertain the names and genealogy of the many distinguished individuals and high personages who appear in these pages, at a time too when fiefs were frequently granted, and as often taken away.

I have already mentioned as an illustration of this remark—which to some may appear futile, but nevertheless is of great importance to the historian—the name among others of the celebrated commander of the lansquenets at Pavia, Rome, and Milan, whose patronymic *Fruntsperg* is written by his biographers and panegyrists, German as well as Italian, in five different ways. That the names of Monsieur de *Bourgues*, de *Tarbes*, de *Bayonne*, de *Palance*, d'*Aire*, &c., were intended to designate the bishops of those sees,—that *Præët*, *Bèvres*, *Beaurain*, *Rœulx*, *Langeay*, *Lautrec*, *Granvelle*, &c., are only those of the domains owned by each of those personages,—and lastly that the Spanish, and principally the Italian titles in Naples or Milan, do not always designate one and the same individual,—is a fact too well known to require confirmation. The greater care, therefore, has been taken in these pages to assign to each individual, as much as possible, his real family name, as recognised

by contemporary writers, or, for greater accuracy, as derived from their own original letters, although, as I have already had occasion to observe, this is not always a certain rule. The general Index at the end of this Second Part will, therefore, contain in strict alphabetical order all the geographical and proper names scattered through the two parts of this Calendar, not indeed as they frequently appear in these pages, but as they ought to be written according to their nationality or language.

In doing so I myself may have unavoidably fallen into mistake by confounding two individuals, as for instance in the following case: Amalfi and Malfi are two towns in the kingdom of the two Sicilies, the former in the Basilicata, the latter in the province called "Principato citeriore," not far from the Gulph of Salerno. But the Spaniards of this time made no distinction whatever between *Amalfi* and *Malfi*, or *Malfa* as it is called nowadays; and consequently they invariably mistook one for the other. The Prince of Malfi, so often mentioned in these pages, who, after gallantly defending his patrimonial estate, fell a prisoner into Lautrec's hands, and was ultimately persuaded to join the Italian League, was a Caracciolo* of the name of Gian, or more properly *Ser Giano*, and a relative of Prothonotary Marino, the Imperial ambassador in Venice, 1525-6, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Milan in 1528. The Prince's estate was confiscated and given to Andrea Doria. The Duke of Amalfi was a Piccolomini,† the ancestor of Ottavio, the Austrian general, 1599-656. Both are mentioned in these pages irrespectively as Prince

* Consult Sansovino: *Dell'Origine e fatti delle famiglie illustri d'Italia*. Venice, 1670, pp. 192-6.

† His name was Alfonso Count of Celano and Marquis de Capistrano; he married Joanna d'Aragon, daughter of Arrico or Henry Marquis of Giracco or Chirazzo. See *Généalogies Historiques*, vol. ii. Paris, 1736, pp. 455-64.

or Duke of Malfi, and in such a manner that it is not always easy to recognise them.

Indeed Sandoval and the rest of the Spanish historians of this period—the translators also of Guicciardini and Jovio—have added considerably to the confusion by transcribing proper names as they heard them pronounced, not as they were written. That *Citi* is meant for Marc Settig or Sittig, the German captain, *Beni* and *Dobeni* for Mons. D'Aubigny, and *Chyandale* or *Chyandele* for Mons. de Candalle, may easily be allowed; but it requires some effort of imagination to recognize La Rochefoucault, sieur de Barbesieux, under the semi-barbarous appellation of *Rupifucaldo-Barbesós*.



CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS.

SPANISH, HEN. VIII.

1527.

7 Jan.

1. MARTIN DE SALINAS to ARCHDUKE FERDINAND, KING OF BOHEMIA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
c. 71, fol. 162.

Has answered the letters brought by Richarte and Presinga (Presintgher). The present is in reply to that of the 28th of October of last year, which was duly delivered by Julian, the courier. No sooner did the Emperor hear of the disaster in Hungary (*la destruycion de Ungria*) than he decided to quit Granada, and come to Valladolid, where he summoned all the prelates, nobles, councillors, &c. of his kingdoms, to appear on the 25th inst., and deliberate on the best means of procuring assistance in so critical a conflict. His Imperial Majesty left Granada on the 10th of December, preceded by the Grand Chancellor (Mercurino di Gattinara), by secretary Jean Lallemand, and by Mons. de Prat (Praet), all of whom took their departure six days before [on the 4th]. He (Salinas) accompanied them.

The Emperor is much pleased with the election of Bohemia, and has issued orders to his secretary (Lallemand) for the Archduke to be in future addressed as King. Don Antonio de Mendoza, who left for Germany the other day, will explain verbally what the Emperor intends doing in the present emergency. He is the bearer of bills of exchange to the amount of 100,000 ducats.

The timely assistance sent to Italy, and the negotiations with the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este), have met with much praise among the courtiers. The Emperor himself is much pleased with the news. He hopes that the Germans will be properly provided for with the 50,000 ducats sent on a previous occasion, and that the Duke [of Ferrara] has already commenced doing service after his appointment.

With respect to the Marquis of Mantua (Frederigo Gonzaga) His Imperial Majesty thinks that the King of Bohemia has acted very wisely, for that Prince's words and deeds seem to be enveloped in dissimulation.

1527

One of the Pope's chamberlains, Paolo di Rezzo by name, came to Toledo about the peace. The Emperor referred him to a committee composed of the High Chancellor (Gattinara), Don Juan Manuel, the Confessor (Fr. Garcia de Loaysa), Mons. de Prat (Praet), and Secretary Lallemand. Cannot tell what the Chamberlain's proposals may be, but fears that the conferences will end in smoke. The King of France is also sending one of his secretaries with full powers to treat. Such, however, is Francis' want of faith that no good can come of these negotiations, as people here will no longer trust him.

His Imperial Majesty fully approves of the diet which is to be held at Escelunga (Esslingen), as well of the overtures made to the Switzers. He wishes to know who is the proper person to send to the Cantons to detach them from the French and Italian alliance, or at least to induce them to remain neutral, for certainly they have always preferred to earn one florin from Germany to one ducat from France; besides which, the Emperor might help them to recover what the French King owes them of old, having, as he has, so good a security in his hands as two of his sons.

With regard to Duke Ulric [of Wurtemberg] and his journey to Venice, as announced in his Highness' last letter, the fact was already known here at Court. Some say that he has gone thither for the purpose of turning Turk, and has renounced in favour of his brother the county of Monbliet (Montbelliard), as well as his other estates in Burgundy. It would be advisable to open negotiations with his brother, and get from the latter the said county [of Montbelliard], as well as the property he holds in Burgundy and in Ferrette, in exchange for an equivalent estate in the Austrian dominions, conveniently far from his native country, perhaps in Hungary itself.

Of the occurrences at Rome, and Don Ugo's doings there, the Emperor had been fully informed previous to the arrival of the courier who came [from Germany]. The King, however, had better go on writing the news [of Italy], that the care and solicitude he takes for his brother's affairs may be duly appreciated.

By the last courier, through France, His Imperial Majesty heard from his ambassador in that country that Martin de Guzman* had been set at liberty and allowed to proceed to the King's court. Nothing that could be done was omitted to procure his father's (Don Ramiro) liberation also, but owing to certain scruples of the Emperor, of which His Highness the Archduke must have been lately informed through Presinga (Presintgher), this could not be obtained for the present.

* Don Martin de Guzman, son of Ramiro Nuñez de Guzman, who in 1514 was Ferdinand's ambassador at Genoa.

1527.

Has according to his instructions applied for a knighthood of the Order of Calatrava for Count Hortenburg.*

His Imperial Majesty has been much pleased to hear of the Viceroy's safe arrival on the coast of Sienna, notwithstanding the attempt made by the French fleet to stop him on his passage. The enemy, in consequence, has been compelled to sue for mercy, and make proposals of peace, which the Emperor is rather inclined to grant, not so much on their account, or because they really deserve it, but in order to be more at liberty to attend to the Turkish war. This, indeed, is at present the chief business of this Council of State, and no sooner did Don Juan Manuel hear of the disaster in Hungary, than, leaving his retirement, he came to Toledo, and took part in the deliberations of that body. Nothing will be left undone by him and the rest of the Imperial Councillors to procure His Highness the required assistance in his present difficulties, though it must be said that the Emperor is so well disposed that he needs no pressing solicitations on that score.

His Imperial Majesty has issued orders for Queen Eleanor to come to Valladolid, and likewise for the sons of France to be removed elsewhere,† although the place of their confinement has not yet been fixed.—Laguna, 7th Jan. 1527.

Addressed: "Para el Rey, mi Señor."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4½.

2. MEMORANDUM of the English Ambassador (DR. LEE) concerning the EMPEROR'S DEBTS.

May it please His Imperial Majesty to recall to his memory the petition which the English ambassador (Dr. Edward Lee) addressed to His Imperial Majesty on behalf of His most Serene Highness the King, his master, about paying in ready money the debts which His Imperial Majesty owes to His said Highness (the King of England), of which full particulars are given below.

First, for the debt of the most Serene King of famous memory, his father,‡ as is shown by a bond (*scriptum obligatorium*) in writing,—*forty thousand angels*.

Next, for the debt of the said most Serene King, as is shown by another bond in writing,—*thirty-five thousand florins*.

* Or Ortenburg. A count of this name, who was one of the Archduke's chamberlains, resided about this time in London, having been sent with a message to Cardinal Wolsey. See Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv., part ii., p. 1234.

† The Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, sons of Francis I., were then at Villalpando, a castle belonging to the Constable of Castile, D. Iñigo Fernandez de Velasco, under whose custody they had been placed. See a letter of Andrea Navagero to the Signory, dat. Valladolid, 2nd April 1527, abstracted by Rawdon Brown, *Venet. State Papers*, vol. iv., p. 50. The name of the place, however, is wrongly given by the Venetian ambassador, who writes Villa Lapando instead of Villalpando, a corruption of Villar Pando, which was its original name.

‡ Philip, the Archduke? The words are: *Primum pro debito Serenissimi Regis inclite memorie patris sui*; and yet Maximilian, not Philip, is evidently intended.

1527.

Besides, for a debt of His own Imperial Majesty, as appears by a bond in writing, dated the 20th day of the month of June 1522, which debt His Imperial Majesty ought to have paid within one year of the date thereof, as appears in the said bond, His Imperial Majesty having acknowledged and promised on his royal word of honour to pay the sum borrowed—*one hundred and fifty thousand crowns of gold*, the value of each crown to be computed at four “solidi” and four “denarii” of English money, and the fixed term of payment for which has already passed nearly three years.*

Finally, for the bond of indemnity by which His Imperial Majesty engages himself to pay annually to His most Serene Highness the King, *one hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and five crowns*, which sum has not been paid, although more than three years have elapsed since that time.

For all and singular which sums [the English ambassador] again petitions immediate payment in ready money, as His Highness the King, his master, now demands through him, being moved to this course because at this time His Imperial Majesty overflows with money from the Portuguese marriage, and also because His Imperial Majesty, on the ground (*sub prætextu*) of paying his debts to His Highness, has had, and will have, a larger sum of money granted by his own subjects and by the King of Portugal than he would otherwise have had. And for these reasons His most Serene Highness the King has a good ground in justice and equity to demand, and ought, and does in truth and right, demand payment, having been so long kept out of his money, lent with so cheerful and kindly a will, and His Imperial Majesty being unable to put forward any just excuse for not returning the same immediately, which payment the ambassador hopes that His Imperial Majesty will make with the same good-will and friendly disposition as His most Serene Highness lent his money, since, otherwise, the delay might be attributed either to the ambassador’s negligence or to His Imperial Majesty’s ingratitude.†

Should His Imperial Majesty be able to adduce any just cause why any of the aforesaid sums should not be paid, at all events let His Imperial Majesty pay at once those, for the non-payment of which no just excuse can be pleaded, and with regard to the other sum or sums (if there be more than

* “Cuius solutionis terminus præfixus iam prope per triennium elapsus est,” which would make the date of this memorandum to be one of the first months of 1526.

† The bond is given at full in Bergenroth (vol. iii, p. 441), from the original preserved in Paris. Its date, Windsor Castle, 19 June 1527. It is signed by the Emperor himself, and countersigned by his secretary Jean Lallemand. This is perhaps the place to correct an involuntary mistake committed in the Introduction to the first part of this Calendar (p. xiii), wherein it is said that Charles arrived in England in 1523, whereas it was one year before, in 1522, which is the date of the bond here alluded to.

‡ “Et fortassis sua Serenissima Maiestas dilationem reputabit vel meam negligentiam, vel suæ Sacratissimæ Majestatis ingratitudinem.”

1527.

one), may it please His Imperial Majesty to inform the English ambassador that he may write home on the subject.* Or should His Imperial Majesty wish to write to the King respecting those sums, the non-payment of which he wishes to justify, *through this ambassador he has now decided to send to England*, then in that case let the English ambassador be informed of the time when the said ambassador is to leave for England, and of the instructions he takes, that he (Dr. Lee) may be able to return a more categorical answer, and satisfy on this point the King, his master, *who has already learnt for some time of the Emperor's intention to send him the said ambassador.*†

Indorsement: "The English ambassador's third application respecting the Emperor's debts to the King."

Contemporary copy. Latin. pp. 9.

10 Jan.

3. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. D. Pasc. d. G.
Pa. r. a. l. Hist.
d' Esp.

Wrote on the eve of the Nativity, and therefore will only relate what has occurred since.

The Viceroy having sent word to the general [of the Franciscans] that he wished to see him at Gaeta, to consult as to the best means of bringing His Holiness to an agreement (*concierto*), the general asked for the Pope's leave, which was willingly granted, on condition of his first attending a meeting (*congregation*) of cardinals and foreign ambassadors previously summoned. The meeting took place on the third day of January, before mass, when His Holiness propounded to them his great desire for universal peace, and announced that the general [of the Franciscans], Fray Francisco de los Angeles, had brought powers and instructions from His Im-

* "Dignetur Sua Maiestas respondere mihi quid sim scripturus ad Serenissimum Regem dominum meum."

† Certain passages of this memorandum, which have been purposely underlined, would lead to the belief that it was drawn up probably in 1526, before Don Iñigo's departure for England, and certainly previous to the arrival of the Bishop of Worcester (Ghinucci) on the 15th of January 1527, at the court of Charles; for otherwise Dr. Edward Lee, the King's almoner, and ambassador in Spain, would hardly have considered himself justified in addressing, singly and individually, the Council of State on this occasion. But as that ambassador is known at various times during his residence in Spain to have claimed in Henry's name the payment of sums borrowed in England by Maximilian and by Charles, as well as of the indemnity which the latter agreed to pay by the treaty of Windsor; as just at this time, in January 1527, the question of the Emperor's debts was again being discussed in London, and Don Iñigo himself was instructed to offer certain terms of payment, it may be safely concluded that Doctor Lee reproduced in this instance his former application, without altering in the least the passages which are underlined, and which no doubt refer to the time (September 1526) when there was a question of sending Don Iñigo de Mendoza to England. At any rate, the memorandum, though bearing no date whatever, is placed in the bundle or packet of that ambassador's original correspondence between his letter of the 19th and that of the 30th of January, which circumstance, as well as the indorsement itself, has induced the present editor to place it before Don Iñigo's letters.



1527.

perial Majesty to treat of and conclude the said peace. The sole difficulty (he added) consisted in the securities demanded by the Emperor. Some of the cardinals and ambassadors present were of opinion that the securities should be given. Others thought that, if His Holiness was confident of his own strength, he had better refuse, and place himself on the defensive. The general then made an eloquent speech, saying that the Pope, being God's vicar on earth, ought to make some sacrifice* to secure the peace of Christendom. Upon which all the ambassadors present began to make great offers in the name of their respective Princes, according as these were inclined to peace or war. That of France, in particular, offered his master's most efficient help for the protection of the Church, promising to come [to Italy] in person. The Portuguese, among other offers, made that of the King's fleet, which he said was then in the East Indies, but might be ordered back to Europe, if necessary.

Has written to the Viceroy (Lannoy), informing him of the disposition evinced by the Portuguese ambassador, and advising him to place the Imperial fleet in safety.

The conference at an end, the general kissed the Pope's feet, and again asked for leave to retire to Gaeta, which was granted. He stayed that day and the next at Rome, but at the last moment he decided not to move, and sent a nephew of his (Peñalosa) to the Viceroy, informing him of what had passed, and begging for instructions as to the terms he was to demand. He would propose them to His Holiness, and take the answer himself. The general's nephew has not yet returned, nor has the Viceroy (Lannoy) answered the letter, at which the general is greatly disappointed and concerned.

We know nothing here of the Viceroy's intentions, nor what he purposes doing in case the negotiations are broken off. The Colonnese are in the same ignorance about his plans and preparations; the only fact that has come to their notice is that some artillery and ammunition of war has left Naples [for Gaeta]. They (the Colonnese) have attacked some villages [of the Church] in order to procure money for the pay of their troops. That system of warfare appears to them more advantageous, as the country people, rather than see their villages sacked and burnt, easily compound for money.

Pending the negotiations His Holiness is not inactive, and is daily increasing his forces. Only the other day he sent for Orazio Ballon (Baglione), who for the two last years has been kept prisoner in the castle [of St. Angelo], and upon the security of bankers and other people (*seguridad grande de bancos*) that he will remain faithful to his engagements, set him at liberty, gave him the command of certain forces, and a commission to raise three or four thousand infantry,

* "Que debía por el bien universal de la Christiandad no solo dar la capa si ge la pidiesen, mas la capa y el sayo."

1527.

promising him one ducat per man. In this manner will His Holiness soon have an army of 20,000 or more men, with which, in case of no agreement being made, he will place himself on the defensive, and perhaps, too, take the offensive, for the late arrival [in Rome] of Renzo da Ceri, who has a son of Cardinal Ursino in his company, and is bringing 40 or 50,000 ducats from France, seems to have inspired him with new courage. The King of England, as it is rumoured, has also sent the Pope 25,000 ducats; in short, nothing is omitted by these people to put their friends under contribution.

The other day the captains in command of the Papal forces came to Rome to ask for instructions and orders in case of the Viceroy's army invading the lands of the Church, as there was neither a strong place to go to, nor artillery to defend the city's walls. As Renzo was shortly expected, no resolution was taken on this point, save that of recommending the captains to bring their men closer to Rome and under its walls. They would thus have all the provision and ammunition required, whilst the Imperialists would soon be deprived of both, and obliged to raise their camp. Since Renzo's arrival this plan may have been modified; cannot say how.

On new year's day a monitory was read after mass at St. Peter's against the Colonnese and the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy). It stated that His Holiness having been informed by letters from Spain, as well as by verbal declarations of Fray Francisco [de los Angeles], that the Emperor was trying all he could do to bring about a peace, it was quite evident that the sole obstacle to the Emperor's laudable purpose was the Viceroy (Lannoy), owing to the assistance and encouragement he was giving the Colonnese. A term of six days was allowed him to lay down his arms, at the expiration of which, he was to be excommunicated, &c. No sooner did he (Perez) hear of this than he despatched two estafettes, one after the other, to the Viceroy, to inform him of the whole affair. Knows that this step has been highly disapproved by certain parties, who would not have the Viceroy apprised of what so directly concerns him. Does not regret having sent him the message, as he considers that matters of this importance had better be communicated by him (Perez) than through a third person. The general [of the Franciscans], among others, disapproved of and regretted the measure. He is now staying at Ara Cæli, a monastery of his order. When the Pope heard of his grief (*sentimiento*) he sent for him, showed him the monitory, and assured him that the case was not so grave as he had been told; after which he promised that, out of personal affection for him, he would not have it printed, and that no further publicity should be given to the affair. He (Perez) having asked the general if he had read the monitory, his answer was that he had, and that although

1527.

its substance was as reported above, the terms used were not strong. The general has also written to the Viceroy. How the latter will take it, is more than he (Perez) can say. Certain it is that all the Emperor's subjects and servants at Rome are highly shocked at the Pope issuing such a monitory, at a time when he is negotiating for peace, and when it can be of no possible use to him, because if the Viceroy is determined upon war, the Pope's monitory will certainly not hinder him from it.* May God guide the matters of the Imperial service as best befits the occasion, and not give ill-intentioned people the power of thwarting his plans! Should the Pope's troops outside Rome enter the city (*con furia*), all Spaniards fear that they will be ill-treated alike by friends and foes.

Nine cardinals have been chosen by the Pope to prepare an answer to the Imperial letter [of the 4th of October]. It is reported that they all agree on most points, save on that relating to the general council, as they can find no excuse for the Pope to refuse it; they accordingly intend to accept, and to appoint the place and time for its celebration, &c. This is what keeps the cardinals in suspense, and delays their answer.

It is feared that if this monitory against the Colonnese is carried into execution, and the war continues, the Pope will go so far as to deprive His Imperial Majesty of the empire and of the kingdom of Naples. Has been told that the bulls for this purpose are already drawn, but the appeal which Cardinal Colonna has caused to be instituted here against his own deprivation will be perhaps more than sufficient for His Imperial Majesty's security.

The other day one of the vessels of the Imperial fleet, with some cavalry and about 400 foot on board, arrived at Piombino. The infantry landed, and went to Sienna, where they were very well received.

Has heard that another vessel with 200 men on board entered the port of Monaco. On the road to Genoa she had been stopped by the galleys of the League; her crew and most of the men had been made prisoners and put to the oars.

On the third day after the Nativity the Pope gave the sword and ducal cap (*estoque y bonete ducal que disen*) to the Portuguese ambassador (D. Martin de Portugal), who, as above stated, offered him in his master's name all his kingdoms and possessions, and all his forces, *contra quoscumque hostes* though the general terms (*generalidad*) in which the offer was made have not been to the taste of many people here, who would have wished them to be less vague.

* "Que andando en tratos de paz publicar tal monitorio sin traer fructo ninguno, por que si el Visorrey está determinadò á la guerra no gelo impedirá el monitorio."

1527.

A report is current here that Mons. de Bourbon has effected his junction with the lansquenets (*lansqueneques*), and is marching on Vicenza. The Marquis of Saluzzo and Guido Rangone were in pursuit, cutting off provisions, &c. As this news originates with people who can never speak the truth against themselves, not much reliance is placed on the report, though it must be said that the march of Mons. de Bourbon on Vicenza, when we expected him at Bologna, as announced, has caused considerable surprise.

The same may be said respecting another piece of intelligence, which has greatly alarmed all the Emperor's servants residing in this city. It was reported the other day that letters from Genoa of the 16th of December had come stating that there had been a revolution in the place, and that the Doge (Adorno) had been obliged to take refuge in the citadel. When the truth came to be investigated, it was found that the news had no foundation whatever, except that wheat was very scarce in the town, notwithstanding that the Genoese had lately captured two vessels laden with it.

A Hungarian bishop* sent by the Vayvod of Transylvania (Zapolsky), whom he calls King of Hungary, has arrived at Rome. He pretends that his master, the Vayvod, was duly elected King of Hungary by all the towns and lords of that kingdom, with the single exception of three or four of the latter, whom [the last] king, Louis, had deprived of their estates for disaffection and other causes, and who had consequently fled to the court of the King of Bohemia. Count Frangipane, the ambassador says, has also espoused his master's cause. The bishop entered this city without ceremony or reception of any kind, and went to alight at an inn (*meson*). The Pope, however, has sent some one to visit him in his name, and to say that his not having been received at court as other ambassadors of the Kings of Hungary was entirely owing to his not having been apprised in time of his coming. The bishop has not yet gone to the Palace, nor is it known yet what place is intended for him when he does go.

The Datary has, it appears, made over his office (*cipher*) to Felice, the Bishop of Civittà di Chiete.† He no longer attends to business, but is chiefly devoted to politics, together with Alberto di Carpi. Needs not say that as long as those two worthies have a voice in the Pope's council no good is to be expected for the Emperor and his affairs.

(*Cipher* :) Hears from a reliable source that the bull for levying the tithes (*decimas*) on the clergy has been expedited to France.

* Giovanni Statilio, bishop of Alba Regalis, *alias* Sturk Weissenburg.

† An Austin friar of this name, said to be a Spanish renegade Jew, and a confidential servant of the Cardinal of Ancona (Pietro degli Accolti), was sent by Clement on a mission to the cardinals assembled there and at Parma in October 1527, five months after the sack of Rome by the Imperialists. See Rawdon Brown, *Venet. State Papers*, vol. iv., p. 96.

1527.

These people are trying to win over the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este), and are making his ambassador all manner of offers in the Pope's name. The ambassador feigns to listen to their proposals in order to gain time, as otherwise suspicion might be aroused. Is inclined to think that the Duke will not accede to their wishes, as it is far more advantageous for him to remain the Emperor's friend than to take up the cause of his enemies.

Begs to remind the Emperor that his gratification (*ayuda de costa*) still remains unpaid. He is very poor, and out of the 500 ducats pension on the priory of Osma he only receives 300, on account of his being absent, and is obliged to make up the rest. Has no powerful friend at court to look to his interests since Don Juan Manuel retired to his estates.

Prothonotary Bentivolla (Bentivoglio) is still in confinement. Every day he is examined [by his judges], and witnesses are interrogated here [at Rome] concerning his former habits, opinions, and mode of living.

Has purportedly delayed sending this letter until he could say something respecting the present negotiations for peace. The general's nephew (Peñalosa) returned [from Gaeta] on Friday evening the 14th inst., and brought with him the Viceroy's ultimatum. The Pope was to have given an answer on the Saturday following (the 7th), or on Sunday at the latest, but hitherto no answer has come, although it is hourly expected. Has not seen the articles of peace, but the general [of the Franciscans] tells him that they are just and reasonable, and that he has good hope of His Holiness granting the Viceroy's demands. The only difficulty in his opinion lies in the money, no objection being made by the Pope to the delivery of Ostia, Parma, and Piacenza as securities. The affair is in the hands of Cardinals Frenesis (Farnese), Monte, and Campeggio, to the exclusion of the Datary, and perhaps also of Alberto di Carpi. Will not close this letter until he hears upon what they have resolved.

Though he has said above that Renzo da Ceri had actually come to Rome, it is not so, for he is now at Cheri (Ceri), suffering from cholic (*dolor de hijada*). They sent him a litter (*letica*), but he could not come. The Datary himself went twice out of Rome to receive him. The hopes conceived at his coming have moreover considerably abated, for they now find that he comes without money, troops, or health. It is even rumoured that he and his suite complain bitterly of King Francis and of the treatment they experienced when in his dominions.

Encloses copy of a letter just received at Rome concerning the Archduke's election as King of Hungary. The news has not been very palatable to all parties, and although the ambassador of the Vayvod has not yet appeared in public, nor is it known what place and rank they will give him when he does, there can be no doubt that he has already had a secret audience from His Holiness. His official reception, however,

1527.

will very much depend on the turn that the affairs now pending between the Pope and His Imperial Majesty will take.

The Imperialists in Rome have much rejoiced at the news of Mons. de Bourbon having left Milan with the whole of his forces, and being six miles from Pavia. Guido Rangone, the Pope's captain, writes from Parma that the forces under Bourbon amount to 9,000 infantry, and that he has already effected his junction with the lansquenets. A message has come from him to the Pope, through the Marquis of Mantua (Frederigo Gonzaga), intimating that he (Bourbon) had been long waiting for a peace to be concluded between the Emperor and the Pope through the intermediate agency of the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy), but that perceiving that the latter is still at Naples, and that nothing has been done, he has now made up his mind to join the lansquenets, and march on Bologna, Florence, and even Rome, if need be. That he wants the Pope to deliver to him the cities of Modena, Lodi, and Cremona, and if the two last cannot be delivered at present, to give up instead Parma and Piacenza, as a security that the other two [Lodi and Cremona] shall be restored to the Emperor.

This message of Mons. de Bourbon has so irritated the Pope that he has not ceased since to complain of him, and utter all manner of angry expressions (*diablturas*) about him and the rest of the Imperial servants. Only the other day, when he heard that a servant of Mons. de Bourbon, by name "El Limosnier,"* had arrived from Naples, he sent immediately for him, and complained bitterly of his master's conduct.

The Imperial forces and those of the Colonnese are encamped with sufficient artillery at Ponte Corvo, Chiprano (Ciprano), and other villages close upon the frontiers of the Roman estates. It is added that Alarcon is soon to land at Terrachina (Terracina) with 6,000 Spanish infantry and 200 light horse, and that the artillery is coming by sea. On the other hand continual reinforcements are sent from Rome to the threatened frontiers, so that unless His Holiness make a satisfactory answer to our overtures, great events are likely to happen. The Viceroy is to leave Gaeta shortly, and join the Colonnese, who are in high glee owing to a promise he has made them, not to sign any agreement whatever with the Pope unless they are also included in it, have their honours and dignities restored, and proper compensation given for the losses they have sustained. All the princes and barons of Naples are coming down at the head of men-at-arms, infantry, and light horse, raised among their respective vassals, and those who can only bring a small retinue consider themselves ill-favoured by fortune.

* L'aumosnier? If so, a chaplain and almoner to the Duke.

1527.

Hears from the Viceroy that the negotiations with the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) have had a satisfactory issue, a piece of intelligence which has not been to the taste of the Pope's partisans.

Has kept the present letter open until he should hear the Pope's definitive answer to the Viceroy's proposals. Saw the general [of the Franciscans] yesterday evening, who said he was about to leave Rome for Gaeta with the Pope's answer to the Viceroy, which seemed to him good and just, since he consents to grant all or the greater part of the Viceroy's demands. The only difficulty was the money asked of him. The general left this morning for [Gaeta]. As soon as the Viceroy's reply is known, he (Perez) will not fail to apprise the Emperor. As he knows not what the articles proposed are, nor what the Pope's answer has been, except the general rumours at Rome and what the general himself has chosen to tell him, he cannot guess at the result; but this he can say, that most of the Emperor's servants here, who wish sincerely for his aggrandisement, are of opinion that no peace, however advantageous, can be of use under the present circumstances, when the opportunity is at hand for him to become supreme lord of the world, and impose the law on all.

The Viceroy left Gaeta on the 7th. It appears that he is rather angry at the monitory published by the Pope, and most determined to act with energy if occasion should so require. He thinks that God is so disposing matters here that there will be even more ample justification for such action than has hitherto existed, and that has not been inconsiderable.*

Renzo da Ceri has entered Rome this day in better health than he was, though without any of the materials of war formerly specified. It is not yet known what they intend doing with him. He is very discontented with France, as are also Alberto di Carpi and the Datary. All three complain bitterly of King Francis (*dizen diabluras del Rey*). Hears from a reliable source that the Pope has lately received 25,000 cr. from England. The inhabitants of Rome are fast making preparations for defence against all armed forces, whether from the Pope or the Emperor, that may attempt to enter their city. A list is now being made of all the men, arms, &c., and of the wheat in the houses of all foreigners (*en cada casa de todas naciones*), as they intend doing here as was done at Milan, namely, taking away the arms from the citizens, and removing the doors from the houses of suspected persons (*desconfidentes*), that they may be entered and searched in case of need, besides barricading some of the streets. The inquiry about the wheat has been made for the purpose of issuing to each citizen the quantity he may re-

* "Y parecele que Dios quiere que aqui se hagan las cosas por do haya mas color para hacer lo que hiziere, aunque en lo hecho ay harta."

1527.

quire for his family, at the rate of five and a half ducats per "ruso," which is a smaller measure than our load (*carga*) of Castile. The wheat belongs to the Pope, who purchased it some time ago at the price of one ducat and a half, and is retailing it to his subjects. Notwithstanding the above precautions, it is asserted that if the Viceroy appears before Rome the Pope will take to flight, most likely to Venice.

Bulls for the Archbishopric of Granada, &c.

The Pope yesterday sent a courier to Mons. de Bourbon, inquiring what amount of money was wanted for the pay of the lansquenets and for their return to Germany. The general of [the Franciscans] wrote to the Emperor by the same conveyance. In his (Perez') opinion this affair of the lansquenets must be carefully looked into, because, if paid and dismissed, there is the danger of their enlisting under our enemies. If it be true, as asserted, that the Venetians offered them some time ago, and whilst serving under the Emperor, no less than five months' pay if they would desert their banners, it cannot be expected that, once free from their engagements, they will refuse the brilliant offers made to them. In short, nobody can understand how this peace can be beneficial to His Imperial Majesty, for if by the articles of it the Emperor is obliged to disarm—now that he has a chance of becoming all-powerful in Italy—it is quite evident that the Italian powers will seize the opportunity to do all possible mischief. —Rome, 10th Jan. 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

P.S.—The general [of the Franciscans] did not leave Rome on the 9th inst., as announced in a paragraph of this letter. At this moment Perez has a message from him, saying that he had thought better of it, and decided to write to the Viceroy, which he has done, begging that the letter should be forwarded to Gaeta by express (*estafeta*). Should not be surprised to hear that the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg), who is now at Gaeta with the Viceroy, has written about the humour in which the latter comes, and that the general, hearing of it, has postponed his journey in consequence.

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ Cesareæ Catholicæ Mti."

Indorsed: "Perez. Rome. Duplicate of the 10th of January."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 19.

15 Jan.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 2.

4. The EMPEROR to the KING OF ENGLAND.

Has by Dr. Lee, his ambassador, received the King's letters of the 21st Oct. last, and heard his message, whereby he has clearly understood the great love and affection he bears him. Thanks him for his good-will, and assures him that he will

1527.

always find him true to his word, and ready to show, now more than ever, his desire for universal and lasting peace in the Christian world, so that both may employ their arms against the Turk, who not only has invaded and ravaged some of his own patrimonial estates, but is threatening the whole of Christendom. As to himself, he can only assure the King, his brother and uncle, that he intends to put his kingdoms and his own person at stake rather than tolerate such an evil, and that, even should peace not be made between the Christian Princes, he will devote himself to so holy an enterprise and discharge his duty towards God.

Has written on the subject to his ambassadors [in England], Don Iñigo de Mendoza, and to the Provost of Cassel (George Theimseke), who have received his instructions thereupon conjointly with Don Antonio de Mendoza, bearer of this present, and are to assure the King of his unalterable friendship. Bids that full credence be given to his said ambassadors. —[Somosierra], 15th Jan. 1527.*

French. Original corrected draft. p. 1.

15 Jan.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 2.

5. The EMPEROR to the CARDINAL OF YORK.

Monsieur le Cardinal, my good friend, &c. Has received his letter by Dr. Lee, and is glad to hear of his good health, as also of the good counsel and advice offered respecting his affairs, which he (the Cardinal) has so much at heart. Thanks him for his good wishes and intentions, and begs him to persevere therein. Is prepared to do the same in everything personally concerning the Cardinal, so that he may henceforward have reason to be satisfied.

Dr. Lee will tell him what decision the Emperor has just come to, consequent on his (the Cardinal's) advice, and what answer he has given respecting his own private affairs. On this point, indeed, nothing shall be omitted to give the Cardinal complete satisfaction; he will always find him a true friend. The rest he will hear verbally from Don Antonio de Mendoza, bearer of this present. —[Somosierra], 15th Jan. 1527.

French. Original corrected draft. p. 1.

16 Jan.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 100.
B M. Add. 28,576,
f. 69.

6. The DUKE OF FERRARA to his AMBASSADOR at ROME.

Miçer Matheo,—By a courier of his most Reverend the Papal Legate at Bologna We received on the 12th inst. your despatch dated the 8th, containing the substance of the message which the Magnifico Jacopo di Salviatis delivered to

* As on this day the Emperor was at Somosierra, on the north side of the Guadarrama chain of mountains, on his way to Valladolid, it is natural to suppose that the draft of this letter was dated from that place, where he stayed until the 18th. See *Itinerary* in Bradford's *Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V.*, p. 492.

1527.

you in His Holiness' name. As in that despatch you refer to a previous one, written, as you say, the day before, reciting a conversation with some of the Pope's ministers, which had elicited the Cardinal's answer forwarded on the 8th, We naturally wished to have the missing one before our eyes, in order to reply to both at once. However, as up to this day it has not made its appearance, we have determined not to delay our answer any longer.

Respecting the favours which Miçer Jacopo [Salviatis] tells you that His Holiness is disposed to grant us immediately, if we consent to side with him [in this present war] and share his fortunes, you will say that We feel grateful for his offers and thank him most cordially, but that matters being now settled between the Emperor and ourselves, and a marriage arranged between our eldest son Hercole and the Emperor's daughter [Margaret], we can in nowise accept his favours.

On the receipt of this letter you will go to the Palace, and after kissing the Pope's feet in our name, you will tell him how We are now situated, and how impossible it is for us to abandon the Emperor's cause. You will say the same to Jacopo Salviatis.—Ferrariæ, 16th Jan. 1527.

Spanish. Contemporary copy; most likely a translation from the Italian. pp. 2.

16 Jan.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 56, and
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 15.

7. PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR.

(*Cipher* :) Things are in such a state, that for want of money part of the men-at-arms and infantry remain at Milan for the present. The Germans are on the road to Piacenza; the Marquis del Guasto and Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon) are gone to join them; the former with a small infantry force, the latter with a division of cavalry, to scour the country and secure provisions. Over two months' pay is owing to the Germans; they have no shoes (*scarpe*), and have suffered in their march a good deal more than was anticipated. Their generals last night notified to Mons. de Bourbon that the men will not proceed on their march unless one month's pay is immediately issued to them, and that they threaten to return to Milan, which would be highly discreditable to the Imperial arms, and cause the failure of the present enterprise, as both Germans and Spaniards at Milan are almost in a state of mutiny. Mons. de Bourbon has not a *quatrino* to give them, the funds in the Imperial treasury as well as the resources of the Duchy being completely exhausted.

After a long council held last night, it was decided to answer the message of the Germans as follows: "His Excellency [the Duke of Bourbon] will try between this and the 15th inst. to distribute one florin per man by way of help, and give besides to each man one ducat without discounting it from their pay. His Excellency with the rest of his army will cross the river Pò and join them. When the bridge is

1527.

made, and the artillery has passed over it, the whole army will proceed on its march, when, either with the bills of exchange which are daily expected, or with the money raised on the conquered towns, he (the Duke) fully expects to be able to pay their arrears; to accomplish which he has written both to Genoa and to Milan. Should the Germans not be contented with the above terms, and insist upon returning to Milan, it is proposed to deliver to them Milan, Pavia, and the whole of the Duchy, that they may live at large on the country until they are paid. Meanwhile His Excellency with the Germans who remain in the Duchy, the Spanish infantry, and the men-at-arms, besides all the Italians, horse and foot, will march on Piacenza, Bologna, and Firenze."

The answer to the above message is expected to-morrow. Whether favourable or unfavourable, he (Caracciolo) sees many difficulties in the accomplishment of this plan. Unless God sends soon some unexpected bills of exchange [from Spain] the whole superstructure will fall to the ground. No advices have been received from the Viceroy, most likely owing to the insecurity of the roads. Letters from Rome of the 2nd inst. report him as advancing, and allude to the preparations which the Pope is also making to meet him. We have no news of the Duke of Ferrara. Since his secretary went away with the warrants and papers about Carpi, as well as his patent of Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial arms, we have not heard of him.

This letter, commenced at Milan on the 9th, is closed at Pavia on the 15th day of January 1527.

Signed: "Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Postscriptum.—This very evening the Prince of Orange returns from the camp under Giorgio Fruntsperg. He says that the men will be satisfied with a crown (*scuto*) per head and one pair of shoes, and will march on, a thing which nobody here anticipated. Nevertheless the Duke of Bourbon will have great difficulty in procuring the money by the appointed day. The Marquis del Guasto remains with the Germans as security for this promise, and the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon) is also returning thither to keep the Marquis company.—Pavia, the 16th of Jan., at nine o'clock of night.

Addressed: "To His Royal and Imperial Majesty."

Italian. Holograph in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

19 Jan.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 4.

8. DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA to the EMPEROR.

Left Arques after four months' detention in its castle, as he (Don Inigo) informed his Imperial Majesty [on the 21st of November]*. Hearing from the Imperial ambassador in

* See part I., No. 619.

1527.

France (Louis de Praet) that he (Mendoça) would find at Brussels letters and instructions respecting what he was to negotiate in England, and that perhaps, too, some one had been appointed there to accompany him on his embassy, he decided upon going thither, and having an interview with Madame [the governess of the Low Countries]. Spent five days in Brussels, during which time a packet of letters was put into his hands, said to have been brought there from London by an English gentleman, whom the Cardinal had despatched to Brussels.* The packet, which was open, contained, 1st, a copy of the Papal brief and the Emperor's answer to it; 2nd, another of a memorandum which the English ambassador at the Imperial Court [Dr. Lee] had drawn in his master's name, and the Emperor's reply to it; 3rd, copies of various other papers relating to France, and which during his (Mendoça's) detention at Arques were in the Cardinal's presence delivered to the Provost of Cassel (Theimseke), and opened by the latter, as the Cardinal observed that, Don Iñigo being absent, he (the Provost) had better examine their contents, in order to remove all cause of suspicion, and stop the slanderous reports of certain parties, which the Provost did, reading in the Cardinal's presence whatever was not in cipher. Among other papers read by the Provost of Cassel on this occasion was the Emperor's answer [to the English ambassador],† which was very opportune, as it tended to remove the bad impression produced by the false reports circulated both at Rome and in France respecting his [Don Iñigo's] mission.

With this open packet of letters and papers was a letter from the Emperor to him (Mendoça), of later date, ordering him to negotiate at once, and conclude, if possible, without waiting for further instructions, or consulting the Imperial Court thereupon, a defensive and offensive league with the King of England. To effect this Don Iñigo left Brussels five days after his arrival, and reached Calais, where he was detained a whole week by contrary winds. Even then the passage was so bad that the vessel remained two whole days and nights at sea, without being able to enter the harbour [of Dover], and he (Mendoça) was obliged to stay at Canterbury in consequence of a slight fever brought on by the fatigues of the journey and sea voyage. Could not reach London until after the Nativity (the 26th). Waited upon the Cardinal the day after his arrival, and told him how earnestly the Emperor wished for his prosperity and welfare, and how much indebted he was to him for his past services, and especially for what he

* John Broke? His arrival at Brussels on the 30th of November 1526 is mentioned in a letter of Sir John Wallop to Wolsey. See Brewer, vol. iv., part ii., p. 1180.

† See No. 623.

1527.

had lately done towards dissolving the Italian league. Explained to him the cause of his delay, without, however, touching on any particular business, and ended by assuring him that the Emperor was determined to maintain at any risk amicable relations with England.

The Cardinal said he was glad to hear the Emperor acknowledged his late services in the breaking up of the Italian league. He had been importuned by many parties who wished the King, his master, to join it against the Emperor, but he had always resisted such importunities, and behaved like one who, after his own master's prosperity and welfare, had no other wish than the Emperor's service, though he knew very well that envious people had calumniated him, and misrepresented his words and deeds. To which he (Mendoça) replied that had there been any misrepresentations—of which he was not aware—he could positively declare and affirm that the Emperor, far from listening to them, would continue in the same mind as he had always been towards him.

After this the Cardinal asked Don Iñigo with visible interest about his imprisonment in France, how it came about and how long he had been detained there, and the ambassador, after relating full particulars, took his leave and went away.

Cannot omit to mention that the Cardinal, before leaving the room, asked him (Mendoça) with great instance what his instructions were about the settlement of the Emperor's debt to the King of England, as (he said) he wished very much, and as soon as possible, to hear what his instructions were respecting that particular point. He (Mendoça) excused himself by saying that he could not do it then because some of the papers and instructions he had brought with him were either written in the Castilian language or in cipher, and that he required some time to have them translated into Latin, so that he (the ambassador) might read them in his presence; that if he would only appoint an early day and hour he would attend, and make him acquainted with the whole. The Cardinal seemed satisfied with this answer.

The day after the interview (27th Dec.) a messenger arrived in London, despatched by the English gentleman who (the Cardinal said) was coming from the Court of Spain, and had been detained by illness at Bordeaux.* He (the messenger had a packet of letters for the ambassador, which was duly forwarded to him. It was closed and sealed with the Imperial arms, and there were no traces of its having been opened. It contained a deed, written on vellum, conferring upon him (Mendoça) full powers to conclude a peace or truce, besides two letters from the Emperor to the King and Cardinal of England, two copies of the said letters, another one to the

* Osborne Etchingham or Ichingham, despatched by Dr. Edward Lee.

1527.

Provost of Cassel (George Theimseke*), and a fourth to Mr. de Ostrata (Count Hooghstraeten). As there was none for himself (Mendoça), and the packet, as stated, bore no signs of having been opened, he concludes that, owing to some oversight of the Imperial clerks, his own letter was omitted unless perhaps the said packet was opened in France, the letter extracted, and the Imperial seal replaced by a counterfeit—which last circumstance he (Mendoça) is rather inclined to believe, for although the powers are ample enough, the instructions are very limited. (*Cipher*.) Suspecting this to be a trick of Madame the Regent of France and of the Cardinal of York, who in these matters understand each other perfectly, he (Mendoça) waited to see whether he could find out what the Cardinal's real design was.

(*Common writing*.) The very day of the messenger's arrival the Cardinal hastened to Granuche (Greenwich), and there told the King and Queen in great glee that he considered the peace between the Christian Princes as concluded, since the English ambassador at the Imperial Court had written to say that he (Mendoça) must already have received the Emperor's full powers to that effect. Jean Lallemand, the Emperor's secretary, had also confirmed this intelligence in a private letter to the English ambassador (Dr. Lee), so that there was no doubt of the peace being speedily concluded. In consequence of which news he (Don Iñigo) was summoned to the Cardinal's, where, commencing by the articles of his instructions relating to the Emperor's vindication from the charges brought against him [in his Italian politics], he proceeded to explain many of the notes and replies between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France. He was interrupted by the Cardinal, who said, "All that is an old affair, and I am sufficiently acquainted with it through the Emperor's letter to you before you reached this country, which letter your colleague the Provost of Cassel (Theimseke), at my request, opened and read before me."† His (Mendoça's) answer was that the letter contained, besides, several paragraphs in cipher, which the Provost could not have communicated to him, since he had no deciphering key with him; that as the Emperor wished to make him arbiter and judge of his case, it was but just that he (the Cardinal) should listen to the ambassador's statement, upon which he (Mendoça) proceeded to recount one by one, to the great annoyance of the Cardinal, who gave evident signs of impatience, all the arguments brought forward in justification of the Emperor's conduct in Italy.

So anxious was the Cardinal to pass on to another topic, and bring the conversation to bear on the proposed peace, that he

* After the departure of Jean Jonglet in August 1526, the Provost remained in charge of the Imperial embassy. He was still in London in November when Boutton arrived.

† See King Henry's letter to Dr. Edward Lee, dated the 22nd of October 1526, part i., p. 968, No. 588.

1527.

would not allow any other subject to be discussed, and asked point blank if it was true that the last messenger had brought him (Mendoça) ample powers to treat in the Emperor's name. He had heard from the English ambassador at the Imperial Court (Dr. Lee), as well as from the Emperor's secretary (Jean Lallemand), that such powers had been forwarded; the ambassadors of the other contracting parties had received full powers, and when war raged with such violence, nothing could be so desirable as to put a stop to it. He (Mendoça) not knowing for certain whether the Emperor's missing letter to him had by mistake been left behind, or whether it had been intercepted, thinking that if he said he had not received it, or that it had been taken out of the packet, he should not be believed, took a middle course, and without further alluding to the said letter, which in reality he had not received, answered that "it was quite true that His Imperial Majesty had sent him such powers, and was determined to intrust to the King of England, in whom he had full confidence, the entire management of the said peace, persuaded as he was that he could not place his interests and honour in better hands. But, in order that the King [of England] might be better informed of what the Emperor's just demands were, it was necessary that he should look over and examine the Madrid Convention, and also that he should hear what the Emperor had to say in vindication of his conduct touching the estate of Milan, which were in his (the ambassador's) opinion the two principal foundations of the proposed peace."

The Cardinal's reply was that the question of the Duchy of Burgundy had already been settled, and that of Milan placed in the hands of the King, his master, for him to decide according to justice. The pressing need now was to put an end to the war, which would be done immediately by a good truce between the belligerent parties, so as to give them time to arrange the preliminaries of peace. That was the only way; he knew of no other. To this the ambassador objected that if truce were made without first settling the preliminaries of peace, there was danger of war breaking out again with greater fury than ever. He was, therefore, of opinion that some sort of negotiation was needed, and that certain conditions must be stipulated, before an armistice could be discussed; otherwise, should peace not be concluded, it would be as though some one afflicted with disease should reach a certain stage of convalescence only to fall back under a still more acute visitation of the same malady. Upon which the Cardinal, perceiving the tendency of the ambassador's argument, replied, "You are very much mistaken if you think that a truce at the present moment can be less advantageous to the Emperor than to his enemies. Were I to tell you what the real state of affairs in Italy is, you would find that a truce now would be highly beneficial to your master." "I presume,"

1527.

added the Cardinal, "indeed I know for certain, that the principal object of your embassy is to bring about an armistice between the belligerents, and that you would gladly work for its conclusion, only that you are making difficulties in order to enhance the value of such meritorious service to the Christian world." "I really think," replied the ambassador, "that for the good of Christendom at large, and for the effectual removal of all causes for future war, the preliminaries of peace should in this case be discussed before making a truce, lest hostilities should break out again with greater fury than before."

The Cardinal then, changing the conversation, asked the ambassador what his commission was respecting the Emperor's debts. His (Mendoça's) answer was that His Imperial Majesty was indeed very much obliged to the King for his loans on various occasions, and had since made great endeavours to repay him, but that owing to the enormous expense of the wars in which he had been engaged by land and sea, for the defence of his own kingdoms, he had been unable to remit the money by him (Mendoça), as he would otherwise have done. He now proposed two schemes for discharging his debts to the King, which were that those lately contracted should be paid out of the service money which the Spanish Cortes had just voted him. Though the grant was very considerable, the time for payment had not yet been fixed; but the Emperor would take care that it was at the shortest possible dates, so that the King, his brother and uncle, should be paid principal and interest at once. The Cardinal immediately replied that the King, his master, could not accept in a foreign kingdom the payment of sums borrowed in his own. The second scheme consisted in deducting the sum owing to King Henry from the ransom to be paid by the French. As by the letter which Botton (Boutton) brought when he came [from Flanders],* the Emperor's instructions were that his ambassador was to regulate his conduct in this part of the negotiation by the answer which should have been made to the [English] ambassador [in the Low Countries], Mendoça did not hesitate to propose this mode of payment, the former having been rejected. But the Cardinal observed, "That is again a sort of suit at law which has not yet been tried, and accordingly the offer cannot be accepted."

The ambassador replied that the Emperor, after a long search for a speedy mode of paying his debts, had only discovered these two means above specified, which, in his opinion, were the best and surest that could be found. For with regard to the service money voted by his kingdoms of Spain, though it was true that, for the greater convenience of his natural subjects, the Emperor had ordered that the payment should be made at certain long dates, yet the money was sure to come in at last. As to the Cardinal's objection that the King, his master, having paid in cash, here in

* Jean Boutton, sieur de Courtbaron, whose arrival in London on the 14th of November has already been recorded, part i., No. 616.

1527.

England, could not accept bills on a foreign kingdom, it was easily met by the ambassador proposing in the Emperor's name to collect the money in Spain and have it remitted to England. As to the other mode of payment, respecting which the Cardinal had said there was a suit pending, he (Mendoça) begged leave to observe that the matter to which he (the Cardinal) alluded was already decided upon and brought to a close, and that the Emperor had ample security in his hands for the payment of what the French King owed him. The Emperor, therefore, could not be considered as a bad debtor, when he offered the King two such pledges. If, however, the King disapproved of both modes of settlement, it was but just that, according to their mutual friendship and the practice of old times, the King of England should graciously give the Emperor time to discharge his debts.

Here, at this point, the Cardinal interrupted the ambassador with much laughter, saying that he knew he had brought a different commission [to England]. He was certain, for he had it from a very good source, that the greatest part of the money was already lying at Antwerp at the ambassador's disposal, for him to make the said payments with. After which he added, "Let this be as you please, and fix another day to discuss the principal points of your commission. I am not in such a hurry that I cannot wait a couple of days. I shall consult the King in the meanwhile, and ask his pleasure upon it."

Passing on to the second article of his instructions, the ambassador proceeded to remind the Cardinal of the old friendship and alliance existing between the Emperor's estates and the kingdom of England, and how the said friendship and alliance had often been confirmed and renewed by successive treaties; that whereas the only way of testing the amicable sentiments and professions of Princes towards each other was by means of deeds and instruments signed by each party, and as it would be very strange, and even monstrous, that two Princes so nearly akin, and so closely united by the ties of friendship, should not follow the said practice; as, moreover, it was notorious that the Emperor, in proposing the present alliance, looked rather to protect and defend his own patrimonial estates than to take offensive measures against his enemy, it was considered necessary that the express will and intentions of both Princes should be committed to a public instrument. For that purpose, and for no other, had the Emperor sent him (Mendoça) to England with full powers to treat with the King of England concerning whatever might be deemed necessary for the preservation and defence of their respective persons, kingdoms, and rights.

The Cardinal answered that he would report the ambassador's conversation to the King, but could not help wondering how a person of his (Mendoça's) quality and parts could have accepted a commission so devoid of practical measures,

1527.

consisting in fact of mere words. To which the ambassador replied, that in his opinion the cementing the old friendship and alliance between the two kingdoms [of Spain and England] was no indifferent or trifling commission; much less was it so to offer two such different modes of payment. What else could be done to please the King he (Mendoça) did not know; but if the Cardinal would only mention what his wishes were, he would take the first opportunity to write home and consult the Emperor about it.

This answer did not at all satisfy the Cardinal, who again insisted on the necessity of a truce, and entreated the ambassador to consent to it, saying, "I cannot imagine how you can act otherwise, unless you choose to work the ruin of Christendom, for certainly the Emperor has ordered you to see to the conclusion of this peace, as the English ambassador's letter to me and the testimony of Jean Lallemand sufficiently prove." The ambassador's answer was so shaped as to bring on himself all the responsibility of his refusing to act without referring home, rather than let the Cardinal imagine that His Imperial Majesty had written anything contrary to his former instructions.

At last, seeing that he could not persuade the ambassador to do as he wished, the Cardinal took his leave, saying, "You had better re-consider the matter, for surely you cannot wish to kindle a new and fiercer fire, when it is in your power to extinguish the present one." To which the ambassador replied, "Neither the Emperor nor his servants had ever other wish than to conclude a lasting peace, even against his own interests and rights;" after which he (Mendoça) returned to his quarters.

The day after [28th Dec.] the Cardinal sent again for the ambassador, as (he said) he wished to speak to him and talk over certain matters before he presented him to the King. He then began to press the matter of the truce more vigorously than ever, tempting the ambassador in all manner of ways, sometimes in very flattering words, putting forward the advantages likely to accrue to Christendom, at other times exhibiting memoranda and notes tending to show that the affairs of the Italian League were not in so bad a plight [for the confederates] as the ambassador perhaps imagined; until at last, perceiving that he could not make an impression or convert him (Mendoça) to his opinion, he added, "I apprehend your meaning; you wish to declare your mission in the King's presence. You may, if you like, but I warn you that it is the same thing to speak to me as to the King on such matters, for I represent him." To which he (Mendoça) replied, "I know it well, and I know also the great credit which your Reverence enjoys with the King. You will judge whether my answer to the King differs from that which I have already given you. Had I considered myself sufficiently empowered to take a decision on so important a matter without consulting with

1527.

my court, your Reverence may be sure that on our very first conference I should have done so ; but let the conditions of the peace be previously discussed, and if they are such as may be expected from the King of England, and equally conducive to the public weal and private advantage of His Imperial Majesty, I will immediately despatch a messenger in all haste to bring back an answer on the whole."

The Cardinal again objected to this proposal on account of the delay that was likely to ensue, and persisted in his idea that he (Mendoza) was keeping back something which he intended to communicate to the King himself. In short, he ended by promising that the King would grant the ambassador audience two days after.

(*Cipher* :) The Cardinal then began to discourse on matters unconnected with politics, upon which the ambassador, thinking this was the fit time to speak to him about his own personal and private affairs, began to tell him how His Majesty had heard of the Duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza) having promised him [the Cardinal] a certain pension upon his treasury ; how the Emperor, who was desirous of the Cardinal's personal credit and advantage, had made up his mind, not only to keep the promise made by the Duke, but to increase it. Should the Duke be found innocent of the charges brought against him, the Emperor would take care that he satisfied the Cardinal (*que fuesse contento del dicho Duque*). Should he be found guilty, and should the Duke of Bourbon obtain the investiture of the Duchy in consequence, as a sort of indemnity for the marriage alliance promised to him [and which had not taken place], in that case, and the Cardinal consenting to favour and assist him as he had done the Duke Francesco, he (the Emperor) would not only keep the said promise of pension, but would increase it with greater securities for the payment. Also, that the Cardinal consenting to keep and foster, as he had done at other times, the friendship and union between him and the King of England, His Imperial Majesty would immediately order all arrears of pensions to be paid to him, and take care that they should be paid in future regularly and without delay ; in addition to which pensions held by the Cardinal in the kingdoms of Spain, the Emperor offered him another annual pension of 6,000 ducats to be consigned on the best [ecclesiastical] revenues in Spain. All of which was a proof of the Emperor's good-will towards the Cardinal, and of the trust he placed in him, hoping that he would, as hitherto, work for the maintenance of the union and friendship between England and Spain.

To the above overtures of the ambassador the Cardinal replied rather dryly, in general terms, enumerating the many services he had from time to time rendered the Emperor, but carefully avoiding to say whether he accepted the offers made and the conditions established. On the contrary, he shifted the conversation and passed to another topic, from which he

1527.

(Mendoça) concluded that the answer he is to have from the King in a couple of days would be unsatisfactory, as it has in reality been.

Two days after this, on the 30th, the ambassador went to Granuche (Greenwich) to kiss the King's hand, accompanied by the Prior of St. John's.* Met the King as he was going out of the royal chamber to hear mass in the chapel; made his reverence and explained the many engagements and pressing business which had prevented the Emperor from sending his ambassador before, &c. He (Mendoça) had been the person chosen for the embassy. His mission was to communicate certain matters touching their mutual interests, both public and private, which matters, with His Highness' permission, had already been imparted to the most Reverend Legate, who had no doubt summarily informed the King thereof. The King's answer, after a few complimentary words, was to thank the Emperor for his attention, and say that he would speak to the ambassador after dinner. So it was, for scarcely had he (Mendoça) ended his meal, which at the Legate's invitation he took with him in his own apartments, when the King entered the room, and taking the Cardinal apart, retired with him into a neighbouring closet. The ambassador in the meantime went to present his respects to the Queen, and whilst there the Bishop of London (Cuthbert Tunstal) came in and said that the King wished to see him in the Legate's apartments.

On the ambassador's arrival the Legate retired, and the King, leading Mendoça to a window, began at once to solicit the ambassador's consent to the proposed armistice, magnifying the danger in which Christendom was placed, and saying how very convenient and advantageous a truce would be for the Emperor. He was sure that, although his answer to the Cardinal had been anything but satisfactory, he (Mendoça) had another awaiting his (the King's) hearing. The ambassador's reply was that he was well aware when he spoke about the truce that the Cardinal was the sole interpreter of the King's sentiments. Had he thought that the armistice in contemplation was likely to bring about a solid and lasting peace, he would have spared His Highness the trouble of mentioning the subject to him, and he would at once have given his consent to the Legate. Unfortunately he held quite the contrary opinion; for if the truce did not put a stop to the war, it was not to be expected that a durable peace could ensue.†

* "El Prior de San Juan," probably Don Antonio de Mendoza. In a letter of Marco Antonio Venier, the Venetian ambassador in England, abstracted by Rawdon Brown (vol. iv., p. 14), he is called Don *Juan* Antonio de Mendoza, "chancellor of the Signor Giacomo," from which I conclude that he was Chancellor of the Order of St. James or Santiago.

† "Pero viendo que la propuesta concordia no quitava la guerra no me parecia que hera causa de perpetuar la paz."

1527.

To which the King answered rather warmly (*con algun enojo*), "If the Imperial ambassador is not to make use of his powers, what is the good of his coming to England? and to what purpose did the Emperor say to the English ambassador in Spain that he (Mendoça) had charge of the whole affair?" Upon which the ambassador replied that the Emperor had in reality given him such a charge, but only to be used discretionally. His belief was that to ensure peace it was necessary that before the cessation of hostilities some of the preliminary conditions should be discussed and settled. He (the ambassador) had already proposed two expedients in the Emperor's name. His Highness, as his brother and ally, might suggest others, which could be referred to His Imperial Majesty, and the whole affair satisfactorily arranged.

The King's answer was the same as had been that of the Legate on a previous occasion. He said that the Emperor was far from treating him as he deserved. It was a well-known fact that not only had he (the Emperor) lately desisted from his pretensions on the Duchy of Burgundy, and consented to receive two millions of gold, as compensation money—from which 500,000 ducats were to be deducted, as dowry of the Queen, his sister—but the Milan business had been placed entirely in the hands of arbitrators, such as the Viceroy of Naples (Lannoy), the general of the Franciscans (Quiñones), and Peñalosa. It was equally well known that the Emperor had for some time been negotiating a separate peace both with the French and with the Pope, and therefore he (the King) thought it very unfair that whilst he was referred on these points to the Imperial ambassador residing at his court, he should be kept in complete ignorance of the conditions proposed. The Emperor had nothing but words for him; deeds he kept for others (*á el no le escryvia sino palabras, á los otros obras*).

To the above remonstrances the ambassador replied that in reality he was not aware of the Emperor having abated from his former demands (*primera querella*), and that in his opinion it was a far greater proof of his trust in the King to leave to his choice the conditions of the peace than to send the same already drawn up in a memorandum for his approval; confident as he was that the King, his brother and ally, would never propose things detrimental to his (the Emperor's) authority or reputation.

The King smarted under this allusion (*començo d'escocerse*) and said, "The Emperor is no longer my friend, since he has forsaken my alliance, confirmed by so many ties. Several conditions has he stipulated, which have not been fulfilled, such as the invasion of France and others," &c.

Considering that any observation on the part of those who, as himself, have come to solicit friendship might be misplaced, the ambassador would willingly have declined answering the

1527.

King's recriminations on this point. Finding, however, that His Highness himself had introduced the subject, he (Mendoça) would not allow the opportunity to pass, and proceeded to say that His Imperial Majesty, far from forsaking his friendship and alliance, as he supposed, was steadier than ever in them. With regard to the stipulated marriage, His Highness knew very well that, notwithstanding the disparity of age between himself and the Princess, notwithstanding the wish of his subjects, who were continually urging him to marry—there being no natural heir to his kingdoms—he had sent to request through Peñalosa that His Highness would be pleased to shorten the period of the delivery, but his request had been denied.

At this point the Cardinal, overhearing the conversation, came near and said, "How could the King deliver the Princess, his daughter, to the Emperor, when he had no security that the Emperor would marry her after all?" To which the ambassador replied, "If the Emperor could not be trusted in such matters, he certainly could not be expected to trust in the King's promise, the Princess remaining in England."

Proceeding with his answer to the King's objections, the ambassador observed that with regard to the projected invasion of France, causes had arisen to prevent the fulfilment of that clause of the treaty, and that it was no fault of the Emperor if the war on that side of the French frontier had not been prosecuted with vigour. He (the ambassador) was not sufficiently acquainted with the clauses of the treaty [of Windsor] relating thereto, and yet he maintained that whatever forces the Emperor had engaged to put in the field had been faithfully sent to their destination in due time. If any person living could prove to him (Mendoça) by the articles of the said treaty, that he (the Emperor) was in the wrong, he would, with His Highness' permission, show that neither had the engagements on the part of England been fulfilled, since the English part of the invasion of France had not been accomplished. To this the King replied rather in a passion (*encendido en colera*) that for his own part he had never omitted doing anything he was bound to do; he would answer for himself and maintain his assertion against whomsoever contradicted him.*

In order to calm the King, the ambassador observed in the mildest possible terms that his words did not imply that the King had broken his word, only that seeing the Emperor delay for some time the execution of his promises—owing to the troubles and wars by which he was surrounded—he (the King) had naturally desisted from the undertaking, not indeed that he wanted the will or the materials to carry on war, but because he found it impossible to commence it.

* "Y que él responderia por sy y lo defenderia a qualquiera que fuesse."

1527.

The King replied, "You had better not refer to those matters; it is an old business to which it is not prudent to allude just now." Upon which the ambassador said in his own defence that he had not been the first to mention the subject, but could not do less than defend his liege lord when attacked in his presence, and show that he had never forsaken the King's friendship and alliance.

Suddenly changing the conversation, and coming to the Emperor's personal debt, the ambassador then proceeded to explain the two modes of payment previously proposed to the Cardinal, which the King also rejected, one after the other, in precisely the same words as his Reverence had done at a previous interview.

When the question of friendship and defensive alliance between him and His Imperial Majesty and their respective dominions came to be discussed, the King said dryly that, as far as their persons were concerned, he considered himself the Emperor's friend, as stipulated in the treaties; that respecting the dominions (*tierras y señoríos*) of each, which he (Mendoça) had alleged in his address (*proposicion*) had always been in times of old closely allied, there was much to be said, as the present times were totally different from those alluded to in that written document. Formerly the house of Burgundy only possessed Flanders, and now the Emperor had many lands and kingdoms spread all over the surface of the earth. He (the King) had not increased his father's inheritance; he had only one kingdom, small in size, it was true, but so surrounded by sea that he needed no help from any one.

The ambassador's answer was thus conceived: "The more lands His Imperial Majesty has, the greater his ability is to defend them from invasion, and, therefore, Your Highness cannot object to treat on a par with one who owns so many kingdoms, as he not only has the power to defend his own, but to defend also those of his friends and allies." "I am pretty sure," replied the King, "that mine will never require such assistance." "In making this overture in the Emperor's name, I do not mean to say," was the ambassador's reply, "that His Highness lacks the means to defend himself from his enemies, but I maintain that, with the Emperor's authority and power, and by Your Highness following in the steps of his predecessors, that object may be better accomplished."

"There is no need," retorted the King, "to treat further of this matter, for the Legate knows my mind well, and will answer explicitly on each separate point." After which he began again to attack the ambassador (*darle una gran mano*) concerning the proposed truce, which he (Mendoça) parried by insisting that he could not make up his mind to decide on so mighty a question without first consulting the Emperor, His Highness then observing that he could not understand such obstinate refusal in the matter of the truce, unless it was

1527.

by the Emperor's express command. The ambassador again pledged his most solemn word that he had not received any such mandate—as is really the case. The Emperor might be angry at his not complying at once with His Highness' wishes, but the case was, in his opinion, of such mighty importance that he preferred incurring His Imperial Majesty's displeasure rather than give his unconditional consent to the truce, as proposed.

Seeing him so determined, the King added that he could at the present moment do much for the Emperor's cause, whereas after a time he might be so placed as not to be able to serve him. If an armistice—which was the foundation of a future peace—was concluded now, he (the King) could take such part in the conditions that the Emperor would lose nothing by his interference. The ambassador's answer was thus conceived: "I know so little about the real state of affairs in Italy, that I should be thought very inconsiderate were I to presume to decide on matters of war and peace; besides which it might also happen that Your Highness was misinformed respecting that country, as news generally comes [to England] through a French channel. Your Highness, however, must not mind that (*no reciba pena*), for very soon we shall receive such information from Italy as to clear up any doubt there may be as to the real state of affairs in that country. I purpose being the first to announce such news as well as the Emperor's pleasure, when I have no doubt Your Highness will work successfully for the establishment of a general peace." "You must be aware (replied the King) that the state of affairs in Italy is the very reverse of what you are now telling me, for you must have received news from that country some days ago; and no doubt that is why you speak in such terms and reject the proposals for a truce. But you must not be mistaken thereupon; I am better acquainted than you are with the real state of affairs in those parts, my information being derived not from the French, as you imagine, but from my own ambassadors and servants there. I know through them that the army and followers of the Emperor are not so successful and prosperous as you seem to think. But since you are determined not to consent to this truce, any more discussion on the point is useless." Saying which, and apparently much disgusted with the ambassador's arguments, the King gave him leave to retire (*dio licencia*) and went away. The Cardinal, however, passed that night [at Greenwich] to prepare the answer in writing to Mendôça's address, and appointed the hour of two in the afternoon to have it read to him, and to the Provost of Cassel [Theimseke], who was present at almost all the conferences, except when the King or the Cardinal wished Mendôça to be alone, and found some excuse to receive them separately. That very night the King held a council to discuss what answer should be returned to the Imperial ambassador, and next day the

1527.

Cardinal, in his own apartments, and in the presence of the Bishop of London (Cuthbert Tunstal) and of Master More of his Council, began to recount to us (Mendoza and the Provost) the great pains and trouble which His Highness had taken to procure a general peace, the whole of Christendom being, as it were, at the mercy of the Infidels as long as the present state of things lasted. To prevent which, and to extinguish the flames that threatened to consume the Christian Republic, the King, his master, had roused himself as the title of "Defender of the Faith" prescribed him to do. The King had often written to His Imperial Majesty on the subject, and now by the last post had received a letter from his ambassador in Spain (Dr. Edward Lee), informing him—as appeared from a memorandum drawn up by the Emperor's secretary (Jean Lallemand)—that the whole affair had been referred to Don Iñigo de Mendoza for decision, so that without any further reply or consultation thereupon, the truce might be settled and peace concluded. Perceiving that the only way of obtaining that desirable object was to stop the effusion of blood between Christians, Don Iñigo had often been requested by the King and by himself (the Cardinal) to consent to the said truce, which the ambassadors of the confederated powers were willing to grant. This Don Iñigo had obstinately refused to do, no doubt because he had instructions from the Emperor, his master, to act thus, whence it became clear that His Imperial Majesty wrote one thing and commanded another. That was not in his (the Cardinal's) opinion the right way of dealing with the King, his master, especially when it was notorious that the Emperor had considerably abated his demands respecting Burgundy, and consented to receive a certain sum of money in its stead. That when the King, perceiving Don Iñigo's obstinate refusal to grant the truce before its conditions were fairly settled, asked him his opinion on the matter, and what those conditions ought to be, the ambassador had brought forward the old questions about the duchies of Burgundy and of Milan, knowing very well that the former was already settled between the parties, and that the latter had been referred for arbitration. All this looked like a device to gain time rather than an honest attempt to promote general peace; therefore the Cardinal maintained (*protestava*) that the Emperor had not behaved towards the King, his master, as from his constant good-will and benevolent acts (*voluntad, obras y benivolencia*) he had reason to expect. Respecting the payment of the Emperor's debts, Don Iñigo had proposed means and ways very different from those which the King expected. Those who lent money were not generally satisfied with fine promises and readiness to pay; they wanted deeds, not words, on the part of their debtors. He could not conceive how the Imperial ambassador could allege his master's want of funds, for certainly war could not be carried on without money, and the Emperor had numerous

1527.

armies to pay. The King wanted his money back; if not repaid in specie and in the same manner as that in which he lent it he should consider himself deeply aggrieved.

With regard to the defensive alliance the Cardinal said that it was a very responsible task for the King to take upon himself the defence of the vast and widely-spread dominions of the Emperor. The present times were very different from the past, and yet, if the Emperor found the means of responding to the good-will and affection which the King, his master, had always borne him—not with vain words as those conveyed by Don Iñigo, but with good deeds—the old alliance between the two countries might still be maintained and strengthened. He (the Cardinal) could not guess what had brought Don Iñigo to England, for if he would not use the powers he had to conclude the truce, if on all other points he could only answer with fine words, it was quite plain that his commission could not benefit the public cause or give satisfaction to the King, his master, and therefore the Imperial ambassador might return to Spain whenever he pleased.

Thus ended the Cardinal's speech, to which he (Don Iñigo) replied as follows: "The Emperor fully acknowledged the good sentiments of the King, and his desire to procure the peace of the Christian world. He believed that the King entertained a similar opinion of him, as appeared from letters and answers on that subject. Such being the case, he had sent him (Don Iñigo) to England, to ask the King, his friend and ally in whom he trusted, to point out the best means of bringing about a lasting peace. These means the King refused to name, upon which he (Don Iñigo), not knowing how matters stood in Italy, and considering the affair one of grave importance, could not make up his mind to decide upon it without consulting his court. If fault there was, it was entirely his, since he did not act upon the Emperor's instructions, and it might also happen that his pertinacious refusal would displease the Emperor. With regard to his coming [to England] the ambassador observed that he had not come originally with this new commission which had lately sprung up, and therefore could not be prepared to solve all the difficulties arising out of it. That being the case, the ambassador thought it very unjust that he should be called upon to decide without consulting his court. His Highness the King might turn over in his memory whether English ambassadors in Spain or elsewhere, even with full powers and express commission, were in the habit of giving their own consent, even in cases of less importance, without first consulting their court. With regard to the Emperor's debt, and the non-acceptance by the King of the two modes of payment proposed, he (Don Iñigo) could only say that His Imperial Majesty, in making the offer, considered them both as sure and certain as if the money had been remitted in bills of exchange. Indeed, had

1527.

the Emperor had the money by him, the two foregoing terms of payment would not have been offered, since it was quite the same for his master to keep those means in store for other and greater emergencies, as to pay ready money. And as to the Cardinal's asseveration that the Emperor had sufficient money for his wars, that would be well and good were he the promoter of them, for then it could be said with justice that he had better pay his debts than engage in war with Christians. But in a war like the present, carried on for his own defence, the Emperor could not be expected to deprive himself of his actual means for prosecuting it with vigour, and His Majesty having, as he has, so many good vassals ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for him, had called upon them to grant him such a subsidy as would enable him to resist the attacks of those wishing to disturb the peace of Christendom.

"With regard to the friendship and renewal of the alliance he (Don Iñigo) had nothing to add to what he had already said to the King. He would inform the Emperor of the King's sentiments towards him, and had no doubt that His Majesty would be extremely hurt at hearing that his good-will and affectionate regard for the King, his brother, were not valued at their due."

(*Cipher* :) That His Majesty may judge how very touchy (*delicados*) these people are, the ambassador will mention a fact that occurred during the conference, by which it will appear that they are looking out for opportunities [for a rupture]. When at the end of his oration the ambassador pronounced the words "*Cæsarem ægrè laturum suam voluntatem atque benevolentiam erga Serenissimum Regem non ita acceptam uti demeritus est,*" the Cardinal in a passion interrupted him by saying "*ægrè laturum? videlicet interminamini,*" upon which the ambassador, to appease him, had to explain his words, "*dico ægrè laturum quod dolebit,*" and the conference ended. Some time after the Cardinal took the ambassador aside and requested him to write home and inform the Emperor of the good-will and friendly feeling of his brother of England, and how desirous he was of promoting a peace, for which he would willingly work with all his might. The Emperor might trust him entirely, for respecting Milan he was sure to arrange matters in such a way that the Duchy should remain in the hands of a person appointed by the Emperor. (*Common writing* :) "If you wish (added the Cardinal) to send your despatch by a land route, you may write by this post, for it has been agreed between France and England that all couriers coming to or from this court are to pass unmolested." The ambassador replied, "I do not trust in Frenchmen, but with your Reverence's permission will send by this next courier a short note addressed to the English ambassador [in Spain], begging him to inform the Emperor of the King's sentiments towards him, and how

1527.

much (*cipher*) he feels the present negotiations for peace being conducted otherwise than by his intermediate agency." (*Common writing* :) Many other unpleasant things were said at the conference which Don Iñigo passes over in silence, as they have no close relation to the affairs under discussion.

(*Cipher* :) The above is the substance of Don Iñigo's conferences with the King and Cardinal. His impression is that the latter has been trying to take him unawares. One of two things: either he knew from the English ambassador in Spain what was the nature of Mendoça's despatches, or he had them opened and deciphered before they were delivered. This last conjecture seems most probable, for it has since been ascertained that, through the English gentleman (Osborn Etchingham) who was the bearer falling ill at Bordeaux, the despatches were entrusted to a French courier, who brought them to London. However this may be, there can be no doubt that His Reverence has tried all he could to make the ambassador consent to the truce without consulting his court. The greater the attacks, the stouter was the resistance, as well as Mendoça's conviction that the Emperor's despatches to him had been opened and read, and therefore the Cardinal, the better to establish his innocence in this particular, maintained his position. He has since owned to him (Mendoça) and to others that owing to Etchingham's illness the packet of letters had really been brought to London by a French courier. Whence it would appear as if the Cardinal was already preparing his means of defence in case the whole affair should hereafter become public, and the opening and deciphering of the Emperor's letter to Mendoça be proved. He (Mendoça) may be mistaken in what he says, but his opinion is that the duty of an ambassador consists in keeping his own court well acquainted, not only with the facts under his notice, but also with the suspicions he may have formed.

His Majesty will observe by the above that in the discussion of these points his ambassador has taken great care to leave a way open for the adoption of one of these two expedients: either that the Emperor should have the whole matter cleared up, or else approve and confirm the ambassador's answer. In the latter case the way is open for the ambassador to say that as the packet of letters came by an English gentleman he (Don Iñigo) could never imagine that his letters had been deciphered and read, and therefore he attributed the omission either to an involuntary error on the part of the clerks, or to the substitution of one letter for another—a mistake of common occurrence—the more so that when the packet was delivered into the ambassador's hands it bore the Imperial seal without fracture, that being the reason why he (Mendoça) had refrained from accusing anyone until he should be acquainted with the truth, &c.

1527.

Really believes that the ill humour and anger shown by King and Cardinal on this occasion has no other cause (*cipher*) than his not having brought any money with him, and their guessing by the intercepted letters that His Majesty had actually restricted his powers in such a way that peace could no longer be made on conditions agreeable to the English. Perhaps also they have, through the deciphering of the Emperor's letters, got scent of other matters to which neither the King nor the Cardinal has made the least allusion in their conversations, no doubt to conceal as much as they could the fact of his correspondence having been violated.

Has heard from a reliable source that the subject under discussion in the last Council of State was whether war should be declared against Flanders; there was much talking and difference of opinion thereupon, and no decision taken. Cannot say whether his information is correct, or whether the report has been circulated as a sort of threat, that they (the King and Cardinal) may the sooner obtain their object. Rather inclines to the latter conjecture, as he sees no signs of preparations for war. The people in general are fond (*es aficionada*) of His Imperial Majesty, except those who receive pensions from France; few, however, dare communicate their sentiments to the ambassador. It would not be amiss, on such occasions as these, to have some letters of credit in store; since our adversaries are wonderfully prodigal of such means [of corruption]. Has been told that this last week the King of England sent 30,000 cr. to the Pope, and it is a well-known fact that he (the King) is the principal supporter of the Italian League, helping it as much as he can with his money and his advice. Were the position of Italian affairs different, it is quite certain that the King would not hesitate to put his hand into the fire (*la metiera en el fuego*). Heard him say the other day that he was so worried and molested by Frenchmen offering him all manner of terms and conditions, that he did not know which way to turn, and was now expecting a numerous embassy (*gruessa embaxada*) which could not fail to give rise to important business, thereby implying that the Emperor ought to decide at once, and give his ambassadors full powers to sign the truce. Is positively certain that if he (Don Iñigo) had not been detained in France, but had arrived safe with his instructions and despatches, such as they were then, the King would at once have accepted them. Now he refuses, because he waits for letters in confirmation of the proposals made at the time. All this shifting might after all be only a species of admonition and threat, the better to obtain the object he (the King) aims at; but, nevertheless, it would be dangerous, even under that supposition, to delay any longer the settlement of the debt. The Cardinal told Mendoça the other day, "You must know that when the Emperor departed hence, I stood security for certain sums borrowed by him

1527.

from the King, my master, and for which he left a number of jewels in pawn. These I have since redeemed out of my own pocket, and I am a great sufferer by the Emperor's insolvency."

In the matter of the truce the ambassador has been guided by two principles which he holds to be the foundation of the whole affair. One is (*cipher*) that His Majesty did not actually order him (Mendoza) to make truce unconditionally, because had such been the Emperor's wish, it is quite clear that the mandate would have been contained in the letter, and the letter would have reached the ambassador's hands. The other is that the Cardinal must have heard of the interception of the letter and its contents, and therefore must be aware that the Imperial mandate never came into his hands. It might also be that some part of the instructions transpired [in Spain], and, the information reaching London, it was decided that in case of the letter not containing full powers to make peace, or at least to grant a truce, the English gentleman (Osborne Etchingham) who was bringing the packet home should feign an illness and stop at Bordeaux, in order that, should the truth be found out, the Frenchman who took charge of it should bear the whole blame.* The packet, as above stated, when brought to Don Iñigo was marked with the Imperial seal, and therefore a false one must have been prepared to commit the fraud. These are the principal reasons why, until the Imperial pleasure is known, the ambassador dared not come to a resolution in so important an affair, as nothing but the expedient of delay which had been adopted could effectually serve the Emperor's interests.

With regard to the intercourse of trade, nothing was said either by the Cardinal or the ambassador during the conference. By the latter because Madame of the Low Countries had expressly forbidden him to allude to it; by the Cardinal because they have not yet sufficiently studied the subject in this country. These are matters which require a good deal of consideration and thought, and can only be settled by previous agreements (*asientos*) between countries, which agreements have not yet been made. Until the matter of the friendship and defensive alliance be fairly settled, the subject of commercial intercourse cannot well be discussed. The Provost of Cassel (Theimseke), who was the person appointed to help in this part of the negotiations, has been recalled by Madame, and is actually returning to Flanders. (*Common writing* :) Should have wished him to remain in London a few days

* That the English ambassador in Spain, Dr. Edward Lee, was not aware of the interception and reading of the Emperor's letter to Don Iñigo, appears evident from the fact of his writing from Medina del Campo, on the 20th of January, "I am much abashed to hear that the Bishop of Worcester (Ghinucci) can give no news of Ichingham. He has been told that an Englishman was stopped, and was not allowed to pass unless he promised to go by the Court of France." See Brewer, vol. iv., part ii., p. 1254.

1527.

longer, because in times like these the Provost's company may be useful (*la compañía no es mala*), and if by chance the Cardinal or any of the Privy Council should bring the subject under discussion, he (Don Iñigo) will scarcely know what to say about it, as he is not well versed in commercial matters. Besides, his health since he came to England is so indifferent that he is often prevented from attending to business as he should wish.

Madame of the Low Countries sent the casket (*bujeta*) closed, that being the reason why this present letter does not go inside. The ambassador ought to have a key of his own, to open the casket with, and enclose his despatches for greater security. The same might be done in Flanders with the letters coming from Spain.

The vessel (*zabra*) should have left the port on the day that Don Iñigo received the King's answer to the Imperial message, but the passport and other papers were purposely delayed until to-day (the 19th), when the vessel leaves. He believes the cause of the delay to be the Cardinal's wish to gain a week's time to acquaint the other powers with his answer.

The various packets (*envoltorios*) of letters going by this courier are addressed to Francisco Ricaldo (Recalde), of Bilbao, who has charge of the post there.

Has been told that the King of England (*cipher*), perceiving the desperate situation of King Francis, and the need he has of his help and assistance, is determined to ask him for Boulogne [sur Mer]. If France consents to give up that fortress, King Henry will join the Italian League, and do anything else that may be required of him. They expect that Mons. de St. Pol—who, they say, is coming very shortly accompanied by another great personage—will bring some resolution on that point. All agree, however, that on the arrival of the French ambassadors some secret treaty will be made between the two Kings. Indeed it is generally believed that the negotiations are very far advanced, and that the King of England would already have declared himself had not the pending treaty and commercial intercourse with the Low Countries prevented him.

(*Common writing*.) Could not help being prolix, owing to the variety and importance of subjects contained in this letter. Will be more brief in future, but under the present circumstances, being in duty bound to give all possible information about England and its present politics, he (Don Iñigo) has thought that it was far preferable to be over diffuse than too concise (*pecar por carta de mas que por carta de menos*).—London, 19th Jan. 1527.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

After closing this letter he (Don Iñigo) has been told (*cipher*) that an Englishman named Maestre Rossel (Sir John Russell), whom this King sent some time ago to Italy,

1527.

took with him letters of credit to certain bankers, for the purpose of helping the Papal troops with money. The grant, however, is limited in the following manner. Should he perceive that the Imperial army is prosperous, and likely to have the best of it in the fight, he is to give no money at all. If, on the contrary, he sees that the Pope's party is strong enough to defend itself, in that case he is to help discretionally with such moneys as he has in hand.

Asks for orders and instructions respecting the answer to be given in case the King and Cardinal again hinted at his retiring. When at the last conference he was told in plain terms *that he might go if he chose*, Don Iñigo saw very well that he (the Cardinal) was only looking out for an opportunity to push matters still further. He took no notice whatever of the intimation, persuaded as he is that in times like these a good deal of forbearance is necessary.

Should also like to hear how he is to conduct himself in his political relations with the Emperor's aunt (Lady Margaret), and whether he (Don Iñigo) is to let her know everything that may be negotiated in London; also whether the ambassador may venture on any decisive step in these and other affairs, without first consulting his court, as the pressure of time and the Emperor's prolonged residence in Spain would seem to recommend.

Addressed: "Sacra Catholica Majestad del Emperador y Rey de España, nuestro Señor-Dése en manos del Secretario Maestre Juan aleman."

Indorsed: "From Don Iñigo de Mendoça. London, 19th January."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering between the lines and on the margins. pp. 20.

26 Jan.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 95.

9. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

Wrote last on the 10th. Encloses the duplicate. On the 11th the general [of the Franciscans] took his departure. He arrived at the Viceroy's quarters, near Chiprano (Ciprano), on the 15th, but no news has since been received respecting their interview, except that the moment he (the general) arrived the Viceroy sent for Don Ugo and the Archbishop (of Capua), who were still at Gaeta. On the 18th the Viceroy had advanced further, and was within the lands of the Church, at a place called Barico (Benço?), 45 miles from Rome. There the Imperialists were met by the Papal troops, who, it is said, took from them two banners and slew or took prisoners 200 Spaniards; among the former Captain Peralta. The banners have certainly been brought on to Rome, and paraded in triumph through the city, but until the news comes from another quarter no credit is to be attached to it; the more so, that he (Perez) hears that the Imperialists took from the enemy five banners on the occasion.

There is a talk of the Pope creating new cardinals, as he says he wants money for the war. If it be true, as asserted,

1527.

that he is selling wheat to the Romans at an enormous profit, he cannot be in much want, for the sums he collects every month are quite sufficient to defray the expenses of his army.

Renzo de Cherri [da Ceri] has gone to review the Pope's army. He has not yet returned, but writes encouraging him to defend his estates, and promising that in two months time, at the latest, the succour from France will arrive. The other day four pieces of heavy artillery were sent out of Rome; some say to the Papal Legate, who asked urgently for them, to defend himself [against the Imperialists]; others say that they are destined for the siege of Rocca di Papa, 12 miles hence. That fortress is still in the hands of Ascanio Colonna, who with a well-appointed garrison is continually making forays and attacking the enemy's convoys. Only the other day the garrison made a sally, and surprised one composed of 150 beasts of burden laden with ammunition and provisions of all sorts for his army, and the Pope, to whom most of the beasts (*azemilas*) belonged, was obliged to redeem them, without their load of course, at the rate of 10 ducats per head.

Whereabouts the Pope's camp is definitively to be formed is not yet known. Part of his own troops are now at Valmontone, but it is presumed that they will remove to a place called Capo di Boy, not far from San Sebastiano and two miles from Rome.

Cesaro Ferramosca has landed at Gaeta with 700 or 800 Spaniards who arrived too late to be embarked in the fleet. (*Cipher* :) People here are glad of his coming, and fancy they will obtain better terms from him than from the Viceroy alone. They are even thinking of sowing discord among them, so that one may become jealous of the other. Should he (Perez) happen to meet Ferramosca, he will not fail to place him on his guard against such intrigues.

(*Common writing* :) No news of the lansquenets, except that Mons. de Bourbon has effected his junction with them, and that the rest of the Imperial army remains in the keeping of Milan. Fears are here entertained that Mons. de Bourbon with his forces will march on Florence, and that is the reason why a captain of the Pope, named Signor Bitello (Vitello), has been sent thither with 500 horse, and that infantry is also being raised in the Marches and at Spoleto.

The Pope's army, according to his own statement, is said to muster 12,000 infantry and 3,000 horse, besides 500 men-at-arms, but in reality its force is only from 8,000 to 9,000 foot and 1,600 horse, out of which number 500 were the other day detached to Florence. The men-at-arms also are in much smaller numbers than stated.

A chamberlain of the King of France, by name Monsieur Delanges,* who left Rome with despatches from the Pope to

* The same individual called elsewhere *Delages*, with the omission of the orthographical sign intended for the *n*, his real name being De Langeay.

1527.

his master, has returned from Pomblin (Piombino) without proceeding on his journey. The cause is unknown. Another messenger, who was to have gone to Mons. de Bourbon at Milan, has also been detained for want of a safe-conduct. Upon the messenger's application he was allowed to despatch a man on condition that he would take no other letters than his, and that if he did, they should be previously opened and read. Of the courier whom His Holiness sent the other day to Mons. de Bourbon, to inquire how much money was wanted for the pay of the lansquenets, no news has been received.

(*Cipher* :) Has been told of certain people here who have secret dealings with the kingdom of Naples. The report might not be true, but, lest it should be so, he (Perez) has considered it necessary to inform the Viceroy thereof. Has heard also that the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) had taken leave of the Pope and of Venice, but had promised nevertheless not to undertake anything against the League. The Duke's ambassador here is continually going to the Palace, and in fact is always seen in the company of the Pope's warmest adherents, which is not much to his credit, and exposes him to suspicion. Has told him of it, and of the rumours that are afloat about him. His excuse is that he does it in order to gain time, and live at Rome with more liberty. Has given him his word of honour that he has never listened, nor will listen, to any overtures against the Emperor's interests; such are the instructions he has received from the Duke, his master.

(*Common writing* :) The deputy cardinals have not yet agreed as to the answer to be made to the letters presented by him (Perez) or the Emperor's summons. Much difference of opinion prevails among them as to whether His Imperial Majesty has a right to ask for a council of the Church. Has been told by some of the cardinals that the Emperor's letter to His Holiness was conceived in rather harsh (*aspera*) words, and that he might have expressed his wish in terms more decorous and mild (*moderadas y onestas*).

The ambassador* of the Vayvod has not yet obtained a public audience from the Pope.

The other day an order came down from the Palace summoning all the Spanish prelates and civilians (*cortesanos*) residing here at Rome to attend to the election of the four deputy cardinals, to whom the business of the war has been intrusted by the Pope. They went thither, and were asked to give security to the amount of 500,000 cr. that the Spaniards (*la nacion de España*) would not take up arms against the Pope, and in case of Rome being attacked would shut themselves up in their houses, and not allow their servants and retainers to go out. Their answer was that without first holding a meeting of all the members of that nation they could not promise

* Giovanni Statilio.



1527.

anything. The meeting was held on the 20th inst., and attended by three Roman citizens on behalf of His Holiness, when after much talking and discussion it was resolved : That if in the event of Rome being attacked, the Spaniards engaged to stay at home, to shut their doors, and prevent their servants and retainers from going out, except for the defence of their own homes and those of their neighbours, whether the Pope's vassals or those of any other nation, on such promise being made no security would be demanded. They might also be exempted from all district musters, which have already begun, the citizens attending them in great numbers, and making a pretty good show of military array, though if the Imperialists were to attack with vigour, no great resistance would be offered. In order the more to excite the people against the Viceroy, all manner of absurd rumours are sedulously propagated, as, for instance, that he tells his soldiers that they are to expect no other pay [from the Emperor] than the sack of Rome and Florence, which are to be deliberately given up to them. Has lost no time in acquainting the Viceroy with this and similar rumours about his person, that he may write a letter to the Senate and to the Romans exculpating himself from that and other similar charges.

Renzo de Cherri (da Ceri) came back yesterday, the 21st, and immediately after the deputy cardinals held a meeting, whereat that captain addressed the Pope on the business of the war. Cannot say what has been resolved, but orders have been issued for fresh levies to be made to the amount of 10,000 men, for which purpose they have sent captains and commissaries with money. Eight or ten cardinals' hats are to be given with a view to replenish the Papal treasury.

Cesaro Ferramosca is daily expected here. Rooms have been prepared for him at the Archbishop of Capua's, close to the Papal palace. Great hopes are entertained that he will be a messenger of peace, though if the news circulated to-day be correct, there is no great appearance of it. It is said that the Viceroy is actually attacking a fortified place called Freselon (Frosinone), in the territory of the Church, where the company of Juan de Medicis is at present. Were the Viceroy to take it the Romans would be sadly disheartened, for besides that the town is strong and important, they have implicit confidence in that condottiero's band. Other advices from the camp state that the Viceroy does not intend to stop at Frosinone, and is already marching on, after leaving 3,000 foot and 300 horse before the place to cut off the supplies to the garrison.

Hears that Renzo da Ceri in his visit of inspection found the Pope's army very much reduced in numbers. Instead of 12,000 men, whom the Pope actually pays, there were only

* Probably the *bande nere* once commanded by that celebrated condottiero whose death at Borgoforte has already been recorded.

1527.

8,000. The company vacant by the death of Juan de Medicis was given to Renzo's son, at which both father and son are singularly pleased.

Since the 21st of this present month, when the truce [with Don Ugo] ended, the Datary has constantly refused granting passports to any couriers going to the Viceroy's camp. Must try, however, all means in his power to keep him well acquainted with the state of things at Rome.

Cesaro Imperatore and the Sicilian outlaws (*foraxidos*) are hastening to go and disturb Sicily. They would have gone thither already had the money which they expected from France arrived. He (Perez) thinks that the French fleet, which must already be at Savona, will come to Civittà Vecchia for them, and land them on the coast of the island, where they are supposed to have many partisans. Has duly informed the Viceroy of the enemy's plans.

The Signory of Venice have sent an ambassador to Florence. His mission is to inspire courage to the Florentines, and advise them not to come to terms with the Emperor. The ambassador's name is Marco Foscari, the same who was here last year, and was most instrumental in bringing about the "Clementine League." He is to tell the Florentines not to fear Bourbon or his lansquenets, as they will receive immediate help both from Venice and France. But if Bourbon goes there, all the efforts of the Venetian ambassador will be unavailing, for he (Perez) knows for certain that long before the lansquenets reach Florence a deputation is to go out to meet them with offers of money and conditions of peace, and that is exactly what the Pope dreads.

It is generally believed that the Venetians, with a view to secure the French King's alliance, are again treating with him respecting Milan. The ambassador* of the Duke Francesco Sforza, who used to attend the conferences, is no longer summoned, whence it is natural to conclude that something is intended detrimental to his master. Some say that the plan is for the Venetians to have the duchy of Milan, and give the French King in return 200,000 ducats every year; others that the Pope is to keep the kingdom of Naples, and give Francis 100,000 ducats.

On the 23rd a consistory was held, when admonitory letters were read condemning all the barons and nobility of Naples for taking up arms [against His Holiness]. It has not yet been published, no doubt because they expect Ferramosca to come with offers of peace; but if their expectations fail, there can be no doubt that they will have recourse to that and other expedients. At the consistory a dispute arose as to whether the Neapolitan barons were more bound in fealty to the Emperor or to His Holiness. There were some cardinals who decided for the former, but notwithstanding the letters were read in consistory.

* Giovanni Francesco Taverna.

1527.

Two cardinals, Ursino and Cesarino, have been appointed for the internal government of Rome.

Encloses copy of a letter* which the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) has written to his ambassador, that His Majesty may judge of his good purposes and intentions towards the Imperial service.

This morning Renzo da Ceri, the Count of Anguilara, and other captains, with upwards of 2,000 men, went out to the assistance of the Pope's camp. They must be afraid of Freselon being taken, for they say that it is reduced to extremity. However this may be, certain it is that they have given the soldiers on departing more money than usual.

The news about the lansquenets and Bourbon is that they have crossed the Pò, and are marching on Bologna.

The chamberlain of the King of France, who, as above stated, left Rome for France with a message, but returned a few days after without accomplishing his mission, has now positively gone back to his own country, taking with him two galleys. He is said to have gone to France for the purpose of acquainting his master with the present state of affairs in Italy.

Cesaro Ferramosca, the general [of the Franciscans] and the Archbishop of Capua arrived yesterday afternoon. The two former alighted at the palace gate, and, taking off their riding boots (*estibales*), went up immediately to the Pope's apartments. The general [of the Franciscans] went to the convent of Araceli, where he formerly had his quarters, but that same evening he came to Belvedere, saying that the very moment he had communicated with His Holiness he would let him (Perez) know, and send a letter to the Emperor.

The two Dataries, old and young (*el viejo y el moço*), Oracio Ballon (Baglione), and others on horseback went out [of Rome] to receive Ferramosca and his companions. Hopes are entertained here that peace has by this time been settled; many wish for it, but a certain paragraph in the Viceroy's letter makes us rather doubtful of it. It stands thus: "The general of the Franciscans and Cesaro Ferramosca are the bearers of the ultimatum for an agreement between the Pope and the Emperor, so that there may be no more consultations, that His Imperial Majesty may be justified, and I myself not be blamed before God or the world, in case His Holiness should not wish for peace (*si Su Santidad no quisiere justificarse*). Meanwhile I am approaching. Please God to direct that which is best for his service and the weal of Christendom.

"The Archbishop of Capua also goes with them, because if the matter is to be concluded, it is well that he should be present; if the contrary, he is better there than here, for on our side nothing has been left undone."

The admonitory letters against the Neapolitan barons have been published and circulated, and are now being sold in the

* Probably that under No. 5, dated the 16th January.

1527.

streets, which is no good sign of the Pope's agreeing to the conditions of the peace. Cesaro Ferramosca is exceedingly angry at the issuing of this admonition ; so much so that he has been included in it. The former one was principally directed against the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) and is said to be very intemperate (*me dizen es muy desonesto*).—Rome, 26th Jan. 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacrmæ. Cesæ. Catcæ. Mti."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 5.

26 Jan. 10. M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 85.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 59.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

Since his letter of the 21st, he (Sanchez) has heard from Secretary Perez in date of the 18th ; advices have also been received from Rome of two days later.

(*Cipher* :) The information forwarded by the secretary amounts to this, namely, that on the 15th the Viceroy was at Chiprano (Ciprano), 35 miles from this place ; the Imperial army always advancing. On the night of that very day the general of the Franciscans (Quiñones) was expected at the Viceroy's camp with the Pope's answer ; but the general impression was that war, not peace, would be the result. Six pieces of heavy artillery and ammunition had been removed from St. Angelo and sent out of Rome. The frequent meetings and conferences which the Papal Nuncio (Bishop of Pola) and the French ambassador (Bishop of Bayeux) hold together with the Signory, whenever a courier arrives from Rome, are sufficient proof that the Pope does not proceed with good faith in his negotiations with the Viceroy, for if he did, why should he have to consult these people so often by means of his Nuncio, or why should the Venetians send an ambassador to Florence, as they have done of late ? Indeed there is a rumour afloat that war has already broken out between the Pope and the Viceroy, and that the troops of the latter had fallen into an ambush prepared by the enemy, and had been routed with great loss.

The Papal Nuncio (Bishop of Pola) says he has letters from France announcing that the marriage of the King with Princess Mary of England is already settled. Immediately after the English King is to declare war against the Emperor, and invade his dominions in Flanders, besides contributing with his quota towards the expenses of the war in Italy. The news, however, must be false, since the Signory and the resident French ambassador (Bishop of Bayeux) profess total ignorance about it. The latter, however, declares that negotiations are very brisk just now, and that the King,

1527.

his master, has sent Moreta* and another man to England for that purpose, and that if the marriage is arranged, King Henry will certainly join the League. The French ambassador states also that His Imperial Majesty has now despatched an ambassador (Don Iñigo de Mendoza) to England to treat about a general peace, &c.; and that an English gentleman, now coming from Spain, brings letters from the Emperor to Mons. de Bourbon and to the Viceroy, commanding them not to attempt anything against the territory of the Church.

The King of France is moreover reported to have sent 50,000 cr. to Provence for the fitting out of his fleet, and it is a well-known fact that this Signory is also about to send an ambassador to Turkey, the same person who was to have gone long ago. They now send him with a fine present in jewels and silks to court his friendship, and, if the reports which are in circulation be true, to persuade him also to make an attack on the castle of Apulia (Puglia) or Sicily.

(Common writing :) Advices from Vienna state that the King of Hungary and Bohemia (Ferdinand) had left that city [for Prague], there to be crowned as King of Bohemia. Begs to remind the Emperor of his (Sanchez's) destitution and poverty, the Signory having forbidden a banker of that place to pay the 6,500 which he (Sanchez) lent out of his own scanty means to the Marquis of Pescara, long before the present war began.

Whilst writing this, a letter has come from Secretary Perez, in date of the 21st inst., informing him (Sanchez) that on the 18th Cesaro Ferramosca landed at Gaeta with 900 Spanish infantry, and immediately after took post to meet the Viceroy, who was at Benço, in the lands of the Church (together with Don Ugo, the general [of the Franciscans], and the Archbishop of Capua), ready to advance with his forces.

Hears that the Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) is dissatisfied both with the Pope and with the Signory. Having asked the former to restore to him a castle, called Sanleo, which the Duke possessed in the Florentine territory, and to erase those words of a clause [in the treaty] which say "without detriment to the third" (*sin perjuicio de tercero*), the Pope answered his application in general terms, at which the Duke was by no means pleased. It would appear that the Duke had besides a certain suit pending at Rome, respecting the estate of Sinigaglia (*cierta causa de sindigarlla*), and though not expecting much favour from the Pope, was highly incensed at his answer. Has also been told, although he does not vouch for it, that the Duke is of opinion that the forces under his command should not cross the Pò, showing the many dangers to which that military operation would expose the lands of the Signory and his own personal estates, and that

* Charles du Bellay Sieur de Morette, treasurer of France.

1527.

the Signory, following his advice, have issued orders to that effect. To this may be added that Malatesta Ballon (Baglione) and other captains of this Signory have made certain complaints about the Duke, so that they are by no means agreed between themselves.

Hears also that the Signory has sent orders for the proveditor of the fleet, a son of his, and another officer, to be arrested and brought to Venice in irons. Some say that they are accused of not having done their duty in the last engagement with the Viceroy [on sight of Genoa], when they might, had they chosen, have sunk the whole of the Imperial galleys; others make them guilty of peculation. However this may be, the Signory have just appointed another proveditor, Agostin de Guisa (Pisa?) by name.

This Nuncio* says that the King of England is sending the Pope 25,000 cr., and that great reliance is placed on his help. —Venice, 26th Jan. 1527.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "Ces. et Cath. Maiestati."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

27 Jan.

11. PROTHONOTARY CARACCILO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 104.
B. M. Add. 28,675,
f. 70.

Wrote last on the 6th and 15th inst. (*Cipher* :) On the latter day funds were with great difficulty procured to give the Germans one crown (*escudo*) per head according to promise. (*Common writing* :) Yesterday morning (the 26th) the Duke left Pavia in very fine weather. At the same hour Antonio de Leyva with the rest of the Spanish infantry issued from Milan, and both generals met in the evening close to the bridge on the Pò, whence they are to march together. He (Caracciolo) remained behind, being just now troubled with lumbago (*dolor de fianchi*), but as soon as he gets well (*cipher*) will join the Imperial army, unless the generals change their plan of campaign which seems to be for the present to attack Piacenza, on the taking of which and the Viceroy's march on Rome the success of this enterprise chiefly depends. No time is to be lost, for large sums are owing to the Germans, Spaniards, and to the rest of the army.

Letters from the Viceroy have been received up to the 4th inst. Needs not refer to their contents, as he knows they have already been communicated to the Emperor. Our last dates from Rome are of the 15th. The Viceroy had left Gaeta, after sending on the greater part of his forces towards Rome. (*Cipher* :) Count Lodrone, with his Germans and a

* Averoldi, Bishop of Pola.

1527.

large body of Italian infantry, besides artillery, had gone towards Asti and Savona, to oblige the enemy to raise the siege of Genoa. Upon which the confederates are said to have abandoned the districts of Castelnovo, Tortona, and others which they had occupied for the purpose of stopping the supplies to that city.—Pavia, 27th Jan. 1527.

Signed: "Prothonotary Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacr. Ce. Mti."

Italian. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet.

28 Jan.

12. The MARQUIS DEL GUASTO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 116.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 75 b.

Thanks the Emperor for his kind inquiries after his health. Is still troubled with and almost disabled by fever, but will do all he can for His Majesty's service.

His asking for leave (*licencia*) for Joan Baptista [Castaldo] to go to Spain was merely on account of the services he (Castaldo) might render there, and that he might not importune His Imperial Majesty with the Marquis' affairs here.

His negotiations with the Germans to persuade them to go on, and how they ended. Each man is to receive one crown (*escudo*). Castaldo will verbally inform His Imperial Majesty of the state of affairs at Rome, and of the progress of the negotiations [between the Pope and the Viceroy].—28th Jan. 1527.

Signed: "El Marques del Guasto."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "Relacion de las Cartas del Marques del Guasto."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

13. The SAME to JUAN BAPTISTA CASTALDO Y GUTIERREZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 117.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 75 b.

Antonio de Leyva, who was to remain in guard of the Duchy whilst we march on, refuses to accept the command of the Imperial forces, unless the men are paid their arrears. Owing to this it will be impossible for the army to proceed beyond Piacenza, as the Venetians on one hand, and want of money on the other, will very much impede our movements, besides which the estate of Milan might be in danger. As long as this army is in want, the soldiers' pleasure must be done, without regard either to duty or discipline.

Genoa is hard pressed, but a division is about to be detached to Haste (Asti), where the enemy has part of his forces, stopping the supplies, &c.

The Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon) has joined the Imperial camp, and Bourbon has given him the command of the light cavalry.

1527.

The King of France has gone to Lyons, and talks much of his assisting the League with men and money.

Captain Sancho Lopez goes to Spain, as representative of the whole army, to ask for arrears of pay, &c.

Much animosity prevails between Spaniards and Germans, which the generals are trying to remove.

Has given up Carpi to the Duke of Ferrara as agreed, in consequence of which the Duke has sent them 12,000 cr. and some artillery. That is all he has done for the present.

Names the officers who are to remain in keeping of the fortified towns and castles in the Duchy.—28th Jan. 1527.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

30 Jan.

14. The EMPEROR to the CARDINAL.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 227, No. 6.

Has duly received his letters through the Bishop of Worcester (Ghinucci), from which, as well as from the verbal messages conveyed by the said Bishop and Dr. Lee, the Emperor perceives well his constant devotion to the cause of universal peace, as likewise the good-will and love he bears him. Thanks him cordially, begging him to continue in like mind; assures him that he has good reason to do so, he (the Emperor) reposing entire confidence in him, as he may have seen by the despatch lately transmitted by sea to his ambassador, Don Iñigo de Mendoça, from whom he may now obtain even more ample assurances. Begs him to treat that ambassador with the same confidence as himself. Assures him that he will to the utmost of his power, and as fully as he (the Cardinal) can desire, promote his personal welfare, prosperity, and greatness, and for the love he (the Emperor) bears him, will deal openly and frankly with the Bishop of Worcester, as he (the Bishop) may already have written to him, or will be able to state even more emphatically on his return. Prays God to have him in his holy keeping.—Written at Valladolid, the 30th of January 1527.

French. Original minute. p. 1.

30 Jan.

15. The EMPEROR to BRIAN TUKE.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 227, No. 7.

My dear and very good friend,—We have long been and are continually being advised by many friends and loyal servants [in England] of your good-will and care for the maintenance of the ancient alliances between the houses of England and Burgundy, for which we sincerely thank you and yours (*vous et les vôtres*), being fully minded to recognize your services. For by this good and holy work God and Christianity may be well served, and the common weal of all good subjects assured. We trust, therefore, that you will continue thus disposed. All further particulars will be communicated to you by our ambassador, Don Iñigo de Mendo a

1527.

whom you may trust as ourselves.—Given at Valladolid, the 30th of January 1527.

Addressed: "To our very dear and good friend, Master Brian Tuke, Councillor and First Secretary to our good brother and uncle, the King of England."

French. Minute. p. 1.

1 Feb.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 8.

16. The EMPEROR to DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA, Imperial Ambassador in England.

Was glad to hear by the King of England's courier* of his arrival in that country. He will doubtless have received all his despatches; the two last were sent, one by Chateau, a servant of Beaurain, and the other by a courier of his brother, the King of Hungary and Bohemia. Is anxious for news from England, and wishes especially to know whether the powers and instructions contained in the aforesaid despatches have been taken in good part by the King and Cardinal.

Has already informed him that Paolo de Rezo (Paolo da Reggio) had brought to Spain powers from the Pope, the King of France, and the Venetians for negotiating and concluding a general peace. Since his arrival the King of France also has sent a secretary of his named Bayart,† with powers and instructions to negotiate a private and separate peace between his master and himself. Being, as he is, most earnestly desirous of the welfare and repose of Christendom, and that at the earliest possible moment, he (the Emperor) instructed his Council [of State] to examine the said powers sent by the King of France and by the Venetians, and to discuss fully all the impediments that might lie in the way of the said peace, both general and private; also to concert measures for the removal of such impediments, so that it might at once become manifest to every one that the Emperor in no way withdraws from or opposes the said peace.

The Council found the powers for negotiating the general peace satisfactory enough, save in certain articles of the French instrument, wherein it is stated that the powers and consent of the King of England, as well as of all the members of the League already named, are essentially required for the negotiation, seeming thereby to imply that the King of England has joined the League against him (the Emperor). Remembering what an absolute denial the King and Legate have both given to this assertion, the Emperor could not believe it, and so declared to the ambassadors, who offered to send immediately for fresh instructions and powers to satisfy him in every respect. The Pope's Nuncio in par-

* Cr. Mores, who arrived in Spain on the 22nd of January. See the ambassador's letter of the 31st in Brewer, vol. iv., part ii., p. 1260.

† Gilbert Bayart, or L'Eslu Bayart, as called by others.

1527.

ticular, speaking in the name of all his colleagues, enlarged upon the extreme desire of His Holiness for a general peace, and how he sought, as the common shepherd of the Christian flock, to bring this desire into effect. Three conditions, however, added the Nuncio, were indispensable for the conclusion of the peace; namely,

1st. That Italy should be left in peace, the Emperor consenting to withdraw his armies thence and restoring the Duke Francesco Sforza to his estate.

2nd. That the sons of the King of France should be given up to their father.

3rd. That the Emperor should repay to the King of England all that was owing to him.

To the above three conditions, as demanded by the confederates, it is the Emperor's intention to answer as follows:—

1st. He desires the peace and repose of Italy more than anyone else. He is quite ready to promote such peace and repose in every reasonable and suitable manner, withdrawing his armies thence, and seeing full and speedy justice done to the Duke Francesco, so that everyone may be convinced that he (the Emperor) would not permit either insult or injustice to be shown him (the Duke).

2nd. The conditions under which the sons of the King of France have been placed in his power as security are too well known to require further commentary. These conditions once fulfilled, he (the Emperor) will gladly restore the King's sons to their father. Can it, however, be proved that any of the terms of the treaty of Madrid have become impossible of fulfilment, he (the Emperor) is quite ready, for the glory of God and the welfare of Christendom, to act with all reasonable forbearance concerning them.

3rd. As regards the payment to the King of England of what is due to him, there exists between the King and himself (the Emperor) so perfect, true, and indissoluble a friendship, so strong a mutual attachment, and so ancient an alliance, that they can quite well arrange this or any other matter in common without the intervention of other powers. He believes this difficulty to have been principally started by the members of the League to gain for their cause the weight and influence of the King of England's name without his approval and consent. King Henry knows quite well that he (the Emperor) has never refused to acknowledge his debt, however considerable, and as a good Christian Prince and Defender of the Faith he cannot fail to labour most earnestly for the accomplishment of this general peace rather than throw impediments in the way of it.

The ambassadors of the League have also been informed that the Emperor would rather give up a portion of his patrimonial estates than be the cause of any delay in the conclusion of this peace, which is so needful, both for the

1527.

welfare of Christendom at large and the repulsion of the Turk.

This is, in substance, what passed on the subject of the general peace. As to the private peace with France, Secretary Bayart brought with him separate powers, besides those he had for the general one. In virtue of the latter, both the French ambassador* now residing here, and the said Secretary [Bayart] proceeded to state their master's desire for the Emperor's friendship and alliance, and exhibited their powers to treat for the same. But as the powers of those ambassadors are limited to the articles contained in the instructions which they themselves presented in writing, and a copy of which is enclosed, no definite and conclusive answer could be made to their proposals: The Emperor, however, has caused each separate article to be answered in a full and sufficient manner, showing in mild but conclusive terms how unjust, how unreasonable, and how dishonest are the offers made in the said articles; how little conducive to the preservation of the friendship and alliance which their King affects to desire, and how different from any that have been previously made. As far as he is concerned, the Emperor would use every exertion for the accomplishment of a private peace with France, provided the terms were acceptable.

This is what passed in the discussion of the French ambassador's private proposals; the negotiations with the Bishop of Worcester (Ghinucci) bore a different aspect. The auditor of the Apostolic chamber arrived here by post, the King of France having sent him word from Paris that the best route for him to take was that of Lyons to Narbonne, and thence through Perpignan to Valladolid. He and Dr. Lee, the King's resident ambassador, have presented letters, some from the King in his own hand, and others from the Legate, copies of which are enclosed, wherein a good deal is said about the King's and the Legate's great desire for a general peace, and their common efforts to promote the same. The Emperor is requested and entreated, as the best means of furthering this object, to consent to a truce. Has assured them in reply of his great desire, in the common interest of Christendom, for peace, both general and private, with all his adversaries whatsoever, that they may all combine to repel the Turks and defend the Holy Catholic Faith. He rejoices greatly to see how the King of England, acting up to his title of True Defender of the Faith, labours for the accomplishment of this peace. Has, therefore, sent full powers and instructions to his ambassador (Mendoça) to concert with the King and Legate, and decide with all speed upon such measures as may

* Mr. Jean de Calvimont, president of Bordeaux.

† Arrived at Medina del Campo on the 15th. The Emperor was then at Tordesillas. He went to Valladolid and gave audience to the ambassadors on the 24th.

1527.

seem most likely to establish peace, both general and private. Has also, for the sake of inspiring greater confidence, communicated to the English ambassadors [in Spain] all that passed with the ambassadors of the League on the subject of peace, and the Pope's offer and evident desire to arrange the peace himself. Has assured them (the English ambassadors) that he should rejoice in whatever measure would most speedily secure the desired object, the need for immediate action against the Turks being, as the King of England has most truly said, so urgent. He doubts not that the King, as a good Christian Prince, will welcome a speedy and favourable result to the negotiations, however or wherever accomplished. Reminded the ambassadors that he (the Emperor) has throughout shown great confidence in the King and Cardinal, and that nothing would give him so great a satisfaction as to see the said peace, both general and private, settled by the King and Cardinal, as stated in the powers sent to his ambassador (Mendoza). With regard to the truce now proposed by the King and Cardinal, were it agreed upon for three or four years or even a longer period, so that all Christendom might immediately unite against the Turks, he (the Emperor) should rejoice in it; otherwise he thought it would be wiser to conclude peace at once, and not waste time over a truce which would simply afford opportunity for the rekindling of still more bitter wars and disputes among Christians themselves.

This is what has been passing here. The English ambassadors are just sending their courier* by land. Has had copies of the French articles and of the treaty of Madrid sent to them, that they may see in what way his (the Emperor's) interests may be best served. Intends to send this packet of letters by the English courier now starting, for greater security of transit. He (Mendoza) is to give the King, Queen, and Legate the enclosed letters, and to inform the King and Legate in detail of all that is contained in the despatches. He is to assure them of the entire confidence which he (the Emperor) places in them, and that esteeming them as such good and true friends, he wishes them to be thoroughly acquainted with all his dealings. He is, moreover, to ask for the King's and the Cardinal's advice as to his proceedings in the important negotiations above mentioned, and send their answer by special courier by sea. Should the King and Cardinal wish to negotiate the said peace or truce, as well as the measures to be taken against the Turks, with him in England, he (Mendoza) is to reply in exact conformity with the instructions brought to him by Chateau, in the new cipher, dated December 3rd, and to say to the King and Cardinal that he is expressly instructed to advise with them

* Mores.

1527.

on such points as are not contained in the instructions, . . . *

and to follow their advice wherever it is not in opposition to the letter of the same.

Thus far touching peace, the redressing of the ills of Christendom, and the satisfying of the King and Legate. Remains to notice what may tend to the renewal and preservation of his friendship and alliance with the King [of England]. He (Mendoza) must try all he can to discover what intrigues are on foot between England and France. The Emperor is informed on good authority that such intrigues are much on the increase; he (Mendoza) must affect entire ignorance of any such dealings, and always assume his (the Emperor's) implicit confidence in the English. He must try somehow, and agreeably with the first instructions sent him from hence, and which he burnt (of which duplicates are now enclosed), to enter speedily upon the said renewal of friendship and alliance, for which purpose good and ample powers are herewith sent him.

A fresh mandate is also enclosed, in virtue of which he may, without any further appeal to the Emperor, as was required by his first instructions, come to the speediest possible settlement with England. He is, however, to represent this new mandate as having formed part of his original instructions.

The following notes are for the ambassador's guidance in the said settlement. In articles three, four, and five of the said instructions, which treat of the renewal of friendship, he (Mendoza) is to agree to all that is needful for the mutual defence of the King's and Emperor's dominions, and the welfare, repose, and quiet of their respective vassals and subjects, the said articles preserving the reciprocal character of former alliances. In article seven, which treats of the indemnity, he is to follow his instructions implicitly. Should the question arise of the failure of the King of France to pay the indemnity, as settled by the treaty of Madrid, he may say that he (the Emperor) will in such case hold his original obligation to pay the indemnity himself as still in full force, and he must then try and obtain the most advantageous terms possible for the payment of the same. He is to say also that no steps will be taken for restoring the sons of France until the indemnity has been paid in full. In articles eight, nine, and ten, which treat of the Emperor's debts, old and new, he is to pledge the Emperor's word to their settlement, trying at the same time to obtain the longest possible dates for such settlement. He must consult with Madame Marguerite on this point, as well as on the subject of commercial intercourse with Flanders, treated of in article eleven of the instructions. The Emperor will write this week to Madame by sea, and instruct her to send him an able lawyer with whom he may consult on these last-named points, as well as on the alliance between England and

* A blank in the manuscript.

1527.

Spain. A blank space has been purposely left in the said powers for the insertion of such lawyer's name.

As experience must now have shown him that the success or failure of the above negotiations depends entirely on the Legate, it is very important, and almost necessary, that he (the Legate) should be convinced that substantial good is to be found in his (the Emperor's) service. He is, therefore, as instructed in his (the Emperor's) letters of September 8, to offer to the Legate, in addition to his pension on the estate of Milan, a further pension of 6,000 ducats, and to say to him that the Emperor, trusting that he (the Legate) will preserve the true friendship and good understanding existing between the King of England and himself (the Emperor), and in every way assist these present negotiations for peace, will secure to him (the Legate), not only the punctual payment of these two pensions, but the payment also in ready money, delivered over to him in his own house, at such dates as may be arranged, of all arrears now owing on the annual pension of 9,000 crowns, and of all other moneys in which he (the Emperor) may be indebted to him. Will give the necessary orders for this as soon as his answer stating the Legate's pleasure arrives. Should the Legate accept the further pension of 6,000 ducats, it shall be accredited to him (the Legate) at once. The Emperor would much prefer the payment being settled on one of the bishoprics now vacant in his dominions, instead of on the public revenues, as originally worded. Leaves this, however, to the Legate's choice. Besides these pensions to the Legate, a proper reward must be offered to Secretary Brian Tuke, who, by keeping him (Mendoza) constantly acquainted with all that is passing, and helping to maintain a friendly feeling between England and Spain, may render him (the Emperor) good service at the English Court. Has, therefore, written a letter, which he is to deliver to the Secretary,* expressing his sense of the good offices which he (the Secretary) has in times past rendered him by preserving the friendship between the two countries, and offering him (the Secretary) in acknowledgment of the same a yearly pension of 300 ducats, to be paid through his ambassador (Mendoza), with the promise of still further acknowledgment in the future. The warrant for this shall be sent by sea, that being safer than the land journey.

If occasion should offer, he may say (as coming from himself) to the Legate that Rezio,† being now with the Emperor for the better conducting of the negotiations with France and the settlement of the indemnity and ransom, the Emperor will not fail to give him (Rezio) a handsome sum of ready money out of the profit that shall accrue therefrom. He

* See above, No. 13.

† Paolo da Rezzo or Reggio.

1527.

(Mendoça) is also to find out from the Legate what share in this profit he would like to have for his own portion.

He is, moreover, to ascertain whether the King of England and the Legate wish the sons of the King of France to be detained until all that is owing to them, both by himself (the Emperor) and by the King of France, has been fully discharged. He is to inform him (the Emperor) of all this in the new cipher, and at the earliest possible moment. The sooner the information comes, the greater service it will render him. Two vessels are now in English ports waiting solely for his despatches. Has ordered this letter to be stamped with two seals for greater security. Will send duplicates by sea.—Given at our city of Valladolid, 1st February 1527.

Addressed: "To Don Iñigo de Mendoça, member of our Council, and our ambassador in England."

Spanish. Minute. pp. 12.

1 Feb.

17. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 108.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 72.

(*Cipher:*) Wrote on the 26th by way of Ferrara. What he (Perez) has now to announce is that on the 28th the general [of the Franciscans] and Cesaro Ferramosca, in the name of the Emperor; the Datary, the Archbishop of Capua (Fra Nicola Schomberg), and Jacopo Salviatis on the part of His Holiness, came to an agreement under the following conditions:—1st. Abstention from war throughout Italy for three years, all the potentates engaging to maintain the truce themselves and cause it to be maintained by others. 2nd. The payment to the Emperor of 200,000 cr., half by the Pope and half by the Florentines. 3rd. The Pope to place Parma and Piacenza in the hands of a third person, as security for the payment of that sum. 4th. Venice to give the Emperor such money as may be agreed upon between them. 5th. Each party to hold his own [unmolested] in Italy.

Such are said to be the conditions of the present truce, which is to last three years, during which negotiations for a general peace are to be carried on. His Holiness is thinking of visiting the Emperor in Spain for this purpose; so at least the general of [the Franciscans] tells him, for on these matters Perez has no other information than what he hears Quiñones,* Ferramosca, and others say.

The moment the agreement was made the Venetian ambassador (Contarini) despatched a courier to the Signory asking for instructions and powers to sign the same. It is reported

* Alvaro de Quiñones, subsequently created Cardinal of Sancta Croce, at this time general of the Franciscan Observant friars, frequently mentioned in this correspondence.

1527.

that the consent of Venice has already been obtained, and that the Signory approves the terms accepted by the Pope.

Cesaro [Ferramosca] called the same night upon the Pope, and delivered the message he had brought from the Emperor. What the message was, and what the Pope replied to it, he (Perez) cannot say, but he has heard that the Pope was much pleased with it.* On the 28th, Cesaro left for the Viceroy's camp to acquaint him with the Pope's acceptance of his conditions, and to request that hostilities should be suspended for ten days, to give time for the ratification of the treaty and approval by Venice. He was accompanied by Bishop Cherivato (Cerivato?), one of the Pope's chamberlains, who was the bearer of a similar message to the Papal camp, in case the Viceroy consented. The general's nephew (Peñalosa) went also with them, that he might bring the Viceroy's answer back to Rome as soon as possible.

Such is the state of affairs. Some people fear that the Venetians will not send powers to their ambassador to ratify this treaty; and that if the Pope finds himself eventually stronger than he is at present, he will be glad of that or any other excuse to break off his engagements, and say that he has done all that was in his power to ensure peace. If in the meantime the Viceroy were to gain some advantage, or take Freselone (Frosinone), there can be no doubt that the Pope will accept the terms, and even beg for them, in spite of the Venetians, but when he sees that neither the Imperial army of Lombardy, nor the one which is actually encamped on his estates, undertakes anything of importance, he will lose all fear, and increase his forces so that they may not only be a match for the Viceroy's army, but outnumber it. They are now exceedingly proud and exultant owing to the arrival at Civittà Vecchia of the brother of the Duke of Lorraine (Vaudemont), who is said to have brought money and men for the conquest of Naples, and they are daily expecting the fleet under his command, which they say is now on the Genoese coast.

Letters have lately come from France confirming the news of the King's concerted marriage to the daughter of the King of England [Princess Mary]. The negotiations were very much advanced, and on the point of being closed. The Emperor, on the other hand, had recently sent an ambassador (Mendoza) to England, to treat about the general peace, and it was added that a gentleman of the King of England was also expected here, who was bringing letters [from the Emperor] to Mons. de Bourbon and to the Viceroy, commanding them not to undertake anything against the lands of the Church.

Preparations for defence at Rome; general muster of armed citizens in each of the 13 districts (*regiones*); sale of

* The message, as we are told by Sandoval and other Spanish historians, related chiefly to the sack of the Papal palace by Moncada and the Colonnese, in September 1526. The Emperor expressed his sorrow for that event, &c.

1527.

offices for the pay of 4,000 men. If the Venetians refuse to ratify, the Pope will try to get out of the engagement. Venice has sent an ambassador to the Turk to try and persuade him to land on the coast of Naples. The grand master of Rhodes (Villiers de l'Isle Adam) has arrived, and is very grateful for the favours received at the Emperor's hands.

News came the other day that Freselon (Frosinone) had surrendered to the Viceroy, but it proved false. There are 1,500 men of the band of the late Giovannino de' Medici, of whom these Romans make much, within the place. The Viceroy is before the town, but does not attack it, as he says he is sure of its surrender, the garrison being in want of provisions. Two companies of picked infantry were sent some time ago to the relief of the besieged, but at Rocca di Papa and Paduano they were surprised [by the Colonnese] and completely routed, losing all their baggage, &c. One of the captains was taken prisoner at the latter place; the other one returned to Rome on foot, and without arms, after losing about 150 men of his company at Rocca di Papa.

Hernando de Alarcon was wounded in the leg by a stroke from a pike (*picazo*) at this engagement. He was reported the other day as dead, but the wound is very slight, being in the soft part of the calf.

Has informed the Viceroy that in his opinion and that of some of the Emperor's best servants the securities offered by the Pope are by no means so good as people imagine. Has stated his reasons for thinking so.

Private advices from France of the 9th of January, and letters which this servant of the Duke of Bourbon, now here, has received from his friends, agree upon one point, namely, that a large fleet is being prepared at Marseilles, and that the King of France sends word that if the Pope will only put off signing the treaty until March, he (the King) will be sure to come [to Italy] in person, or else send such powerful force as will render him (the Pope) master of the field. He also says that his marriage with the English Princess is quite decided upon.

The brother of the Duke of Lorraine (Vaudemont) is still here. Some of the Pope's courtiers give him already the title of King of Naples. Perchance his fate will be similar to that of the Duke of Albany (John Stuart), who was also called King of Naples, before he got possession of it.

The garrison of Rocca di Papa took the other day a town and castle called Castel Pandolfo, not far from Marino. It is important on account of its situation, which commands the road to the Pope's camp.

It is generally believed that if the war goes on, no less than six cardinals' hats are to be given away, for each of which 35,000 or 40,000 ducats will be paid. There was a talk of making only one each month, upon the payment by the individual so favoured of 40,000, but finding that sum insufficient

1527.

to cover the expenses of the Papal army, which amount monthly to 90,000 ducats, the other expedient will be resorted to, and six cardinals appointed at once. Meanwhile ecclesiastical property is being sold, and some estates have fetched as much as 36,000 ducats, ready money.—Rome, 1st February 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacr. Ces. Cat. Mati."

Spanish. Holograph entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

3 Feb.

18. The MARQUIS DEL GUASTO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 115.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 75.

The Imperial army is to meet at Piacenza, which is strongly fortified and has a garrison of 6,000 men. It will be difficult to take it, and his advice is to leave it alone, and let the army to continue its march.

Bourbon had sent to Ferrara for gunpowder and ammunition.

Colonel Gaspar [del Mar] and his company (*bandera*) of German infantry, and Count Beljuyoso (Beljoyoso) with his Italians, remain in keeping of Milan.

Count Lodron has returned from his expedition to Savona, whither he was sent for the purpose of relieving Genoa.

Advices from Rome mention that Cesaro Ferramosca had arrived in Naples. He had not left behind, as expected, the bills of exchange for the army, which was a great disappointment, as the bankers would advance no money without them.

The Duke of Bourbon has been obliged to appoint Annibal de Ayosso to the post of field-master of the Imperial army. Begs the Emperor to confirm the appointment, as Ayosso is a perfect gentleman, and will serve right well.—3rd Feb. 1527.

Addressed: "To His Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "Relacion de las cartas del Marques del Gasto."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 1½.

7 Feb.

19. The MARQUIS DEL GUASTO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 115.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 75.

The King of France has gone to Lyons, and the confederates are in great glee, thinking that he is about to do great things in their favour, send down Switzers, &c.

Hears that the Turk is about to come to these parts. The news that came some time ago of a formidable rebellion in his dominions turned out to be false, and only a stratagem to deceive the World. If the Christian Princes do not make peace now, and join their forces to those of the Emperor, to repel this new invasion of the infidel, great evils may be anticipated for Christendom.

The Pope is striving to gain his object by delaying the negotiations with the Viceroy of Naples. Needs not remind

1527.

the Emperor of the very awkward and dangerous position in which the Imperial army in Lombardy has often been placed, merely out of respect for the Pope's character and person, and by trusting in his words and promises; how many times they might have brought him to harder terms, had they chosen to take advantage of him. Now all his towns of any importance are strongly fortified, nor does he lack money, for both England and France, Venice and the Florentines send him as much as he can require, whilst the Emperor's dominions are completely exhausted, and his soldiers almost starved. If an honourable peace with the Pope cannot be concluded, His Imperial Majesty should at once procure money for the support of his own armies. That being accomplished, and the Emperor coming over [to Italy], it is to be hoped that with God's help he will carry everything before him (*con la ayuda de Dios lo llevará todo*). Otherwise many impediments might arise to thwart future designs, which at the present time, and with so efficient a force as His Majesty has in Italy, might easily be removed.

The Pope's galleys and those of the Venetians are now anchored at Civittà Vecchia, and Liorno (Leghorn), either for the purpose of taking the Pope out of Rome, in the event of his not making an agreement with the Viceroy, or of making an attack upon Genoa.

Indorsed: "Relacion de las cartas del Marques del Gasto de XVIII. de Enero, 3 y 6 de Febrero de 1527."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

10 Feb.

20. FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI to COUNT GUIDO RANGONE.

S. E. L. 2,010,
f. 17.
B. M. 28,576,
f. 78.

Though he might be excused from writing, Micer Bernardo [Navagero?] being privy to all that has passed, he (Guicciardini) yet takes up his pen to say that the Duke [of Urbino] has suddenly been thrown into great perplexity owing to the ambiguous terms of the agreement (*partito*) proposed; because the Venetian forces are on the other side of the river Pò, and they cannot possibly join the French forces, still very much scattered over the country, without the enemy being apprised of their movements.

The Spaniards, on the other hand, will soon join the German lansquenets (*lanzi*), to whom they are closer than Borgo is to Ponte Nuro.

You must also bear in mind that if the enemy take the high road it will be almost impossible for us to attack them

* This letter is in vol. ii., fol. 54, of Porcacchi's collection, ed. Zirletti. Venice, 1581, 4^o.

† The copy at Simancas has "A quali sono piu vicini, che non e dal Borgo a Ponte Nuovo." In the printed copy *Ponte Nuro*, evidently a misprint for *Ponte Nuro*, a castle close to Piacenza. Borgo is *Borgo di San Donnino* in the same district.

1527.

with success, for they will probably march in good order, and when we are within two or three miles of them, will detach their light cavalry and skirmishers (*genti sbandate*) and harass our camp, which must be pitched somewhere, the distance being too long for one day's march on the "strada maestra."

On the other hand, to increase our infantry appears out of the question, for it is with great difficulty that our present force is kept together, and no money is to be expected for some time either from Rome or Florence.

The engagement of the soldiers of fortune* (*avventurieri*) was well fought; their behaviour on the occasion was excellent. Zuchero and Scalonge were taken prisoners.

Has no further advices from Rome. Since the Viceroy's flight from Frusolone† nothing new has occurred.—Parma, 10th Feb. 1527.

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 1½.

10 Feb.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 162.

21. MARTIN DE SALINAS to ARCHDUKE FERDINAND, King of Bohemia.

Has heard from Don Antonio de Mendoza, in date of the 15th of January, announcing that he was about to set sail [for Flanders] in company with Presinga and Iualian,‡ the courier. Hopes that before their arrival His Highness will have received the official despatches sent by another route.

The Cortes§ will meet in the college of Saint Paul to deliberate on the affairs of the late King of Hungary, and on the grant of money to be made by the towns, nobility, prelates, abbots, &c., in order to meet the expenses of the Turkish war. Does not enclose the form of the proposal (*propusicion*), because it has not yet been notified to the deputies, but has no doubt that it will be accepted as it is, for the majority are aware of the danger in which Christendom is at present, and desirous to make any sacrifice towards relieving Hungary and the rest of Germany now threatened by the Infidel. Some few, however, are afraid that the money may be applied to other uses, and the Emperor himself induced to quit Spain, which is a thing they greatly dislike, and which once gave rise to the troubles and wars of the Commons (*Comunidades*); but as every care is taken to prevent the recurrence of similar disturbances, and to remove all cause for complaint, it is confidently believed that the grant will be made, and that the Emperor, if required, will attend the expedition in person without any opposition whatever from his subjects.

* "La fattione di avventurieri fu bella." The printed copy, however, has "la fattione di auanti hieri." For an account of this engagement, fought near Piacenza by the light horse of the Prince of Orange, see Brewer, pp. 1292, 1295.

† Frasolone or Frosinone, as it is now called.

‡ Elsewhere called Julianio.

§ Those of Valladolid, which met as usual in the hall of the convent of San Pablo.

1527.

Mons. de Prat (Praet) is about to start for Flanders on a mission from the Emperor, the object of which seems to be to fix the quota to be paid by those estates for the expenses of the Turkish war.

As soon as the last news from Hungary was spread [throughout Spain] many of His Highness' servants and others started for Germany, anxious to take service against the Turks; among the rest Diego de Guzman, the gentleman in waiting (*maestresala*) to the Archduke, and Hernando de Sayavedra, both of whom left Seville some time ago, and are to take their departure from court (Valladolid) this very day. They are to be followed by Llanos, the groom of the bed-chamber, Salazar, His Highness' foster-brother, and many others.

Chancellor (Gattinara) has lately asked for leave to go home. So great and pressing has been his application, that the Emperor has at last consented to part with him, and ordered that he should be provided with a safe-conduct. He is to start on his journey at the beginning of March, unless His Imperial Majesty changes his mind, which is not likely, as things have passed between him and the Chancellor which make their separation a necessity.

His Highness' message respecting Ramiro Nuñez [de Guzman] was duly delivered to the Emperor. His answer was that for certain reasons he could not order his release just now, but that he had been pardoned previous to his leaving Granada. Gonzalo Nuñez, the son of Ramiro,* is still a prisoner, but there is hope of his being released shortly.

Paolo di Rezzo, the Pope's chamberlain, left [for Rome] six days ago. On his taking leave of the Emperor he made very fair promises in his master's name, saying that he (the Pope) intended to go to Barcelona on a visit. Should this be true, His Imperial Majesty might receive the crown from his hands, and pass his over to His Highness, which would greatly increase his reputation, and disappoint France.

A courier has been sent to England by land with despatches for the ambassador [Don Inigo Hurtado de Mendoza] and instructions to renew the old alliance. If he succeeds, and the Pope is also on our side, Flanders has nothing to fear from the French; King Francis will be called to reason, and obliged to accept the Emperor's terms.—Valladolid, 10th Feb. 1527.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

* Some time after the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the arrival of Charles in Spain, an attempt was made by some Castilian nobles to set up as King the Infante Don Fernando, who, being a Spaniard by birth (he was born at Alcalá de Henares, 10th March 1503), was more popular than his elder brother. Gonzalo Nuñez de Guzman, High Commander of the Order of Calatrava, two of his nephews Gonzalo and Martin?, sons of Ramiro, and others of Fernando's servants, were arrested at Aranda de Duero, and the conspiracy defeated. See Sandoval, *Hist. del Emperador Carlos V.*, lib. iii.

1527.

11 Feb.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 131.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 79.

22. The EMPEROR to the ABBOT OF NAJERA.

Abbot of Najera, &c.,—Your letters of the 28th October and 18th of November came duly to hand. We have not replied to them before, owing to their coming together, after Ferramosca had started on his mission. We thank you for the information respecting our army, and beg you to continue your reports.

You must have heard through Ferramosca what our plans are respecting military and political affairs, and how We have remitted by him a sum of money to supply the wants of the army. We now send you the second bills of exchange, and will in future make as many remittances as the state of our treasury will allow.—Valladolid, 11th Feb. 1527.

Spanish. Original minute. p. 1.

11 Feb.

23. The EMPEROR to SECRETARY PEREZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 133.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 80.

Secretary, &c.,—Your letters dated the 22nd of October, 6th, 16th, 22nd, and 28th of November came to hand all at once, owing to which circumstance, and to the departure of Ferramosca for Italy, We have not answered them before. As by this time the said Ferramosca must have arrived, and the Viceroy be also in Italy, we need scarcely say anything respecting our intentions.

We have always wished for a general and lasting peace in Christendom, that we may turn our arms against the Turk, reduce his power, and exalt our holy faith. Never on our part have we given cause for dissension; but, on the contrary, have given way on many occasions, as God and His Holiness the Pope can testify. We have now sent to him Cesaro Ferramosca to treat of a general peace, when he will find that if he (the Pope) is willing, we shall be no impediment to it, but shall, on the contrary, be satisfied with just and honourable conditions, and waive even some of our right.—Valladolid, 11th Feb. 1527.

Indorsed: "The King. 1527. Valladolid. To Perez. 11th Feb."

Spanish. Original minute. p. 1.

12 Feb.

24. The EMPEROR'S ANSWER to the AMBASSADORS of the LEAGUE.

S. E. L. 1,454,
f. 128.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 81.

Be it known to all how, on the 12th of February 1527, in the presence of Mercurino Gattinara, Count of Valencia and Sartirana, the Emperor's High Chancellor for all his dominions; of Henry, Count of Nassau, Marquis of Cenete, and Lord of Breda, High Chamberlain, and of Don Juan Manuel, both knights of the Golden Fleece; of Don Garcia de Loaysa, Bishop of Osma, President of the Council of the Indies, and Confessor to the Emperor, and Don Louis de Flandre, Seigneur

1527.

de Praet, chamberlain to the Emperor, all and every one of them members of his Privy Council, and before the undersigned (Jean Lallemand), acting as public notary on the occasion, appeared the most Reverend and Magnificent Count Baldassar Castiglione, Apostolic Nuncio and orator to His Holiness Pope Clement VII. ; Messire Jean de Calvimont, second President of the Parliament of Bordeaux ; and Messire Gilbert de Bayard, secretary to the King of France, both of them his ambassadors at the Court of Spain ; and Signor Andrea Navajero, ambassador also from the Doge and republic of Venice, &c., when a paper was placed in their hands, said to be the reply made by His Imperial Majesty to the various arguments and declarations put forward by the said ambassadors, verbally or in writing, during the negotiations for peace. The tenor of which reply is as follows :—

The Emperor, desirous of peace and anxious to turn his arms against the Infidel, has hitherto done everything in his power to attain that object. He made a treaty with King Francis, set him at liberty, and allowed him to go back to his own kingdom, thus converting him from an enemy into a friend and almost brother ; for although very much distrusting him (*ambiguus illius fidei*), yet he hoped with his help to induce those princes who followed one cause or the other to lay down their arms and join in the undertaking against the Infidel.

“Dum se sua spe omnino frustratum sensit, et loco pacis novum bellorum incendium inter Christianos parari ; præsidium in hostes Fidei parandum impediri ; regnum Hungaricum propter ea[m] labe[m], ac illius rege interempto, in potestatem hostium cum tanta Christianorum clade transire ; hæreticorumque sectas invalescere, et inde sub colore universalis pacis perniciosum fœdus contra ipsum Cæsarem percipi, non pacis sed belli fomentum conspexit,” &c. Did not on this account desist from his purpose, but laboured as strenuously as he could for the blessings of peace. Sent to Rome (*in urbem*) his most ample powers, that in the event of the negotiations being opened in that city, as His Holiness seemed to expect, there should be no delay on his part. “Deindè cum Serenissimus Anglorum Rex, defensor fidei, ipsius universalis pacis studiosus, operam suam ad illam componendam et tractandam obtulisset, et propterea mandatum Suxæ Majestatis cum amplissimis instructionibus in Angliam transmitti petiisset, asserens ceteros contra Cæsarem fœderatos itidem facturos ; annuit sua Majestas illius voto, statimque mandatum cum instructionibus ad huiusmodi effectum amplè resolutis, equissimisque conditionibus suffultis transmisit.”

Later still, when you [Baldassar Castiglione], the Apostolic Nuncio, and the ambassadors of the most Christian King of France, and of the Signory of Venice, asserted that you were furnished with the most ample powers (*amplissima mandata*)

1527.

to treat of the said universal peace at this Imperial Court, and insisted upon His Majesty appointing persons to treat with you, the Emperor did so at once, imagining that the deeds would be in accordance with the words. All, however, was in vain, for when your powers came to be examined, they were found insufficient, there being no foundation in them on which the structure of a lasting peace could be raised. For in the very mandate which you, the Apostolic Nuncio, exhibited as coming from His Holiness, besides many errors and omissions in the statement of events, there was a direct accusation against His Imperial Majesty, ascribing to him the wars which are actually disturbing Christendom, and the dangers to which it may be exposed hereafter; whereas it is well known that the Emperor is not only free from that charge, but has always warmly advocated peace among Christian nations. Such accusation the Emperor not only rejects, but throws it back on his accusers, as he has already done many a time, and is ready to do again.

The Pope's mandate was also deficient in one important point, since no powers to treat of the peace were granted to his Nuncio, unless with the express consent of the ambassadors of the confederated powers, who are not, however, named in the said mandate. As these confederates of the Pope may be numerous (*plures*), and some of them unknown to the Emperor; as many of the powers which are said to have joined the Italian League, have not signified their consent to the negotiation, it follows that the Pope's mandate is insufficient for the present purpose.

"Mandatum autem Regis Christianissimi, non solum aliorum confederatorum, sed specificè Serenissimi Angliæ Regis consensum exigit; de quo, tamen, non apparet, nec creditur apparere posse, quam quidem is tam suis litteris quam nuntiis et oratoribus eidem Cæsari destinatis, expressè significaverit se nequaquam id fœdus acceptasse, nec acceptare velle, sed potius se pacis auctorem et tractatorem exhibere, ac in ea omni studio ac conatu totisque viribus elaborare, cujus operam ea in re Cæsar non respuit, sed gratam habuit."

This last circumstance renders the French mandate inefficient, since the King of England has not yet informed the Emperor of his having joined the League. Besides which, the French instrument is drawn in very general terms, no allusion being made in it either to the "*innovatio*" of the former treaty, or to the "*juramentum et fidei transgressio*," both of which required especial mention, as otherwise the treaty in contemplation could not be expected to work any change in the letter of the former one.

As to the Venetians, their mandate, as exhibited by their ambassador (Navagero), demanded (*exigebat*) in the first instance the concurrence and approbation of the illustrious Duke Francesco Sforza and of the Florentines, which condition no longer appears. In the one lately presented the express consent of the Duke and of Florence is not specified,

1527.

"tamen omnium fœderatorum consensum expostulat," and therefore "eodem laborat morbo quo mandatum S. D. N. (Sanctissimi Domini Nostri)."

All the mandates being thus found imperfect and insufficient to empower the ambassadors of the Italian League to treat of the proposed peace, His Imperial Majesty was compelled to reject the offers made by them. He was, moreover, convinced, as he told you, the Rev. Balthasar Castiglione, at the time, that your proposals in the name of the confederated powers looked as if they had been made for a particular purpose, rather than for the common interest of the confederates, as they seemed to impede rather than promote peace among Christians. For at such a time as this, and when the common foe is meditating a most terrific blow against Christendom, to propose a truce of short duration, for us to turn our arms against the Infidel, is equivalent to weakening us and placing us, as it were, at the mercy of our enemies. "Ex brevi armorum suspensione, ex qua nec arma in hostes Fidei converti, nec exercitus ipsius Cæsaris tutè dissolvi possent, totiens ille, violato fide ruptisque fœderibus, cui etiam dispendiosum foret exercitum integrum in ocio (*sic*) continere, dispendiosius autem ob maximam locorum distantiam censeretur, si hujusmodi exercitibus dissolutis novos parare seu instaurare cogeretur, ipsa armorum suspensione cessante."

Nevertheless, that things may be safe on all sides (*ut res in tuto omni ex parte collocetur*), and the peace of Italy and of the whole Christian republic may be ensured, His Imperial Majesty will be content that a truce of at least three years' duration be made between the contending parties, during which truce all the Christian powers, without exception, shall turn their arms against the infidel Turk. Meanwhile their differences can be so adjusted and arranged that a general and lasting peace may follow.

The wish expressed by the confederated powers that the Duke Francesco Sforza should be reinstated is a question the settlement of which in nowise appertains to them, since he (the Duke) has been guilty of the crime "*læsæ Majestatis*," and his fief notoriously belongs to the Empire; but in order to show his desire of conciliation, and remove any suspicions that might be entertained about his ulterior projects, the Emperor promises that if the said Duke will consent to appear in person before certain high judges expressly appointed for the purpose, full justice shall be done unto him.

The proposals made for the liberation of the King's sons are altogether unsuitable and inadmissible, for there is no reason, right, or excuse for breaking faith and oath so solemnly pledged. Had the French ambassadors received an express mandate to that end, they would have been obliged to make one of the following three declarations: either that the King, their master, *ought not*, or that he *cannot*, or that he *will not* observe the treaty. If they assert that he (the King) cannot, "*licet id*

1527.

posse pretendatur, succederat tamen loco impossibilitatis ea possibilitas quæ a sua mera voluntate liberoque illius arbitrio dependet," that is to say, that he (the King) will return to captivity, by means of which a new treaty may be made and fresh conditions established without injury or damage to either of the contracting parties. If the ambassadors allege that the treaty ought not to be executed in some of its parts, then let them produce their arguments, which shall be triumphantly answered, "cum nec allegatur metus, nec emissa, ut asseritur, protestatio, nec bellici juris dispositio, nec alia quævis causa regem ipsum excusare valeat, quominus datam fidem prestitumque juramentum pro captivitate redimenda, proque libertate obtinenda servare teneatur." If, however, the French ambassadors declare that their master *will not*, that changes the question entirely, as it is a free act of his own will, not one to which he is compelled by reason or justice.

From all which arguments, and many more that could be adduced, it appears evident that the said petition is unreasonable and unjust, and therefore inadmissible. Such, however, is the Emperor's love of peace, and such his desire to turn his arms against the infidels, that if the French ambassadors should hereafter receive sufficient authority, "cum debitis cautellis quibus res in tuto collocari possit," it will be shown that His Imperial Majesty is disposed not only to admit of just and reasonable conditions, but to waive some of his own rights for the sake of peace. In fact nothing shall be left undone on his part to obtain that desirable object. Even should the obstinacy of the contending parties be such that they could not satisfactorily settle their own private quarrels, His Imperial Majesty would not disdain (*dedignabitur*) to accept the arbitration of a competent judge above suspicion; provided, however, in the meantime a general congress for peace (*universalis conventio*) were held, and the common enterprise against the Turk commenced without delay. "Tunc dilucidè patebit sua Maiestas non solum æquas et justas condiciones subire pro publico Christianæ religionis commodo paratus erit, sed etiam ad eum effectum de proprio condonare nec quavis ratione," &c.*

"Ad quod postremò per ipsum Apostolicum Nuntium propositum extitit ut Serenissimo Anglorum Regi pro iis quæ sibi debentur, . . . † innuens id universali paci difficultatem afferre; profectò alienum et omnino mirandum videtur cum, ut profertur, nec ipse serenissimus Rex Angliæ in fœdere intervenerit, nec illud acceptaverit, nec mandatum ad id petendum eius nomine fœderatis concesserit, nec oratores sui qui penes Cesarem

* Instead of this paragraph, which is crossed over, the following stood originally: "Nullum privatum Cæsaris interesse hunc publicum Christianitatis commodum impedire posse, quippe quinquimo (*sic*) ad eum dumtaxat effectum de proprio cuperet amplissimè elargire, et si plures etiam haberet filios liberos proprios non dedignaretur pro tam sancti operis securitate eos obsides dare, sicque quod minus est nequaquam denegaret, nec quavis ratione," &c.

† One or two words effaced in the original minute.

1527.

existunt in hoc conventu interveniant, nullaque sit inter ipsum Cæsarem et Regem Angliæ controversia, sed tanta sit et amoris et sanguinis conjunctio, ut nulla res pecuniaria horum amicitiam valeat perturbare; cum potissimè apud ipsum Serenissimum Angliæ Regem adsit orator Cæsareus [Dominus Ennecus a Mendosa] cum amplo mandato et his et aliis transigendi et conveniendi. Ita ut hoc petitio in hujusmodi conventu facta omnino frustratoria videatur; non quidem ad pacem tendens, sed potius ad coloranda pacis impedimenta, unde nec in posterum eidem Cæsareæ Majestati culpa aliqua impingi possit quod pacis media non amplectatur, quodque imminente Christianæ republicæ periculo non recurratur."

No blame, therefore, is to be attached to him (the Emperor) if, owing to the above informalities in the powers of the ambassadors, peace should not be concluded as soon as desired. Has caused the present answer to be read to them in the presence of his High Chancellor and privy councillors above named, and a legal Act drawn thereof, that each of the ambassadors may write to his respective master.

I Jean Lallemand, Lord of Bouclans, first secretary and public notary appointed by His Imperial Majesty for this particular Act, had it drawn and signed by witnesses as required.*

Latin. Original draft in the hand of Alfonso de Valdes. pp. 6.

14 Feb.

25. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. D. Pasc. d. G.
Pa. r. a. l. Hist.
d' Esp.
B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
f. 98.

Wrote on the 1st by way of Genoa? and under cover to the Archdeacon of Belchite [Soria], and addressed his letter to Mario de Tasis† the postmaster. The duplicate went on the 9th, by way of Lucca, to Genoa. Wrote again on the 11th, by way of Ferrara, enclosing duplicate of his letter of the 26th of January; but as, notwithstanding his precautions, these despatches may not have reached the Imperial Court, will now repeat the substance of them, and add whatever information he has been able to collect since.

Copies verbatim his despatch of the 1st of February, and then adds:—

The Venetians have not yet signified their assent; on the contrary, they have answered that the condition of the payment of certain sums of money by the Signory seemed to them quite inadmissible, and that they required, besides, one month's time to consult with the King of France, (*cipher*) and await his answer. The Pope, however, sent on the 10th inst. for Ferramosca, and told him that he was ready to sign the agreement, leaving, however, the door open for Venice to come

* Two copies of this deed are in Bergenroth's collection, B. M., No. 28,576, at pp. 81 and 90, the latter of which is transcribed in his own hand.

† Thus in the original, but it is evidently a mistake for *Mafeo*, the brother of Juan Baptista, and of Simon de Taxis or Tassis. See Lopez de Haro, *Nobiliario Genealogico*, Madrid, 1622, fol. ii. lib. vi. p. 18.

1527.

in. The worst is that His Holiness will now no longer give money or the places which he promised as security, imagining, no doubt, that his affairs are in much better plight than they were, owing to the Viceroy having failed to take Freselone (Frosinone). He was before it several days. The garrison, who belonged mostly to the bands of [the late] Giovanni de' Medici, made a stout defence, and were at last succoured from Rome. The Viceroy then raised his camp, and went six or seven miles beyond to two villages, called Castro Chicano (Cicano) and Chiprano (Ciprano), without losing one man, baggage or artillery, though it is publicly announced at Rome that he lost on the occasion no less than 400 men and two or three banners.

Of the brother of the Duke of Lorraine, by name Mons. de Vadamont (le Comte de Vaudemont), and of his arrival at Rome, His Imperial Majesty has already been advised. He, Renzo da Ceri, and Andrea Doria have since had frequent audiences from the Pope, at which the intended invasion of the kingdom of Naples has been discussed. They calculate upon 50 galleys of their own, besides 10 more of the Venetians, which they have sent for, and 14 or 18 vessels of the French, besides the large ship (*nao*) of the order of Rhodes. Numbers of emigrants (*foraxidos*) from Sicily and Naples are pressing them to undertake the conquest of those kingdoms, and Andrea Doria has gone to Civittà Vecchia to prepare his galleys for that enterprize. Many bets have been taken here at Rome, 20 to a hundred, that in four months hence the kingdom of Naples will be in the hands of the Pope or of Lorraine (Vaudemont).

Oracio Baglione, one of the Pope's captains, has been sent to Rocca di Papa with a considerable force of infantry and cavalry; but as the garrison is on the alert, and the place itself strongly fortified, he will have some difficulty in taking it. It is said that the enemy also intends attacking Pagliano and Monte Fortino.

The late news from France is that the King no longer intends marrying the Princess of England (Mary), but purposes to espouse his own sister-in-law, Madame Reneta (Renée), and that the dispensation brief has already been applied for.*

The Grand Master of Rhodes (Villiers de l'Isle Adam) has gone to Viterbo to celebrate a chapter of his order.

The Abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsini) remains still in prison on suspicion of being in treaty with the Viceroy to take service under the Emperor. Some say that he he is not very closely confined, but is allowed to go about the castle; others assert that he is kept in irons, and that even Renzo da Ceri, who is his brother-in-law, refuses to speak to the Pope in his favour, pretending that he hates

* Renée de France, daughter of Louis XII., and first cousin to Francis I., who had formerly been married to her sister, Claude de France. Renée became in 1528 the wife of Hercole, son of the Duke of Ferrara.

1527.

traitors even in his own family. Nevertheless, Renzo does in secret all he can for him, and His Holiness has been heard to say that after all his case is not so grave, from which people conclude that he will soon be set free.

It is asserted that the Pope is about to send a Nuncio to the Vayvod [of Transylvania] in his quality of King elect of Hungary. At Venice the rank and precedence of royal ambassador had been granted to an ambassador of the Vayvod, who was here some time ago.* The reason which the Pope alleges as an excuse for sending his Nuncio to him is that the King of Bohemia (Ferdinand) never wrote announcing his election.

Bourbon, on the 3rd inst., was close to Piacenza, intending to besiege that city, but the Duke of Ferrara wrote to the Viceroy on the 7th, saying that he was of opinion that Piacenza should not be invested, as thereby much time would be lost, which had better be employed in other more profitable undertakings.

The general [of the Franciscans] is at Araceli. He does not intend quitting [his seclusion] unless Cesaro Ferramosca returns and the Pope sends expressly for him, so wearied is he with these continual changes.

News has been received here that the Piacentines had taken Çucar and two more captains prisoners of war, and along with them about 200 light horse; that in the affray the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon) was well-nigh taken prisoner, for he left his plume (*penacho*) in the hands of his captor, and escaped.†

Has been told that His Holiness is about to send one of his chamberlains to Spain. Who he is to be, and when he will go, he (Perez) has been unable to ascertain.

The garrison of Rocca di Papa set fire the other day to a village called Rocca Priora belonging to Juan Baptista Sabello, who is here [at Rome] in the Pope's service.—Rome, 14th Feb. 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 5.

15 Feb.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 151.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 108.

26. The DUKE OF BOURBON to DON LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa.

Left Milan on Monday, the 1st inst., at the head of the Imperial army. Antonio de Leyva remains behind with a sufficient force for the protection of that city. As no pay has

* Giovanni Statilio, bishop of Alba Regia. See above, p. 9.

† The engagement elsewhere alluded to in Guicciardini's letter to Count Guido Rangone, No. 20.

1527.

been issued to his men for some time, and any attempt to live upon the Milanese, already so poor and exhausted, might prove dangerous, he (Leyva) must be regularly provided with funds. Begs him to send 15,000 cr. in addition to the sum lately brought by Juli (*sic*), which Leyva says has been found insufficient for distributing even a trifle to the Spaniards and Germans under him, these latter still refusing to march, unless their arrears are paid in full. Every one of the Imperial servants must bestir himself on this occasion, and contrive that the Imperial troops shall be furnished with a portion at least of their monthly stipend; for otherwise we shall be obliged to abandon the Duchy to its fate. That the money may be more easily obtained the Duke now sends him by Donato de Tassi, present bearer, all his own jewels, and some more which the Marquis del Guasto has lent for this emergency. Has no doubt that he (Soria) can pawn the same for some thousands of ducats; the remainder up to the sum of 15,000 must be procured from the bankers of that city (Genoa), using, if need be, the Doge's influence, and pledging all their private property (Bourbon and Guasto's), their honour, their faith, and whatever bills of exchange come from Spain besides. Must not be scrupulous respecting the amount of exchange and interest on the principal, as the need is very great.

Should the money not come forthwith, he (Soria) is to try all he can to obtain the promise of it in a week or so, and send Donato back with the answer, that he may tell Leyva, and induce him to wait. In this way, but in none other, shall we be able to prosecute our present undertaking.—From the camp on the Trebbia, 13th Feb. 1527.

Signed: "Bourbon."

Indorsed: "Copy of the Duke of Bourbon's letter to the ambassador Lope de Soria."

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

18 Feb. 27. The ABBOT OF NAJERA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 167.

Captain Sancho Lopez, lieutenant of the company of men-at-arms of Count Altamira, will be the bearer of this, and inform His Imperial Majesty much better than he (the Abbot) can about military affairs.

To enable this Imperial army to quit Milan, it was considered necessary to issue to the Spanish infantry two portions of their pay, and 10 cr. (*escudos*) to each of the men-at-arms, a sum amounting in all to 62,404 cr. Of these nearly 40,000 have been furnished by the city of Milan, including some silver plate taken from the churches; the remainder has been raised by means of a subscription or forced loan among the commanders and officers of this Imperial army; namely, the Duke of Bourbon, 3,000; Guasto, 1,000; Prothonotary Caracciolo, Juan de Hurbina (Urbina), and he (Najera), 300 each, and so on; the rest of the captains at the rate of 200 or 300 cr. each, accord-

1527.

ing to their rank and wealth. Leyva, with whom the idea of the forced loan (*talla*) originated, rated himself at 1,000. In this manner has the danger been averted, and the Imperial army brought to this camp on the banks of the Trebbia, three miles from Piacenza.

There has been much difference of opinion among the generals as to whether Piacenza ought to be invested or not; but as that city has a strong garrison of 6,000 or 7,000 men under Count Guido Rangone and Paolo Ciasco, the captain of the light horse, it has been decided not to attack it, but to go on, leaving a sufficient force for the defence of Milan, join the Germans under Frenespergh (Fruntsperg), and thence march on Rezzo (Reggio).

Antonio de Leyva was earnestly requested by Mons. de Bourbon to take the command of the forces at Milan, as no man was better qualified than himself for such a charge. At first Leyva would not hear of it, unless the 8,000 or 10,000 troops, that are to remain with him, should be paid their arrears, or himself provided with the means of paying them. As this was utterly impossible at the time, there being scarcely funds enough in the Imperial treasury to issue one half pay to the Germans under Fruntsperg; as the remainder of Ferramosca's credit had been already spent; as the Spanish infantry who left in December, and only returned to duty upon Leyva going to them and promising that within three days either the Imperial army should advance, or they should receive one month's pay, Leyva was disinclined to accept the command;—the more so that the men had mutinied only two days ago here [at the camp].

Considering, however, that the Duke of Ferrara's advice is that the Imperial army should advance, and that George Fruntsperg and his men are of the same mind, Leyva has yielded at last to the solicitations of his friends and colleagues, and is to remain in Milan with the following forces: 1st, the two bands of Germans who came first, mustering 4,000 men; 2nd, 1,200 more, who came as volunteers (*aventureros*) in Fruntsperg's suite; 3rd, 1,500 Spanish infantry, the garrisons of Genoa, Como, Lecco, Trezzo and Pizzighitone not included; 4th, 3,500 Italians under Count Beljoioso; and 5th, 400 lances, and as many light horse. With these forces Leyva will try to maintain himself (*entretenerse*) all this month and the following, quartering his troops upon the inhabitants, and getting money from them if he cannot do otherwise,* although it must be said that the Milanese have been so drained of all their resources that it will be a difficult task for Leyva to accomplish. Such are Leyva's plans for the present, decided as he is to lose his life rather than allow the estate of Milan to fall into the hands of the confederates.

* "Viviendo á discrecion y con algun dinero, si lo pudiere sacar del dicho estado."

1527.

Meanwhile, with God's blessing, to-morrow, the 19th, the Duke of Bourbon, the Marquis del Guasto, and the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon) captain general of the light horse, will pass the river Trebbia, and leaving Piacenza on the left, will effect their junction with Fruntsperg. Thence, without stopping, they will push on towards Rezzo, there to meet the Duke of Ferrara, when it will be decided whether the Imperial army is to take the road to Bologna, or go to Florence, which is the thing the soldiers desire most (*adonde los soldados tienen ojo*), as this will the sooner oblige the Pope to come to terms.

Humbly requests His Imperial Majesty to provide funds for his army, which is actually marching towards the enemy's territory without a farthing (*no lleva un real*). A good sum of money ought to be sent from Spain, not from Naples, as it is not to be expected that the Viceroy, having an army to support there, can send us what he wants for himself. Indeed the 60,000 ducats which the Council of Naples was about to remit to this army of Lombardy, the Viceroy, on his arrival, took for the maintenance of his own forces.

Advices have come that one division of the Viceroy's army has been surprised and cut to pieces by the Pope's troops, and that Hernando de Alarcon has been slain; but this is an exaggeration, as is most of the news spread by the confederates. The Viceroy, according to letters of the 6th and 7th inst., was besieging a castle with a small body of his troops; the Pope's army came on within gun-shot, and the Viceroy, without being aware of it, raised his camp and went away that very night. Next morning the Pope's men advanced, and took a few carriages and women that had been left behind. It was presumed that the Colonnese would join the Viceroy, and then march on Rome.

We do not hear of any preparations for war being made either by France or the Switzers.

The Marquis del Guasto is still indisposed, and suffering occasionally from his quartan fever.

Juan de Urbina received the other day, whilst skirmishing with the enemy without his defensive armour, a sabre cut in the face, and a partisan's thrust (*golpe de partesana*) in the stomach. Neither wound, however, is dangerous.

Prothonotary Caracciolo, not being in sufficiently good health to attend this campaign, has decided to remain at Pavia, or wherever Leyva may be. He is one of the best servants the Emperor has in Italy.

Hieronimo Moron (Girolamo Morono) has left a son of his in the castle of Milan, as security for the 7,000 cr. still remaining of the 20,000 in which he was fined, after having his property restored. He is here at the camp with us, and very useful he will be for victualling and quartering the Imperial troops. A good watch is, however, kept over him for fear he

1527.

should make his escape, notwithstanding his oath of fidelity and service to the Emperor.

A few days since, Captain Çucar and Mons. de Scalenga fell into an ambush here in sight of Piacenza, and were taken prisoners by the enemy. The Prince of Orange was also in the affair and escaped miraculously.*

Sancho Lopez, present bearer, is a very good officer, who served at Pavia under Leyva, and has since been present in almost every engagement with the enemy. He is a man of intelligence (*ingenio*), and of excellent counsel; so much so, that the Commander-in-Chief has given him a place in the Council. Recommends him to the Emperor's notice.—At the camp on the Trebbia, three miles from Piacenza, 18th Feb. 1527.

P.S.—Count Gayaço, who served with 200 light horse of his own band, and was colonel of 300 more, besides 1,000 Italian infantry, and was destined with Micer George Franespergh (Fruntsperg) to escort the convoys of provisions, &c., deserted yesterday with the whole of his force, on the plea that the Pope had given him the *condotta* once held by Juan de Medicis. This Gayaço is a condottiero, very much of the stamp of the latter, and likely to follow in his steps. One might have expected better behaviour on the part of a captain who has received so many favours from the Emperor. It is to be hoped that he will be punished according to his deserts. His county [of Gayaço] should be given to Antonio de Leyva.

Is very much afraid that most of the Spaniards now at Milan will desert their banners to go to Florence.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

19 Feb.

28. MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING OF BOHEMIA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 166 v°.

Received on the 7th ult. the despatch brought by Longobal, the gentleman in waiting to His Highness. Having previously written by Don Antonio de Mendoca, and afterwards by a courier who left this for England and Flanders, has nothing particular to advise, except that on the morning of that day (the 7th) the Emperor left for Segovia, by post, in order to visit the Empress, who was to enter the city that very day in great pomp. Two days after he (Martin de Salinas) wrote to inquire whether it was the Emperor's pleasure that he should also go [to Segovia], in order to communicate the substance of the despatches last received, and come to an agreement about the succours to be sent [to Germany].

* See above, No. 25.

1527.

The answer was that he had better remain where he was, and wait for the return of the Emperor, which would take place in a few days, when the affairs of Hungary, and the resistance to be offered to the Turks, would be fully discussed.

Mons. de Prat (Praet) has not yet left for Flanders, but will start in a few days. He will most likely be the bearer of the report, which he (Salinas) must draw up immediately after his conference with the Emperor, and the meeting of the Cortes. The issue cannot be doubtful, since all the deputies of the towns and corporations of these kingdoms, with whom he has had occasion to converse, are full of sympathy for the disasters of Hungary, and disposed to grant the money required. The chapter of the Order of Santiago has not yet commenced, but there is every reason to believe that, when the knights meet, every assistance will be granted against the common enemy of our faith.

Though he (Salinas) has received orders to go to Portugal, the matters now under discussion are so important that he considers it unwise to undertake that journey before the affairs of Hungary shall be settled to His Highness' full satisfaction. He is ready, nevertheless, to send thither such a confidential agent as may represent him, and act according to the instructions received.

This letter goes through the Velzers,* whose agent in Spain has promised to forward it by way of France.

All correspondence directed to him (Salinas) might come in the same way, but the matter must be kept secret, except from Secretary Castillejo, for if it were to be known in France that the aforesaid commercial firm (the Velzers) was a vehicle for their correspondence, they might suffer for it. They ought, however, to be thanked for their care and solicitude in these matters, as well as in the remittance of the 100,000 ducats in bills of exchange.—Valladolid, 19th Feb. 1527.

Addressed : "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. Cipher. pp. 1½.

23 Feb.

29. DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fusc. 227, No. 9.

In his letter sent by Captain Mjndelarria† the Emperor will see all that has passed here during the last 19 days, since he (Mendoça) wrote to Madame [of the Low Countries] requesting that she would send a lawyer in accordance with his (the Emperor's) commands. Hears from Madame that she has received no instructions from the Emperor to that effect. Cannot think how this can have happened, unless it was an omission of the secretary, or of the clerk who drew up the despatch.

* Sometimes written Belzers, Belza, Welezer, &c.

† Mingo de Larrea?

1527.

(*Cipher* :) In consequence of the non-arrival of the lawyer [from Flanders], the Legate is persuaded that the whole thing has been devised by him (Mendoza) as an excuse for gaining time. As this was doubtless endangering the negotiations, it became important for him (Mendoza) to act upon his instructions, three points of which he thinks he has slightly improved upon. First, that having been instructed to negotiate with the contracting parties, provided they had sufficient powers to treat, and would promise to ratify what was concluded, besides first declaring their terms, he (Mendoza) has only stated his own to the King and Cardinal under oath of secrecy, believing this to be a more desirable step for the success of the negotiations. Secondly, that he (Mendoza) has thereby given to the King and Cardinal a great proof of confidence, by declaring to them what was withheld from the other contracting parties. Thirdly, although the specification of the engagements entered into with the Viceroy of Naples has not yet come to hand, still he (Mendoza) could very well have entered on the subject with the Cardinal, the sum [to be paid by France] being alluded to in the Emperor's letter. Yet he (Mendoza) thought it advisable merely to state in general terms to the Cardinal that, unless those engagements were held as binding, no new terms would be entertained. In this manner, and by not specifying the sums, &c., the Emperor remains at liberty to maintain, or withdraw from, the agreement at pleasure.

Hears that the French ambassadors are still at Boulogne, and that they are tarrying longer than these people could wish. (*Cipher* :) Many suspect that the negotiations which the King of France is actually carrying on with him (the Emperor) are this cause of this delay, for were the King of France to obtain better terms in Spain, an entire change must be made in the ambassadors' instructions. The only thing that is considered certain at this juncture is that if he (the Emperor) does not negotiate with France, through the King of England, the latter will at once declare for the League, and raise troops at his own cost in Switzerland or Germany. This King, however, is very confident that he of France will never be able to make a separate peace, except through him. He (Don Iñigo) imagines that the King is very much mistaken on this point; for should the French find the Emperor well disposed, they will begin to prepare for that event, and peace may be concluded without his intervention. The Cardinal says that a courier is shortly to be sent to Spain; fancies that it is to ask for the specification of the engagements and promises made to the Viceroy, as before confirming these they would like to know what they are.

Letters have come to-day to the Pope's Nuncio (Gambara) of the 6th inst., stating that his army had repulsed the Viceroy with great loss in men and artillery. It has also been published here that the Viceroy had been taken prisoner in the engagement; but such reports, coming as they do from the enemy's country, cannot be held as true.

1527

Has been told that the King [of England] is sending money [to Italy] secretly, though not to the amount that is publicly stated. From what he can gather in his conversations with the King and Cardinal, he (Mendoça) thinks that they are following the lead of the King of France, only that since they have seen ground for hoping that peace will be concluded through them, they have greatly changed. Does all he can to keep him (the King of England) in this mind.

The Emperor is to decide what had better be done, only remembering that words will not satisfy either the King or the Cardinal, and that in the negotiations for peace, as well as for the payment of the debts to the King of England, there must be some substantial action.—London, the 23rd of February 1527.

Signed: "Don Iñygo de Mendoça."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty, the Emperor and King, our Lord, &c."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins and between the lines. pp. 2.

23-25 Feb. 30.

SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 193.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 115.

Enclosed are certain letters, of the general [of the Franciscans] for His Imperial Majesty, as well as the duplicate and triplicate of all his (Perez's) despatches, both those that went through France, and those sent by Ferrara, Lucca and Genoa. Has nothing new to add, except that the intended expedition to Naples by the Romans and French united seems to be a matter of earnest. Mons. de Lorraine (Vaudemont) is embarking at Civittà Vecchia with all his forces. Upwards of 3,000 men have been sent to him as reinforcements, besides some pieces of artillery and a quantity of powder, ammunition, spades, pickaxes, &c., which the other day were taken out of the stores, destined, as they said, to Rocca di Papa, but in reality for this Neapolitan expedition; for no sooner was the convoy out of Rome than the conductors took the road to Ostia, where the whole was embarked for Civittà Vecchia. Some say that Piscol (Puzzuolo) is to be attacked first; others speak of Garellano (Garigliano) or Fundi, with a view to stop the provisions going to the Viceroy's camp. Count Montorio and other Neapolitan emigrants (*foraxidos*) have already started to invade that kingdom by way of Aquila. Indeed, if the reports now in circulation be true, that city has already risen and declared for France. He (Perez) does not believe in this and other news, because he knows them to be spread for the purpose of inspiring the Romans and Florentines with courage in case Mons. de Bourbon should come this way and attack them.

A report is here current that the Pope has already given Mons. de Lorraine (Count Vaudemont) the investiture of

1527.

Sicily, and that the emigrants (*foraxidos*) of that kingdom whom he has with him are urging him to undertake the conquest of that island.

Cesaro Ferramosca is anxiously expected by the Romans. Imagines, however, that he will not come back so soon, knowing, as he does, that the Pope has considerably lowered his offers.

(*Cipher* :) The Pope has been lately pressing the Duke of Ferrara to abandon the Emperor's cause, and take up his own, making him very brilliant offers. The Duke's ambassador asked him (the Pope) to write those offers down that he might forward them to his master, which His Holiness has done. Perez has seen the memorandum, wherein the Pope pledges his word that both France and Venice shall approve the arrangement; that Modena shall be given to the Duke without any compensation in money, as well as the investiture of all his other estates; that one of his sons shall be created cardinal, and that a daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici, who has a dowry of 15,000 ducats a year, shall be given in marriage to his eldest son Hercole d'Este. The same ambassador showed him (Perez) a paragraph of his master's letter in cipher, the substance of which is that, notwithstanding the great offers made to him on all sides, he does not intend deserting the Emperor's cause. He has written to Mons. de Bourbon, to whom he is not particularly well inclined, advising him not to stop before Piacenza, but to come on and meet him at a place agreed upon between them, when he will see what he can do for the Emperor's service in the event of Bologna and Florence being attacked.

Notwithstanding all these asseverations and promises, the general impression here at Rome is that the Pope and the Duke understand each other perfectly. Has informed the ambassador of this rumour, and his answer has been that his master being surrounded, as he really is, on all sides by the people of the League, was obliged to temporize with the Pope until he could entirely throw off the mask.

(*Common writing* :) Has not heard lately from the Viceroy. His last letter was dated from Chiprano (Ciprano), the 12th. The roads are so insecure that no wonder if letters do not reach their destination.

The other day an agent of the Belzares (Velzers), a German firm, was here put in prison, owing to his having refused to lend His Holiness 1,000 ducats. After remaining a few days in confinement, he has been set free, on condition of re-appearing when summoned. The measure, however, has met with general disapprobation.

Had written thus far, when Cesaro Ferramosca arrived at Rome on the 18th inst., in company with the English ambassador (Sir John Russell), who so insisted upon the expediency of his coming back with him that the Viceroy granted his request, and they came on together. The am-

1527.

bassador was confident that his presence [at Rome] would greatly facilitate the peace. The general [of the Franciscans] and Ferramosca see the Pope twice every day, before and after dinner.

The news of the rebellion at Aquila, and the entrance of the sons of Count Montorio into that city, are generally believed at Rome. Hence it is that Renzo da Ceri and other captains have left with troops to invade Naples by the frontier of the Abruzzo. The coast besides is continually visited by the enemy's galleys. Mola, close to Gaeta, has been taken, as well as a place belonging to Vespasiano Colonna, which, although insignificant in itself, serves the enemy's purpose very well, since they will be able to give out that they have actually set their foot in the kingdom of Naples. Mons. de Lorraine, moreover, is to go straight to Puzzuolo, and thence to other towns, unless our forces stop him on the way.

(*Cipher* :) Cesaro Ferramosca tells him (Perez) that the Viceroy is at the head of a very good army, and that though these people may invade Naples, he does not intend to detach any of his forces, as his plan of campaign consists not so much in repelling the invasion as in conquering the enemy's territory.

From the 18th, till to-day the 25th, Cesaro Ferramosca and the general [of the Franciscans] have been debating the articles of the truce with the Pope. They had already come to a final agreement, when the English ambassadors (Russell and Casale) interfered, saying that they could not engage to accept the truce in the name of their King, unless the Venetians were first apprised of its contents, and decided whether they would accept it or not. His Holiness, therefore, postpones his consent until he hears the answer of Venice, which is expected in a week's time. One of the English ambassadors (Sir John Russell) is going thither for that purpose, and Cesaro Ferramosca also intends leaving to-morrow for the Viceroy's camp to inform him of what is being done here at Rome, as well as of the enemy's design upon Naples; for, unluckily, the news about Aquila turns out to be true. The emigrants (*foraxidos*) have entered Cività Lucata, and the galleys of the League are cruising before Puzzuolo and along that coast, doing all the harm they can.

Letters have been received here from Mons. de Bourbon, dated the 17th inst., on which day he was 24 miles from Rezzo (Reggio), and still advancing. He tells those who are negotiating with His Holiness not to grant any truce or suspension of hostilities just now, as it would be tantamount to destroying the Emperor's advantages. Should any agreement be made between the parties, they are to let him know beforehand. One of Bourbon's servants, now at Rome, read the letter in his (Perez's) presence to the general and to Ferramosca.

Pablo de Reço (Paolo di Rezzo), the Pope's chamberlain, arrived last night from Court, which he had left a fortnight ago.

1527.

He is very much pleased with his stay in Spain, and has had a long audience from the Pope. He (Perez) has not yet had an opportunity of talking to him.

(*Cipher* :) Has repeatedly been told that he (Perez) is in danger of his life, as the Pope is very angry with him on many accounts, and especially because letters have come from England, expressing surprise that he (Perez) had not been sent to prison for daring to summon the Pope to a council. This, however, will be no reason for him to abandon his post, unless he receives orders to that effect. He will rather die a martyr for the Emperor's service.

The Duke of Ferrara is in very high spirits since he has heard of Mons. de Bourbon's progress. He is preparing provisions for his army, and has written to his ambassador here at Rome, saying that in his opinion any suspension of hostilities now would be very disadvantageous to the Emperor, doing him more harm than good, especially as it is said that the Pope will no longer give money, towns, or persons as security for the peace, but will treat absolutely on equal terms with the Emperor. It is even added that the Pope, as it is, has the best of the negotiation. Has not seen the articles, and therefore cannot state his opinion on the subject.

(*Common writing* :) Renzo da Ceri has come post [to Rome]. The Pope sent for him the other day, they say, to give him the command of certain new levies destined for the Pope's camp and the galleys.—Rome, 23rd Feb. 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

P.S.—The general's letters do not go by this conveyance; they will be sent by another route.

Cesaro Ferramosca left this day (25th) for the Viceroy's camp, without having come to terms with His Holiness. The answer from Venice is expected in about a week. The Pope tried hard to make Ferramosca promise that he would be back for that time; but Ferramosca refused, alleging that he could only do what the Viceroy bade him, as he was under his orders. He also told His Holiness that his excommunications were no longer to be feared, for everyone was aware of the Emperor's integrity in the affair, and that he wished sincerely for peace; whereas His Holiness was continually raising obstacles in the way of a truce or suspension of hostilities. The Pope's answer was that he was not unwilling to sign a peace, but that he had the right to consider his own interests first.—Date ut supra, 25th Feb. 1527.

Addressed: "Magnifico Domino Archidiacono de Belchite (Soria)."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins. pp. 4.

1527.

28 Feb. 31. M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 199.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
. 120.

31. ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the
EMPEROR.

Wrote on the 19th, advising that the Signory had decided to raise 7,000 infantry for the defence of Florence, the expenses to be divided between the two signories. (*Cipher* :) Has since heard by letters from Rome of the 21st inst., that the Pope had written to request this Signory to send all its forces across the river Pò, and assist him besides with money, as, in case of their not doing so, it would be impossible for him to resist the attack of the Imperial armies, and he would be obliged to accept the Viceroy's conditions. On the 25th, at night, a council of *pregħay* was held, at which it was resolved that the Venetian army should at once cross the Pò, and a new proveditor be appointed to command their forces. Micer Luys (Alvise?) Pisano, father of Cardinal Pisano, and who was formerly at the camp of the League in front of Milan, is the person appointed. It was also resolved to help the Pope with a sum of money, some say 20,000, others 30,000 ducats, which were remitted to Rome that same night by express, to prevent the Pope from signing any agreement with the Viceroy. His Imperial Majesty will judge how very earnest the Venetians are in their present undertaking, when he is told that at their last *pregħay* a motion was made for their Doge, [Andrea] Gritti, to be appointed proveditor (*provisor*) and take the command of the forces. Although the motion was not carried, it is nevertheless very significant, for it is not customary for the Venetians to send out their Doge on any military expedition whatsoever. Pisano, he hears, left for the camp last Saturday.

(*Common writing* :) Encloses copy of a paragraph of letter received from the secretary of His Highness the King of Hungary and Bohemia.—Venice, 28th Feb. 1527.

Signed : "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed : "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed : "To the King. Sanchez. Venice, 28th Feb."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet.

2 March. 32. K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien, Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 227, No. 11.

32. DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the EMPEROR.

Chateau arrived yesterday, 27 days after the first mandate which was sent by land. The King of England and Cardinal were so irritated (*indignados*) by the delay, that they have been several times on the point of breaking off the negotiations, being convinced that the Emperor was only temporizing. They are now somewhat appeased, as the instructions have come at last; but when informed by the ambassador that it was still necessary to await the arrival of a lawyer to examine

1527.

the powers [of the other parties], the King declared that all this was simply an excuse for delay, and that the examination of the powers was quite immaterial, for the ratification of the articles agreed to by the contracting parties would be required before the conclusion of peace, and that he (the King) pledged himself to ratify whatever terms should be settled by the Cardinal on the part of the French, and by himself (Mendoza) on the part of the Emperor, taking care to support such parties as agreed to the settlement, not those who opposed it. The King said, moreover, that unless he (Mendoza) would at once declare his terms he would not enter upon the subject again, as it was evident that the Emperor would not keep the fair promises he had made him. This was said in a tone of regret, and as if the King might, in case of non-success, look out for other ways of ensuring peace.

Seeing from the King's manner that a hesitating policy would imperil the negotiations, and knowing that the French ambassadors are just arriving [in England] with very advantageous overtures, as it is said, Mendoza begged the King to wait 12 days longer for the arrival of the lawyer from Flanders, and undertook, should the said lawyer not make his appearance within that period, to come forward at the close of it, and declare his instructions, it being understood that the King of England promised to ratify, and also that the first overtures were to come from France. This was obtained with some difficulty. Thought Madame would surely despatch the lawyer within the 12 days; feigned illness when the time was over, and so 18 days more were gained. Was then summoned by the Cardinal, who said, "The King of England would certainly have much liked to see peace concluded here through his mediation; but as the Emperor seems not to desire this, there is no need for further discussion. The King, therefore, withdraws from the negotiations, and will now act independently and as best suits his interests." The position having become so critical, Mendoza thought the non-arrival of the lawyer of far less importance than the rupture of the negotiations through it, and therefore replied that the Emperor had in no way deceived the King. He had certainly desired that a lawyer from Flanders should be present at the negotiations; but since his orders had not been complied with, he was ready to give up his point rather than let this interfere with the good understanding between the King and himself. If the other side would open the negotiations first, he (Mendoza) would come forward on his part.

It must be observed that some time before this the Cardinal had made the offer of one million in gold for the King of France, which offer he now increases to a million and a half. This Mendoza at once rejected, but told the Cardinal that if he would give his priestly word (*jurarme en sus sacras ordenes*) that the King and himself would preserve inviolable secrecy on the subject, he (Mendoza) would tell them the

1527.

basis on which the Emperor would consent to negotiate peace, which was the fulfilment of all the engagements entered into with the Viceroy. Those conditions once accepted, he (Mendoça) would make certain declarations. To which the Cardinal replied, that unless the engagements were specified, no advance whatever could be made in the proceedings, and that the treaty of Madrid could no longer be a binding obligation, since by these fresh negotiations many of its clauses would be abrogated. This assertion Mendoça denied at once, saying that it was not credible that the other powers could make a proposal so unjust and so opposed to the ends of peace. The above preliminary conditions once accepted by the ambassadors of the contracting parties, his (Mendoça's) own declarations would be found to be so equitable and just that they would not afford any ground for repudiation. Upon which the Cardinal suggested the expediency of placing the Duchy of Milan in the hands of a third person, not of the Duke of Bourbon, as proposed, but in those of the King of England. Carefully avoided any allusion to this last point, or to the King's person, but said that the Duchy was now in the hands of the Emperor and of his army, and that until the legal right to its possession was decided upon, it might be held by the Duke of Bourbon himself. Thus ended that day's conference.

Waited another day on the King, who took him aside and said, "I marvel much at this continual postponement of the question on your part, as it is in direct contradiction to the tone of the Emperor's letters. Not a step has been advanced on the subject of the promises you once made to the Cardinal; the same obscurity hangs over the engagements which you say were taken with the Viceroy. As long as those engagements remain secret, it is evident that the Emperor may increase his demands at pleasure, and in such a way that we may be farther than ever from peace."

His (Mendoça's) answer was that he could not go further in his declaration. He was altogether ignorant of the promises made by the King of France to the Viceroy. He could not tell whether money had been offered, nor to what amount. It was for His Imperial Majesty to declare whether he was satisfied with the offer or not. Hearing this, the King said that if the whole affair were placed in his hands, he could manage to have the sum increased to two millions in gold. He then went on to speak about Milan, saying that it was the principal basis for the peace in contemplation; and that if the Emperor trusted to him, he would find the means of leaving the Duchy in the hands of Bourbon, to whom he was bound by friendship and alliance. His (Mendoça's) answer was so shaped as to conceal from the King our unwillingness to make him the umpire, or as it were the master of the Duchy.

After a good deal of discussion it was finally settled that the King would write to the Emperor disapproving of that

1527.

clause in Mendoga's powers which says, "*Citra revocationem aliorum procuratorum*," and that the new powers for the conclusion of peace should contain the abrogation of all other treaties wheresoever made, so that the whole issue might be referred to England. Further, that in the said powers should be a clause appointing him arbitrator in case of any difference arising between the contracting parties. It must be said, however, that the King did not speak out on this last point as clearly as on the former.

The purport of this new embassy from France is at present unknown. Great preparations are being made for the reception of the ambassadors. In France it is openly stated that they come for the purpose of settling the marriage of the King of France with the daughter of England; and the fact that the Princess is coming here (to London) just at this moment gives some colour to the report. Many think that this King, unless hindered by these negotiations with the Emperor, would openly declare for the League; and the Imperialists fear that, though he may not actually make war upon Flanders, he will help our enemies as much as he can, and send money to Switzerland to raise there, and wherever else he can, troops at his own cost. All this is a mere rumour; the truth is unattainable for the Emperor's servants, all advices going straight to the French.

Thinks there are three points respecting which his instructions have enabled him to act advantageously for the Emperor's interests. The first is, that, having been privately instructed to say that unless the engagements formerly taken with the Viceroy were kept, he (Mendoga) could not proceed with the negotiations, the adverse party has been induced to propose this very thing.* The second, that though the Emperor alludes twice to the specification of the engagements entered into with the Viceroy as enclosed in his letter, this has never come to his (Mendoga's) hands, and thus, though he could well gather from certain passages in the Emperor's letter that the sum promised was two millions, yet he could plead ignorance on the subject, and, when hard pressed for an answer, leave the question open, and give the Emperor the opportunity of increasing his demands at pleasure. The third, that though placing no real trust in the King of England or Legate, he (Mendoga) has nevertheless been able to make great show of confidence by communicating to them that which he withheld from the other contracting parties, which precaution on his (Mendoga's) part seems to have sensibly influenced them both [the King and the Cardinal].

Thinks they are both waiting to see the terms offered by the Emperor before bringing their own forward. Believes that if in the answer expected by the next courier there should be any sign of further postponement of the question,

* "*Que la misma parte, sin saber que yo lo pido, ella de suyo veniese en ofrecerlo.*"

1527.

they will become all the more urgent in their application. Was told lately by the King of England that he would rather the Emperor absolutely declined to conclude peace here than be constantly seeking for means of delay. Is convinced that the King of France will never make peace except through the King of England; the latter has so worked upon the King of France that, judging from the little that can be really known, the latter really believes that he can only extricate himself from his present difficulties by referring the settlement to this court. Yet, with all this, the King of France does not entirely place himself in this King's hands; were it so, the ambassador firmly believes that peace would never be concluded; for the King, finding that all this discord may turn greatly to his own profit, will throw every impediment in the way of peace, or else cause the Emperor to be a loser by it. Thinks upon the whole that it might be as well to conclude peace here and by this King's mediation as elsewhere, as, by so doing, this neighbour's friendship might be secured for the future. Should the Emperor agree to this, begs that another ambassador be sent to share the responsibility of such an act with him. On behalf of the King of France alone, there are no less than four* ambassadors of different ranks here, whilst he (Mendoza) is alone. Hopes the Emperor will clearly perceive from all this how very small a matter would suffice to cause a rupture in the negotiations. Begs him to give him (Mendoza) clear and full instruction as to the course he is to pursue. Ventures to say this, because in his last letters the Emperor declares his willingness, on the conditions being accepted, to agree at once to peace, and yet forgets to tell him (Mendoza) the chief thing of all, namely, what were the engagements made with the Viceroy. The Emperor also promised to write to Madame to despatch a lawyer to England without delay, and Madame says that no such order has been sent her. Can only repeat that the greatest danger at this moment lies in delay.

Since the above the French ambassadors* have arrived and presented their credentials. Was summoned by the Cardinal, who stated that he was commissioned by the King of England to communicate to him (Mendoza) the proposals brought by the ambassadors, and the King's reply to them. The King, the Cardinal said, wished this communication to be made, that the Emperor might be convinced that he (the King) still felt his former attachment to, and reliance on, the Emperor, and paid no heed whatever to the many reports of the small trust placed by the Emperor in himself and the Cardinal. The ambassadors had spoken of three points. First, they had thanked the King for his good

* The Bishop of Tarbes newly arrived from Spain, the Viscount of Turenne and Mr. Le Vyste. Gioachino Passano being still accredited to the Court of England, there were actually four French ambassadors at this time.

1527.

offices in procuring the liberation of their King. Secondly, they had begged him to use the same good offices for procuring that of the sons of France. Thirdly, they had stated that their King having frequently besought the Emperor to send him Queen Leonor, his consort, and the Emperor having refused it, they now asked for the hand of the Princess, his daughter, for their King. To which the King [of England] had briefly replied that certainly he believed that his ambassadors [in Spain] had assisted in obtaining King Francis' liberation. He thanked the latter for his acknowledgment of this service, but said that such good offices were due from one Prince to another. He (the King of England), having been the first to set on foot the negotiations for peace, was especially bound to forward the same in every possible way, by obtaining the liberation of the King's sons on reasonable conditions. He thanked King Francis for offering to enter into such close relationship with himself, and for holding so flattering an opinion of the Princess as to be willing at her tender age to take her for his wife, but time must be given him to consider such a proposal, for that on no inducement whatever could he (the King of England) forsake his ancient alliances [with Spain], or do anything that might in the smallest degree impede the conclusion of peace, both general and private, between all Christian nations. With this the audience ended, the Cardinal said, and the ambassadors withdrew.

Was desired by the Cardinal to write home, stating, in the King's name, that no new alliances, if made, should ever affect the old ones in any way. Thanked the King and Cardinal most cordially; and begged them to pay no heed to any reports of the Emperor's want of confidence in them, as they must see that such reports were only spread by those who sought, by raising discord, to accomplish their own bad purposes. Said that the King's interposition for the setting King Francis at liberty had greatly influenced the Emperor in granting such liberty; that with regard to the giving up of the hostages the Emperor had sent him (Mendoça) powers to settle all points as soon as the French came forward with their own proposals. Had already informed them (the King and Cardinal) that he could entirely vindicate the Emperor's course of action in this particular, and that the Emperor desired the conclusion of peace to take place in England. It had never occurred to the Emperor that King Henry could wish the conditions of peace to be to his disadvantage, having such good reason to place entire confidence in him. Under proper conditions the Emperor would rather give up the King of France's sons to him than to any other Prince in the world. As regarded the proposal of marriage, the Emperor had full reliance on the King's judgment and in his fidelity to his

1527.

ancient allies. He was sure the King of England would act as was most suitable for the welfare of his own dominions, and most judicious in every respect. With the assurance that the Emperor valued King Henry's friendship and alliance before all others, and a solemn promise of communicating to his court all that had been done and said, Mendoça withdrew, and the conference was at an end.

Suspects that the Cardinal has made considerable advances on his own responsibility, and that the French ambassadors also made more advantageous proposals to him in private than when in the presence of the King and Council. It does not seem as if the negotiations were really to begin just yet, for if the Legate, in whose word he (Mendoça), however, places little trust has given a true account of the French ambassadors' proposals, and the King's answer to them, there is room to believe that King Francis has not offered the terms which they expected him to offer, since up to this time the King and Legate have been quite hostile to the Emperor, and yet now they say positively that nothing shall be allowed to interrupt their good understanding with him. Suspects, therefore what he has mentioned above, though it may be that these smooth words hide some evil purpose. The Emperor will know best what inference to draw from all this; he (Mendoça) has but few friends here with whom he can advise.

Has since been told by the Legate himself that he has in his possession the new powers brought by these last French ambassadors, but that they decline entering into any negotiation whatsoever touching the engagements previously taken with the Viceroy without having them specified first, and knowing what they are. Was urged by the Legate to furnish such specification, but declined for the reasons above stated. It was finally settled that he (Mendoça) should write home and request the Emperor, in token of his approval of the negotiations for peace being conducted here, to send powers in which that clause should be omitted stipulating that all previous powers granted on this subject are to remain in full force; to specify at the same time the engagements entered into with the Viceroy, and to appoint the King of England arbitrator for the Duchy of Milan; in which last case, the Cardinal said, the Emperor's interests should receive more consideration than he could ever have expected. Limited his reply to stating that he would inform the Emperor of all that had passed at the conferences; so great was his attachment to the King of England that he (Mendoça) felt sure the Emperor would willingly do the King's pleasure.

All those who are well disposed towards the Emperor in this city consider the Legate's answer to the French ambassadors as most favourable to the Imperial interests. They think that as the King and Cardinal perceive that the Emperor really intends the negotiations to be carried on here, and that there is a prospect of their advancing quickly, a friendly feeling

1527.

will be maintained. The King, they imagine, has so far pledged himself that, without breaking word and faith, he cannot fail the Emperor. On the other hand, those best acquainted with the King's character assure him (Mendoza) that if this Legate were not always at his side nothing would ever alienate his (the King's) affection from the Emperor, but that in reality the King follows the Legate's guidance in all things. Is therefore of opinion that the most important point of all is to propitiate the Legate. He has loudly complained to him (Mendoza) that his annual pension of nine thousand ducats has not been paid for the last five years. Believes if this could be set right, it would greatly forward the negotiations. All other offers made by him to the Legate in the Emperor's name have been courteously received, but rejected; considers this a bad sign.

The French ambassadors are working very energetically. It is reported that this King thinks of sending an embassy to France, and that some of the gentlemen of his chamber are to go thither and be admitted to the King of France's chamber, and vice versâ. With the gentlemen of his chamber, it is said that the King of France himself means to come to England.

Was informed by the Legate that the Emperor had lately sent a special messenger to the King of France with ample powers for concluding peace. The Legate hinted that peace would be much more effectually concluded here.

The ship which has been waiting set sail yesterday. On board of her was the Emperor's comptroller, to whom, on Madame's assurance and recommendation, and believing from his own observation that he is thoroughly to be trusted, he (Mendoza) has communicated much that is in these despatches. Should they be intercepted or otherwise lost, the Emperor may thus still receive full information of their contents.—London, 2nd March 1527.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

Spanish. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 16.

2 March. 32*.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.

Salazar, A. 40,

f. 210.

B. M. Add. 28,576,

f. 121.

SECRETARY PEREZ to LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador at Genoa.

Has duly received his letter of the 16th February, together with its enclosures for the Viceroy and Cesaro Ferramosca. The last-named gentleman had already left Rome. Thanks him for the good news from Spain. If what he (Soria) tells him be true, all will go right well, and the intrigues in this city will cease. Otherwise it will be necessary for them both to be on the alert standing on one leg like the stork (*en un pie como la grua*).

Is glad to hear that all his letters, including that of the 26th of January, have reached their destination, with the exception of one of the 4th of the same month, for the loss of

1527.

which he (Perez) can in no manner account. He must have received since those of the 11th and 24th of February.

The rejoicings and illuminations of the Florentines, when they heard of the Viceroy's supposed defeat and capture, were already known here [at Rome]. The whole of it, however, has proved to be a hoax (*burla*) of our enemies. The Viceroy is now quite safe at Chiprano (Ciprano), not far from the Pope's camp; he will not dismember his army to meet the attacks of the confederates on the kingdom of Naples, sure as he is that if he is successful in these parts nothing substantial can be achieved there. The news from Aquila remains the same. It is supposed that the Viceroy will make some agreement (*concierto*) with Count Montorio and with his sons.

Renzo da Ceri and Orazio Baglione have left with forces, for the Abruzzo and, it is added, will soon attack Sulmona. It is to be presumed that the Viceroy has already provided for the defence of a town which interests him so closely.* Andrea Doria was met at Puzzuolo by Don Ugo [de Moncada], who sank three of his galleys, and slew some of his people. Though favourable to our arms, this news requires confirmation.

The King of the Bean (*el Rey de la Fava*) is still at Ostia,† detained by illness; others say he was wounded in the last engagement. Has not been able to ascertain the truth of this matter.

The English ambassador (Sir John Russell), who was to have gone to Venice about the articles of the agreement with the Viceroy, fell from his horse and broke his leg on the road. He has since returned to Rome, but an answer is still expected from Venice, for after the ambassador's accident a courier went thither with his despatches, and another one has since been sent from Rome.

His Holiness seems very desirous of coming to terms with the Viceroy. That is the reason why he will not allow the general [of the Franciscans] to quit Belvedere, where he is at present, slightly indisposed, as it seems. The Pope expects that Ferramosca will speedily come back after delivering his message to the Viceroy, so as to be present when the answer of Venice arrives; but it is doubtful whether the Viceroy will let him come. In short, matters are in a precarious state, and everything will depend on Mons. de Bourbon's doings. If the remedy comes not from him, he (Perez) does not augur well for the future.

The news of the late popular commotion at Florence must

* Charles de Lannoy was Prince of Sulmona at this time.

† Meaning the Count of Vaudemont, of the house of Lorraine, whom the Pope had about this time appointed King of Naples and Sicily. *Rey de la Fava* is the title generally given in Spain—and I believe in most Catholic countries—to whomsoever gets the bean (*fabá*) in the division of the twelfth cake on the night of the Epiphany. The person so favoured is proclaimed King by the assembled guests, who jest and laugh at the expense of the so elected monarch.



1527.

already be known in Genoa. It appears that the Salviati, Strozzi, and Soderini had entered into a conspiracy against the present Government. It was, however, discovered, and some of the principal parties arrested. Then Cardinal Ridolfi went hence by post, and took measures to secure the city, which, they say, is in great fear of an attack from the lansquenets. The Florentines, however, have repaired the defences of their city, and brought in all the valuables and provisions in its immediate neighbourhood. A rumour is here current that Mons. de Bourbon is coming this way, and that the armies of the League are on his flanks and in front, to impede, if possible, his march as well as any attack he may make upon Modena, Bologna, and Florence, which they say he intends attacking. What Bourbon's real projects are, he (Soria) must know better, if it be true that 6,000 infantry are to be sent to him from Genoa, and that a quantity of provisions is also being stored at Carmona (Cremona).

Until now Bernaldino de Albornoz has not made his appearance. Does not know what to think of it.—Rome, 2nd March 1527.

Signed: "Juan Perez."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 4.

3 March. 33. The ABBOT OF NAJERA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 216.
B. M. Add. 28,574,
f. 123.

Wrote on the 18th of February by the warder of Tarento (Felipe de Herrera), and by Captain Sancho Lopez, both of whom were going to Spain. Encloses duplicate of his letters. Since then the Imperial army has continued to march as quickly as possible, making each day 10, 12, or 15 miles, which the men walk with pleasure, thinking they are going to Florence. They do not wait for bridges to be thrown across rivers, but cross by the usual fords. To-day the army is to cross one (*ribera*) called La Panara, beyond Modena, where the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) has had a bridge prepared. To-morrow it will go to a district called Castel San Juan (San Giovanne), 12 miles from Bologna, to the left of the Roman causeway (*estrada romana*) leading to that city.

Towards the end of February a gentleman of the Duke of Bourbon, Mons. de Pelus (*sic*) by name, and he (the Abbot) came to Ferrara to request the Duke to take the command in chief of this army, and provide six pieces of ordnance with their complement of powder, ammunition, &c. for 100 discharges (*disparos*) each, some sacks of flour and other provisions, besides pioneers (*gastadores*), ox carts, &c. The Duke was to lend us, besides, 4,000 cr. (*escudos*) for the pay of the two companies of Spanish infantry, now at Carpi, in order that they might, after delivering up that town to the Duke, join the Imperial army. Every one of these requests has been

1527.

readily granted by the Duke, except the one relating to his own person, as, he says, he is not just now in a condition to take the command of the Imperial forces, his health not being sufficiently good to bear fatigue. Besides which, the moment the Imperial army evacuates his territory he is sure to be attacked by the confederates, as they have done at other times. Seeing this, the gentleman of Mons. de Bourbon (Pelu) and he (the Abbot) invited him to come to Castel San Giovanne, speak to Mons. de Bourbon, and offer his advice as to the best road to take. It has been settled that he is to start to-morrow morning, and meet Bourbon at Finale, a town belonging to him, 12 miles from Castel San Juan (San Giovanne), on the confines of the Modenese and Bolognese territories. So that the Duke of Ferrara, after all, will not inspect the Imperial army as we anticipated. (*Cipher* :) The true cause of this—though the Duke has not mentioned it—must be that he is afraid of being pressed to take the command of an army like this, which has not been paid for so long a time, as the soldiers might mutiny, and seize him until their arrears are paid, he (the Duke) having the reputation of being a very rich man. By means of this and similar arguments two Papal agents, Count Hugo de Populi (*sic*) and Mons. d' Esten, lieutenant to the Marquis of Saluzzo, have been trying very hard to detach the Duke Alfonso from the Imperial service. The Duke showed them the investiture deed of Carpi, and his own nomination to the post of captain-general of the Spanish armies, and told them that he could not serve any one but the Emperor, with which answer he dismissed them, only three hours before Mons. de Pelu and he (the Abbot) reached Ferrara.

(*Common writing* :) This Duke is not very much pleased with Don Hugo [de Moncada], because in the articles of the agreement made with him only 100 lances and 200 light horse were stipulated as his war contingent; and the proposal that his pay as captain-general of the Imperial armies in Italy should be charged upon the revenues of Carpi until the marriage of his son (Hercole d' Este) to the Emperor's daughter (Margaret) should take place; also because Don Hugo denied him the power of raising 1,000 infantry for his own body guard in time of war. Mons. de Bourbon, however, in consideration of the Duke's personal qualities and importance, and of the great value of his aid in the present undertaking, is thinking of granting him the 100 lances and 200 horse, in ordinary, besides the 1,000 foot in time of war; also that he may hold Carpi in the Emperor's name, and by way of dower (*sub nomine dotis*), and keep an account of its income, as well as of the annual expenses involved in keeping it, so that His Imperial Majesty may see whether any part of it can be saved towards his pay as captain general. He does this in the hope that the Emperor will approve and confirm the whole. True, the Duke says

1527.

that in this, as in all other matters, he is satisfied with what the Emperor has granted him already, and that he wishes for nothing more; but he (the Abbot) knows better, and as it is very important just now to secure the Duke's co-operation and services, does not hesitate to recommend his case as strongly as he can.

(*Cipher:*) Mons. de Bourbon has asked this Duke to advance him 35,000 cr. (*escudos*), which are required for issuing one half-pay to the Spaniards, and one cr. per head to the Germans, besides five cr. to the men-at-arms, and, if possible, half-pay also to the light cavalry; as otherwise, he says, it will be almost impossible for his army to enter Florence, a sterile country without food or provisions of any sort. The soldiers, though marching in good humour, as aforesaid, now and then clamour for their pay, and have advanced as far as San Juan (Castel San Giovanne) in the hope of receiving at least a portion of their arrears. Should the Duke refuse what is asked of him, Mons. de Bourbon will be placed in a very awkward position, and there is no knowing what determination he may come to.

(*Common writing:*) News from Rome and Florence. Revolution in the latter place. Ridolfi sent thither by the Pope. Cardinal Rangone is to come to Modena, where his brother Guido already is with nearly 3,000 men, to guard against an attack from the Duke of Ferrara. The Venetians have undertaken to defend Piacenza and Parma with 5,000 men; the Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) is very ill at a place in the marquisate of Mantua, called Castion.

The Marques of Saluzzo (Francesco) is with his force close to Bologna, intending to enter that city and defend it, should our army make an attempt on it; but from what he (the Abbot) hears, the citizens are unwilling to admit any troops inside for fear the Imperialists should come and lay waste the land, destroying the gardens and palaces in its neighbourhood. So much is it so, that the other day, as some of the citizens were sending certain provisions to the Marquis's camp outside, another party of citizens went out and took them away.

Il Guiccardino (Guicciardino) is gone to Florence with Frederigo di Bozano (Bozzolo) and Count Gayago. They take with them about 3,000 men, and their plan is to fortify the city. It is to be hoped that Mons. de Bourbon will not give them time for it. The Pope's officers are there making arrests, and, as he has been told, executing persons concerned in the last revolution. Even from Venice people daily come flying to this camp for fear of being arrested, as has been the case lately with a Florentine doctor who was a refugee (*foraxido*) there.

Has no advices from Milan; the roads that lead to Parma, Piacenza, and Cremona being completely in the hands of our enemies, it is not easy to know what is going on there.

Signor Ferdinando Gonzaga joined this army on the 28th

1527.

of February, and is already organising his company of men-at-arms.

Count Agamonte (Egmont), who was with the Viceroy at Chiprano (Ciprano), embarked at Ortonomar (Ortonamare), and arrived here on the 1st inst. in company with Don Alonso de Cordova and other Spanish gentlemen. Has heard that the Count (Egmont) has been appointed captain-general of the light horse in the room of the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon), whom Mons. de Bourbon had first nominated to that post. The Prince is to have instead the command of the vanguard of the men-at-arms, and must for the present be satisfied with that.

This Imperial army musters now 700 lances, 800 light horse, 10,000 Germans, 5,000 Spaniards, and upwards of 3,000 Italians, all good soldiers. We have an immense baggage, and waggons innumerable, so that each man may have his own provisions at hand. There are, besides, four large guns, and the 12 pieces of light artillery which the Duke of Ferrara gave on a previous occasion to George Frenespergh (Fruntsperg). If the six guns which we have applied for here are given to us, we may perhaps leave the whole or the greater part of the light artillery behind.—Ferrara, 3rd March 1527.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. The Abbot of Najera. From Ferrara, 3rd March."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 8.

8 March. 34. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 228.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 127.

Having written to Court on the 24th and 25th Feb. by triplicate through Ferrara, France, and Genoa, there is no need for him to sum up the intelligence contained in those despatches, as they must all have reached Spain.

Since the accident which happened to the English ambassador (Sir John Russell), and the forwarding of his despatches by another courier, no answer has come from Venice, although one is expected every day. (*Cipher:*) The general of the Franciscans has assured him (Perez) that the Pope is as desirous of peace as ever, and determined to treat with him and Cesaro (Ferramosca) without waiting for the answer from Venice. (*Common writing:*) He has lately sent for the latter, and for Don Ugo [de Moncada] as well, begging them to come to Rome, for which purpose he has forwarded safe-conducts. It is doubtful whether they will come; at all events they are anxiously expected. One thing, however, is quite clear, namely, (*cipher*) that if they do come [to Rome] the negotiations cannot be conducted so favourably for the Emperor as at first, since the Pope appears to have

1527.

changed his mind on this score, and asserts in public that truce or peace must now be made on equal terms without the demand of money or securities from him or his allies, as was stipulated at first. The general, however, tells him (Perez) that the Pope will give money in the end; only he does not wish this condition to be recorded in the articles of the treaty.

The Viceroy is still at Chiprano (Ciprano), daily increasing his forces, and having abundance of provisions. Not so the Pope's camp close by, for such is the scarcity of every article of food in it, that men are continually deserting and returning home, where, however, they are not admitted for fear of their being seen by the Romans. It is generally believed here that, owing to this and other causes, the Pope's camp will break up in 15 or 20 days at the latest, though in the meanwhile they are doing all they can to keep it up by sending provisions and so forth.

It is asserted that Renzo da Ceri has penetrated into the Abruzzo by the county of Tallacoz (Tagliacozzo), and taken several castles there. Ascanio Colonna is in that neighbourhood with forces, but we do not know what he can do to stop the progress of the enemy.

In order to remedy the mishap at Aquila, the Viceroy set Count Montorio free on parole, and gave him 60 horse to return and reduce that city into obedience. Two sons of the Count were inside; having heard their father's arrival, they rode all night, surprised him in his bed, robbed the horses of his escort, and took him prisoner [to Aquila]. Many, however, suspect that all this has been planned beforehand, and that father and sons are in the plot.

Aquila is therefore at the disposal of the Pope, who has there a Vice-Legate, without whose orders, or those of the sons [of Count Montorio], nothing is done. This Perez has learned from the Regent, Juan Bartholomé de Gattinara, who happened to pass through Aquila, and saw it all. He is now at Rome waiting for a safe-conduct from His Holiness to go to Mons. de Bourbon. This has been granted, and the Pope for greater security proposes sending one of his own chamberlains with him, though on the other hand it is said that he will not let Gattinara go so easily.

Mons. de Bourbon on the 3rd inst. was in the Modenese. It is believed here [at Rome] that he will take the road to Romagna and thence go to Naples, and that he will abandon for the present all other designs he may have. He (Perez) thinks, on the contrary, that he will carry out his plans, whatever they may be, without heeding the kingdom of Naples, which the Viceroy is quite able to defend whenever he thinks advisable.

Andrea Doria with the galleys of the League went to Puzzuolo, and landed one afternoon 1,000 hackbutiers, who attacked one of the suburbs and took it after some hours' fight, assisted by the firing of his galleys. A message was then

1527.

sent to Naples to Don Ugo, who, coming suddenly with infantry and cavalry, drove the enemy out of the suburb, taking from them two banners and two pieces of ordnance, besides 100 men who remained dead on the field, whilst several more were drowned in the attempt to reach the galleys. No news of the enemy's fleet has been received since, except that he is still on that coast. Respecting the brother of the Duke of Lorraine (Count Vaudemont) various conflicting reports are about; some say that he is ill or wounded at Ostia; others that he is dead, and that his body has been brought here to Rome, and buried at a monastery within the city.

He (Perez) has so incurred the Pope's displeasure on several accounts that he does not consider himself safe at Rome. Besides the presentation to the College of Cardinals of the Emperor's letter about the Council, which, as stated elsewhere, gave the Pope great offence, he (Perez) is accused of having been in treaty with Count Petillano (Pitigliano), and with his son-in-law, a son of Cardinal Frenesis (Farnese), for the purpose of creating a revolution at Bitervo (Viterbo) and Orbiato, and making those cities declare for the Emperor. The Pope not only gave credit to this false report, but told Commander Aguilera, who repeated it to him (Perez), that if it were not for the Emperor's sake he would have had him thrown into a dungeon (*empozar*). Told Commander Aguilera, that he might repeat it to His Holiness, that he (Perez) was quite innocent of the charge, for that the only thing he had done was to write a letter to the Viceroy in commendation of the Cardinal Farnese's son, who had called two or three times on him, begging he would favour his suit, as he wished to enter the Imperial service. The Viceroy never answered his letter, and, therefore, he is not aware that his recommendation was attended to. Though the Pope, on hearing these excuses, seemed to be pacified, according to Commander Aguilera's report, he (Perez) has reason to believe that he is still very angry.

The King of France's chamberlain* is expected here every day, as the report is that he has passed through Lyons, and is coming straight to Savona. He brings, they say, 35,000 cr. (*escudos*) in specie, and the promise of considerable forces.

(*Cipher* :) Micer Agustin Folleta (Foglieta) had the other day a long conversation with the general [of the Franciscans], who was enchanted with him. He is the Emperor's most devoted servant, and has been very useful in various ways ever since the days of Don Juan Manuel.

(*Common writing* :) The general [of the Franciscans] left Belvedere at the beginning of Lent for Araceli, a monastery of his order. He has, however, since returned, for the Pope wishes him to be close to him, that they may discuss present affairs, &c.

* Langeay or De Langes, as he is generally named in this correspondence.

1527.

(*Cipher*.) His Holiness no doubt wishes to have by him men of authority to represent the Emperor in the pending negotiations, as that is likely to give greater importance to his own Nuncios in Italy as well as in France. This would make it look as if he himself were being solicited by the Emperor, and enable him to get more help and money from his allies. Has been told that the Venetians offer to give him 30,000 cr. every month, in addition to their own expenses, provided he (the Pope) rejects the agreement. This may be true, but if the Pope comes to terms, it is almost certain that Venice will also accept them, for it is not to be presumed that they will go on making war single-handed.—Rome, 8th March 1527.

P.S.—The messengers who went in quest of Ferramosca and Don Ugo have just returned [to Rome] without them. Neither would come; at which several good servants of His Imperial Majesty are exceedingly glad, as this refusal will most likely tend to his greater glory and reputation. One of the said messengers said to him (Perez) that nobody [at Ciprano] spoke of the Aquila affair in the terms above mentioned. On the contrary, the general belief was that Count Montorio had expelled his own sons and their adherents from Aquila, and that the city has since returned to the Emperor's obedience.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Catholicæ Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. From Rome. Perez. 8th March. Answered."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

11 March.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 242.
B. M. Add. 28,575,
f. 130.

35. ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

Wrote on the last day of February.* Since then he has heard (*cipher*) that the Signory has received letters from France (some say of the 17th and others of the 23rd ult.), stating that King Francis had resolved to come to no agreement whatever, not even signing a truce with the Emperor, though the Pope himself might be inclined to do so. He (Sanchez) does not vouch for the truth of this report; all he can say is that his informers assert that the King [of France] has promised this Republic men and money, in case they are wanted, exhorting them to remain firm, and not listen to overtures for peace from any quarter, as this would undoubtedly work their ruin, &c. Has been told that Secretary Andrea Rosso is daily expected from France with 25,000 ducats in specie, instructions to treat with the Duke Francesco Sforza, and new articles also for a league with this Signory, in case the Pope should, as it is feared, make his own peace with the

* See above, No. 31.

1527.

Emperor. In such an event the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) is expected to join the Italian League, as he is not likely to side with the Pope, &c.

Has long been thinking of informing the Viceroy of these intrigues, but being unable to do so on account of the distance and the insecurity of the roads, has communicated his fears to Secretary Perez that he may inform Lannoy and Ferramosca thereof. Great care should be taken in any treaty with the Pope to protect the Duke [of Ferrara's] interests; otherwise he is sure to abandon the Imperial service, and pass over to the enemy. Hears that Bourbon does not wish for an armistice, but prefers a good and solid peace with His Holiness, as more profitable for the Imperial interests in Italy. One of his servants, now at Rome, said so the other day to the general of the Franciscans and to Cesaro Ferramosca, in the hearing of the Duke of Ferrara's agent, and of Secretary Perez, who happened to be present, maintaining that his master (Bourbon) was no friend at all to an armistice, but would strongly recommend peace. As much on account of this opinion of M. de Bourbon, as because the Pope said to Cesaro that he wished to consult the confederates as to the terms (*concierto*) proposed to him, or the suspension of hostilities for one year, the negotiations seem lately to have received a check, for Ferramosca, observing the delay, suddenly quitted Rome on the 25th ult. Nevertheless, Secretary Perez writes in date of the 6th inst. that the Viceroy had desired the general of the Franciscans to wait at once on the Pope, and apply for a decisive and categorical answer, thus intimating that the choice of truce or peace is still left to him. The Viceroy added in his letter that he took this step for the Emperor's vindication and to show his love of religion (*por que era cristianísimo*) than out of necessity. The Pope had again sent for Don Ugo de Monçada and Cesaro Ferramosca. Cannot tell whether they will come, and what is likely to be the result of the conference; but this he can say, that unless the Duke's affairs are definitively settled with Rome, and Modena is restored to him, no armistice or peace with the Pope will make him continue in His Majesty's service. He (the Duke) has lately had an interview with Bourbon at a place 20 miles from Ferrara, where, besides furnishing him with provisions for the Imperial army and good advice, he has given artillery, ammunition, pioneers, and all manner of things. The Imperialists in return have consigned Carpi to him. It is to be inferred from all this that the Duke [of Ferrara], who has the reputation of being a shrewd politician, cannot have failed to ascertain first in what sort of position he will remain after the Pope has signed the treaty of truce or peace. His Majesty has no doubt heard from Mons. de Bourbon and from Ferramosca, as well from the Abbot of Najera, who was present at the interview, what the Duke said on the occasion.

1527.

The Duke [of Bourbon] writes in great spirits. Sanchez has had letters from him stating that the army under his command is prepared for any undertaking whatsoever.* It is to advance on Rome by forced marches. The Duke [of Ferrara] had given him (Bourbon) good advice and provisions for his troops. This was about a month ago. Has not heard from him since, but is told that on the 7th inst. he was with the Imperial army at Castel Sant Joan (San Giovanna) and at Sant Jorge (San Giorgio), about 10 miles from Bologna.

Hears from various sources that a letter which the Viceroy wrote lately to Bourbon, telling him to quicken his march, as the kingdom of Naples was in danger of an invasion, has been intercepted by the enemy. Has written to the Viceroy communicating this intelligence.

As one of the English ambassadors, who went lately to Rome, was on his road to this city, for the purpose of inducing the Signory to accept the armistice about to be concluded between the general of the Franciscans and Cesaro Ferramosca on one side, and His Holiness on the other, he had a fall from his horse, broke his leg, and was obliged to return to Rome. Hears that the credentials of the said English ambassador† are not direct from the King, but from the Cardinal, and that it was Prothonotary Casale, who resides here, who, in the absence of the other ambassador (Russell), delivered the message to the Senate. Cannot learn what the Signory's answer has been, but fancies that they will consent to no agreement unless the King of France is included in it, and that they will do everything in their power to encourage the Pope, and calm his fears of the Imperial arms. The Prothonotary (Giovanna Casale) left this for Ferrara on the 6th, on a visit to its Duke, probably to induce him to desert the Emperor's cause. Imagines that the Prothonotary applies too late, and will make no impression on the Duke. Before his departure [for Ferrara] the Prothonotary called upon the Duke's resident ambassador here, and declared to him his intentions. He was going (he said) merely to remind the Duke of his own advantages, and how interested he ought to be in the peace of Italy. This (he said) was the only object of his journey, and not, as reported, to do a bad turn to the Emperor, since the King, his master, was no party to, and only a mediator in, the present quarrel. But the truth is that the English ambassador (Casale) has often shown himself as great a partisan in these troubles as the French Bishop of Bayeux himself, and that by order of his master, the King of England.

* "Y dize que aquel felicissimo exercito está muy determinado é dispuesto para qualquier expedicion, é que sin perdida de tiempo yria la buelta de Roma á buenas jornadas."

† Sir John Russell. The accident happened on the 24th of February. See Domenico Venier's letter to the Doge and Signory in Rawdon Brown, *Venet State Papers*, vol. iv., p. 32.

1527.

The Signory has promised the Pope 30,000 ducats, one half about the 15th of this month; the other on the same day of April next. They hesitate, however, to pay that money for fear the Pope should in the meantime come to an agreement with His Majesty.

(*Common writing* :) A jubilee has just been granted by the Pope with many indulgences, not only to Venice, but to other towns of this Signory, from which considerable sums are expected to come in. A new and strange manner of proceeding in these matters to grant crusades or jubilees against Christians; though it must be said that, according to the words of the bull, the money is to be spent in war against the Turk.

(*Cipher* :) The Signory is fitting out nine new galleys, destined, as they say, to the coast of Apulia (Puglia). Has acquainted the Viceroy with the fact.—Venice, 11th March 1527.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. *Original partly in cipher*. *Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet*. pp. 5.

11 March. 36. DON MARTIN DE SALINAS to FERDINAND, KING OF BOHEMIA.

On the 16th of February Longobal arrived with the despatches. The Emperor was not in town, having gone to Segovia to see the Empress, but Secretary Lallemand forwarded His Highness' letters, explained their contents, and asked for orders. The answer was that the Emperor would be back very shortly; and so he was, for on the following Friday he made his public entrance into Valladolid, accompanied by the Empress, who, on account of her state of pregnancy, was carried on the shoulders of the principal people of the place.

The Emperor was glad to hear of Fruntspersg's* arrival in Italy, and of the manner in which it was accomplished. It was thought at first that more reinforcements would have been required, but the news lately received is that they are considered quite sufficient for the intended purpose.

Respecting Micer Andrea [del Borgo] and the instructions to be sent to the Imperial commissaries (*comisarios*) in Italy, the Emperor is of opinion that in the present state of affairs it is not advisable to make any change, as it would create discontent among people who are doing all they can for the Imperial service.

* The same captain elsewhere called Frenspersg, Fronsperg, or Frenesperg. His arrival in Italy at the head of 6,000 lansquenets has already been recorded, part i., pp. 967 and *seq.*

1527.

The passage to Italy of the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon) was already known here, though not with the details contained in His Highness' last letters.

With regard to the Swiss the Emperor thinks that it would be unwise to give them money before it was ascertained whether they wished to take service or not. There is, however, no danger in promising them, should they forsake the French alliance, that they will be paid what is owed them [by France], for the Emperor has a good pledge in his hands, and will take care that any arrangement made with that country will also include the settlement of their claims.

The Emperor is also of opinion that some learned men of those parts should be selected to write pamphlets in Latin or German, similar to those lately circulated by the French, showing the many infractions of the existing treaties which King Francis has committed. The Diet ought to see to this, and have the text of the last treaty (*concordia*) of Madrid printed and circulated, as well as of the enclosed copy of the proposals since made by that monarch, of the Pope's brief and the Emperor's answer to it.

The said King has published a paper against the electors who appointed the Emperor King of the Romans, pretending that they only consulted their own private interest and were led away by promises that have remained unfulfilled. The Emperor is of opinion that a refutation of such arguments ought to be printed, showing that it was he (King Francis) who, in order to gain the votes of the electors, made most brilliant offers to the Marquis of Brandenburg and others. The electors should be informed of this beforehand, that they may not take offence.

The election made by the Bohemians has given great satisfaction at this court; but His Imperial Majesty is sorry to hear that the affairs of Germany, as regards religion, are far from improving. The Duke Ulric of Wurtemberg is to continue in command of the Suabian League. Warrants have been issued for him to proceed against the Landgrave [of Hesse] and all other defaulters.

The members of the Imperial Diet have been instructed to attend to the rights of the Archduke to the Crown of Hungary, and to follow strictly the orders that His Highness may be pleased to give them thereupon. The Provost of Valtrique, about whom His Highness wrote recommending him for the post of commissary [in Italy], is very much wanted in Spain. The Emperor has just appointed him Vice-Chancellor of the Empire, and were he to allow him to leave, there would be no one left here to attend to the business he has in hand, and execute His Highness' orders.

The promise made to Secretary Lallemand of 300 ducats pension every year has not been fulfilled, and yet it is important that it should be, as the said Lallemand is doing all he can to promote His Highness' interests at Court. The city of

1527.

Francfort is bound to pay the Emperor 900 florins annually. Two years are now owing; if His Highness should recover them, part of that sum might be applied, with the Emperor's consent, to the payment of the arrears owing to Lallemand, or in the shape of a gratuity to Secretary Castillejo,* who is also doing good service there.

By letters of the ambassador at Venice (Sanchez) we have heard that the Vayvod [of Transylvania] had sent to implore the help of that Signory. The reply was that he was to join the League first, and then send for the Turk.

A search has been made here for the papers relating to the treaty of alliance which the late Emperor Maximilian concluded with Hungary and Poland, but hitherto no trace of them has been found. Some suspect that they are still in Flanders, and therefore orders have been sent to search for them, and send His Highness attested copies of the same.

The last news from Rome is that everything there and in the rest of Italy is going on well.

The letters for the King and Queen of Portugal (Dom João III. and Donna Catalina) have been duly received, but for the reasons stated in a previous despatch,† as well as the circumstance of the Cortes of Castile being now deliberating on the subsidy to be granted for a war against the Turk, it has been thought advisable that he (Salinas) should not be absent from Court. Having asked the Emperor's orders thereupon, he has been told that he had better stay at Valladolid, and send some trusty person to Lisbon to deliver the said letters and friendly message, which has been done, His Imperial Majesty having furnished him with letters of introduction to the King (Dom João III.), the Queen (Donna Catalina), and Doña Maria de Velasco,‡ of which copies are enclosed.§

Has according to orders applied for some ecclesiastic benefice or pension in behalf of Secretary Castillejo, and the Emperor has kindly promised to think of him whenever a vacancy should occur.

Salinas' private affairs. Proposals made to the Cortes and discussion thereof.

Never fails to consult over affairs with His Imperial Majesty's confessor (Loaysa), for many reasons. The first and principal, because that prelate enjoys great favour just now; the other, that he is most sincerely attached to His Highness' service, and does all he can to promote our interests.

* Christoval de Castillejo, one of the most popular poets of this time, had been appointed some years before to the post of secretary. He resided at the court of Ferdinand until his death, which occurred in 1557. His collected works were first printed at Madrid, 1573, 8°, considerably expurgated by the Inquisition.

† See above, No. 31.

‡ Doña Maria de Velasco, daughter of the sixth Constable of Castile, D. Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, and at this time lady in waiting to Queen Katharine of Portugal.

§ Not in the volume, which, as elsewhere stated, is Salinas' original copy-book

1527.

The Emperor is about to send to Vienna one of his own secretaries, a native of Transylvania, and a vassal of His Highness. His father was slain at the battle [of Mohatz], and he now wishes to enter the King's service and fight against the Turks. He will be the bearer of letters of recommendation for His Highness.

During his residence at Granada the Emperor created a Council of State, composed of the Archbishop of Toledo (D. Alonso de Fonseca), the Duke of Alba (Don Fadrique Alvarez de Toledo), the Duke of Bejar (D. Alvaro de Zúñiga) the confessor (Fr. Garcia de Loaysa), the Bishop of Jaen,* and others. As long as he held his court in that city, the councillors met, and discussed various State affairs, giving their opinion thereupon; but since his arrival at Valladolid, though very important business has been transacted, the Emperor has not consulted them thereupon, neither will they be consulted henceforward, as the rumour goes, except perhaps the confessor (Loaysa), of whom much notice is taken just now, and Secretary Jean Lallemand. This innovation has been the cause of great dissatisfaction among certain grandees who see themselves excluded from the Emperor's councils, but the truth is that the Catholic Kings in former times tried as much as they could to limit the admission of the titled nobility in the Privy Council.†

It is said here that the King of France is seeking this marriage with Princess Mary of England for no other purpose than that of increasing his power against the Emperor and his brother the Archduke. This notwithstanding, he goes on writing very sweet letters (*cartas muy graciosas*) to Queen Leonor, whom he calls his wife; but his words differ much from his deeds.

There is a rumour here that Mons. de Labrid (Jean d'Albret), who has assumed the title of King of Navarre, is collecting a force wherewith to invade that kingdom. If so, it must be at the instigation of King Francis, his kinsman. The Emperor, however, has ordered certain men-at-arms to go to the frontiers, and in the event of an invasion they will give Frenchmen their due.

News has come that the Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy) was in treaty with the Pope, and that there was hope of a good settlement of the Italian question. If so, it would be advisable not to have the Papal brief of the 23rd of June (1526) and the Emperor's answer to it published, though all the

* Don Estevan Gabriel Merino. Among the Councillors whose names are omitted, Henry Count of Nassau was one, and Mercurino di Gattinara another; John Lallemand was the secretary. See Sandoval, *Historia de Carlos V.*, vol. i., lib. xiv., and Gil Gonzalez Davila, *Grandezas de Madrid*, f. 509.

† In Ferdinand and Isabella's time the Privy Council (*Consejo del Rey*) was chiefly composed of the first nobility in their respective kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, to whom a certain number of ecclesiastics, including the Archbishops of Toledo, Seville, and Saragossa, was added. Charles remodelled it in 1526, and called it "Consejo de Estado."

1527.

other papers, tracts, and apologies [of the Emperor] against the French King may still be printed and circulated, since he well deserves that and any other measures.

A servant of Mons. de Bourbon arrived on the 7th inst. with news of the Viceroy's army, and of his own military movements. The state of affairs in Italy is not as good as might be expected. The same messenger brought letters from the Imperial ambassador at Venice (Alonso Sanchez), announcing that the Vayvod of Transylvania had already concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with the Turk.

Intelligence has been received here that the King of France is sending an embassy* to England to ask for the hand of Princess Mary. His Highness knows very well that whenever such formal embassies are sent, it is for the purpose of negotiating on matters proposed or already settled between the parties, and therefore the news must be true. The principal condition asked by the English is the giving up to them of Boulogne-sur-Mer, to gain which they will grant anything that may be demanded of them.

Spice Islands. Mexico, Cortes, &c.

Miscarriage of the Marchioness of Zenete.†

Chancellor Gattinara still persists in his determination. He will soon leave for Flanders, for there are no symptoms of the Emperor wishing to retain him near his person. He is now suffering from gout. The business about which he (Salinas) was ordered to communicate with the Chancellor was accomplished in due time, as his own despatch of the 10th of February, forwarded by an Imperial courier going to Flanders and England, will show.—Valladolid, 11th March 1527.

Addressed : "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 8½.

18 March. **37.** DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof- u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 227, No. 10.

Chateau arrived [in London] on the 1st ult. with the Emperor's letter, and the instructions for the negotiation of peace. He came 27 days later than the mandate itself, which was sent by land without any letters whatsoever.

(*Cipher* :) Words will not avail at the present juncture ; it being suspected here that all these proposals and counter proposals are simply professions of good-will, but convey no real intention of having the peace settled in England, which is what the King and Cardinal desire. (*Common writing* :) Cannot make out why the courier who brought the first mandate by land did not inform him (Mendoça) that the Emperor's instructions and despatches were coming by sea ;

* The Bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont), Le Vyste, third president of the Parliament of Paris, and Viscount de Turenne. See above, p. 87.

† Da Mencia de Mendoza, Marchioness of Cenete, and wife of Henry de Nassau, the Emperor's High Chamberlain.

1527.

he could then have at once accounted for the delay when pressed for an answer. Had good reason to suspect that the despatches had been intercepted in France, as he (Mendoça) stated in his letter of the 2nd. (*Cipher* :) Firstly because the Englishman in charge of them feigned illness at Bordeaux, and gave the packet to a Frenchman, who brought it here; secondly, because a servant of M. de Praet's, who accompanied the Frenchman to Paris, writes to say that the despatches were actually missing in that capital for two or three days and no tidings to be heard of them. This happened just at the time that the armies [of France] were marching to Italy, and that the people here were clamouring for a truce. Was therefore induced to believe that the enemy's object was to obtain by violence what they could not get otherwise. As he had neither powers to conclude an armistice nor instructions for his guidance, he (Mendoça) was entirely in their hands. Escaped out of the dilemma, as the Emperor must have seen by his former despatches

Received on the same day by a different courier coming through Germany another Imperial letter, dated the 28th December, in which he is desired, in accordance with his first instructions, to abstain, if possible, from speaking of the debts, and to excuse himself on the ground that his instructions had been burnt. He (Mendoça) might then place in the hands of the King and Cardinal the articles of peace, which is what they most desire, and withhold for the present the new mandate and instructions lately received.

(*Cipher* :) Still adheres to his former opinion as expressed in all his letters since leaving Seville. He always thought that a change in his instructions was absolutely necessary. Wrote to say so the very day he was released from prison at Arques. Went to Brussels for the express purpose of ascertaining whether new instructions, improving on the former ones, had been received there. Had hoped that, after eight months had passed, this deficiency would have been supplied. Was disappointed both at Madame's Court and here. He (Mendoça) only found two letters, one brought by Boton, the other by Ricarte, ordering him at once to come to England, commence negotiations as previously instructed, and report the result to the Emperor.

At the time of his (Mendoça's) arrival in London the news from Italy was very prosperous. Being very hard pressed by the Cardinal of York to state what mandate he had brought concerning the payment of the Emperor's debts, and thinking the time was favourable for making them accept whatever terms he might offer; * perceiving besides that the powers for negotiating peace were defective, he (Mendoça) could no longer temporize, as directed by the Emperor, as to give no answer to the Cardinal's question, or to say that

* "Para que aquí tragassen qualquier mal recado."

1527.

he had received no instructions thereupon, would have been the worst possible course to pursue. Mere words and promises are now absolutely useless. No sooner has one uttered them in the presence of the King and Cardinal than they turn their backs and go away.* Even if the last mandate, which reached the ambassador one month after his interview with the King of England, had come in time, it would have been impossible, without giving extreme offence to him and the Cardinal, to avoid speaking of the terms of payment; for in a matter so important as this, and having to deal with people so suspicious as are these, the Emperor must own that it would have been extremely difficult for him (Mendoza) to persuade them that in losing his instructions he had at the same time lost all recollection of the principal object for which he came hither.

Assures him that, though his (Mendoza's) answer was not deemed satisfactory at all, yet neither the King nor the Cardinal seemed to doubt of the Emperor's readiness to meet his engagements.

All things considered, and knowing the Emperor's anxiety for speedy information on these matters, he (Mendoza) sends off this despatch by a vessel, which at this season ought to make the passage in six or seven days.

Perceiving from the Emperor's instructions his willingness to conclude peace, both general and private, he (Mendoza) went to the Cardinal and showed him his powers, that he might see that His Majesty was sincere in his desire for peace. Told the Cardinal that the Emperor would be more content with the arrangement proposed than with any other; that the negotiations should be conducted by the King and himself (the Cardinal); that the delay caused by the non-arrival of the despatches was unavoidable, as it could not be expected that papers of that importance, and which related so nearly to them (the King and Cardinal), should be sent by land, and through the enemy's territory; that in consequence of bad weather at sea they had been much longer in coming than was anticipated. He (Mendoza) had been instructed to seek the advice of the King and Cardinal respecting the Emperor's affairs, persuaded, as the latter was, that they would not advise any but an honest and just course; that in order to render the negotiations more effective the adverse party must produce their powers first; and, moreover, that he (Mendoza) being quite unacquainted with matters of civil law, it was indispensable to await the arrival of a lawyer from Flanders, whom he expected shortly, having already written to Madame on the subject.

The Cardinal replied that he fully believed in the Emperor's wish for peace, but that immediate action was now imperative, as one month had passed since the arrival of the first powers,

* "Crea V. Md. que hechandolas hombre por la boca, buelven las espaldas."

1527.

and all that time had been lost, to the great detriment of Christendom at large; that he (the Cardinal) could not conceive why the Emperor, who always showed in his letters such great anxiety for peace, should have sent orders for these incessant delays. He (Mendoza) had hitherto parried his (the Cardinal's) attacks with mere words; firstly, saying that, along with the powers sent by land, he had received no instructions; and, secondly, that a lawyer was wanted for the revision of the powers, which after all was only an excuse for further postponement. The King, his master, engaged to ratify immediately whatever terms should be settled between the contracting parties, as at the present crisis not an hour should be lost. Upon which the Cardinal showed him (Mendoza) the powers of the adverse parties, which at first sight seemed efficient, though he did not examine them closely.

Replied that neither the Emperor, nor he in the Emperor's name, desired to delay in the least this good work of peace, but that it was essential at the outset to establish the efficiency of the powers; that the arrival of the lawyer could not be long delayed; were it so, he (Mendoza) would begin at once the negotiations for general peace, on condition of their ratification by the King; and thus, with much discontent at the delay, the interview terminated. Wrote at once to Madame for the lawyer to come with all possible speed, as so much suspicion and displeasure would arise here in consequence of his non-arrival.* He has not yet come, nor, judging from what Madame writes, will he come.

Went to Greenwich two days afterwards to present his letter to the King, and made nearly the same statements to him as to the Cardinal. Was received very ungraciously by the King, who had already learnt from the Cardinal the result of their last interview. The King said he could not conceive how the Emperor, whilst writing such fair words, could do such ill deeds through his ambassador. The lawyer, who was the sole excuse for the present delay, was not wanted at all, for the Emperor knew well that no treaty could be concluded without ratification, and therefore that no danger could be incurred by the negotiations. Ever since the arrival of the last courier by land, he (Mendoza) had been in possession of the Emperor's mandate, and instructed how to proceed, and yet had made no use whatever of his powers, waiting to see the matter settled anywhere else but in London. His (Mendoza's) powers were quite incorrect, since they contained one clause stating that no former ones were to be abrogated by the last granted, which clause had been inserted for the sole purpose of negotiating peace elsewhere. All these impediments and excuses, wilfully introduced by the Emperor's ambassador, ought to be set aside, and each

* This last paragraph was inserted later by the ambassador himself.

1527.

contracting party fully empowered to make a settlement, when the negotiations might proceed at once.

Replied that the King, and indeed the whole world, would soon witness the Emperor's justification, and be convinced how completely his enemies were in the wrong. He (the King) had been misinformed as to his having received secret instructions from the Emperor. The cause of the non-arrival of his powers was known to the Cardinal. They were drawn in due form; they could not well be altered, for had the clause in question been omitted, the abrogation of all former powers whatsoever might have been claimed by the parties. To avoid so great an inconvenience the clause was generally inserted in all powers of whatsoever kind. Was contradicted on this point by the Bishop of London (Cuthbert Tunstal), who is a great legal authority,* and by some other members of the Privy Council, but the King interfered, saying, "Enough about the powers; let us all proceed together in the work of negotiation, each party agreeing to ratify the terms, and everything will be satisfactorily settled. In case of doubt let the matter be referred to me or to the Cardinal; otherwise I shall be obliged to believe that the Emperor has acted insincerely towards me."

Thought the time had now come for speaking of general peace; said that since the King so earnestly desired the common welfare and repose of Christendom, disturbed as it was by incessant wars; since the infidels, who had already done so much damage in Hungary, might be encouraged by the present state of things, it was very desirable that the King should support the Emperor's proposals for a truce of three or four years, which would allow him to recall his armies from Italy and wage war on the Turk, conjointly with the rest of the Christian Princes. In this way, and each party agreeing to pay their share of the expenses, and the Holy Father, as of ancient custom, opening the treasures of the Church, granting a Crusade and bidding the clergy to assist in this holy enterprise, the power of the Infidel would be crushed, and Christendom saved from destruction.

Hearing this, the Cardinal, after private consultation with the King, replied that there were many objections to the proposed truce, for unless general peace were first made between the different powers now maintaining armies in Italy, it would be difficult for them to unite in one common enterprise. It would be wiser to enter first upon the negotiations for private peace, from which a general one would undoubtedly ensue.

Replied that the Emperor was equally ready to negotiate general or private peace, but that as the service of God must needs come before that of the World, the Emperor naturally

* "Que es un gran letrado."

1527.

wished to begin with that which would be most profitable for Christendom, which in his opinion was the immediate repulsion of the Turk. Were all the Christian Princes to unite in this holy enterprise, he did not doubt that God would reward them by giving them universal and lasting peace amongst themselves. Should, however, the King and Cardinal prefer treating first of private peace, and opening the negotiations with that view, they would find him (the Emperor) equally ready to meet them, seeking only what was just and lawful, and consenting even to waive some portion of his own rights if that would further the private peace, and through it the general one, which he (the King) so much desired. Here ended the conference. Begs for particular instructions as to the course he is to pursue with regard to the King of France and to the Pope, for he (Mendoza) has been very much pressed by the King and Cardinal to declare the Emperor's intentions and wishes, which has harassed him greatly.* To escape from their pressing questions on those topics, he (Mendoza) has answered that as soon as he has examined the powers and proposals brought by the French ambassadors and the Pope's Nuncio he will completely vindicate the Emperor's conduct towards them.

The same day Don Antonio de Mendoza, whom the Emperor had sent to Germany, went to present his credentials to the King.

News has been published by some merchants here that the Emperor is rapidly advancing with his preparations against the Turks, and has already obtained from his subjects the promise of large grants of money to assist in this undertaking. The King of England was very angry on hearing this, (*cipher*) complaining that the Emperor had first decided on the enterprise, and then sent to inform him of it. Was obliged to state in the Emperor's defence that the King had been misinformed. (*Common writing*.) The Emperor had not yet reached Valladolid, where the Cortes were to be assembled. The resolution adopted by them would be communicated to the King in time. At present he (Mendoza) knew nothing further of the affair than what he had stated to the King in the Emperor's name. His reply was (*cipher*) that these were suspicious ways of proceeding in such times as the present. The Turks had already retreated [to their own country]. If the Emperor meant to seize this opportunity for disturbing Christendom, he (the King) gave him clearly to understand that he would meet with resistance, since neither his nor the rest of the Christian Princes could ever allow the Emperor thus to aim at universal monarchy; all which was said by the

* "Y sobre esto tanto el Rey como el Cardenal me han dado muy mala vida."

† According to the Emperor's Itinerary, published by William Bradford in the Appendix to his *Correspondence of Charles V.* (London, 1850), Charles did not enter Valladolid until the 24th August.

1527.

King with much gesticulation, showing his anger even more in manner than in words.*

Replied that the Emperor was entirely guiltless of the charge. He had never given cause for such grave suspicions. He (Mendoça) could not conceive how, when the blood spilt by the Christians in Hungary was still fresh, revenge for such an insult could be considered ill-timed, unless it was established beforehand that arms were never to be taken against the Turks until they had made the first attack. Being then asked what route the Emperor proposed to take, Mendoça answered, that "should he go to Germany, he (the Emperor) would certainly come to this kingdom, and avail himself of the King's help and counsel." At which the King looked very incredulous,† and observed, "That may be so, but I thought Italy was the Emperor's destination. If he follows my advice, he had better remain quiet at home where he is." Replied that this change in the King's sentiments seemed to him (Mendoça) unaccountable. Only a few days ago he was invoking all Christendom to rise against their common enemy, the Turk, and now he advised the exactly opposite course. Upon which the King said, "Were it a question only of war against the Turk, I should be the first to join, but I know with what object these military preparations are being made. The Emperor ought to be content with his present dominions." Failed not to meet the accusation by stating that the Emperor had never to his (Mendoça's) knowledge done a single thing to justify such an imputation. His policy was not aggressive, and he had no ambition, but wished only to retain what he had inherited from his grandfather. With this reasoning the conference ended.

On the same day, after dinner, the Cardinal took him (Mendoça) aside to a window of the apartment, and having sent for the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and for some other noblemen, began explaining to them in English, as far as he (Mendoça) could follow the language (through the French and Latin words which it contains), how the King had been making great efforts to obtain peace, both private and general, but that he (Mendoça) would not advance a step towards it; how the Emperor was now hastening his warlike preparations, which, if peace were not soon made, would give rise to much scandal. All the members of the Italian League wished that peace should be concluded here by the King, his master, and had accordingly sent their ambassadors [to London] with ample powers for that purpose. He (Mendoça) was the only obstacle to peace, as there was a clause in his powers, by means of which the negotiations might be carried on elsewhere than in London. The King had done all he could in the matter, but

* "Davame á entender claramente que hallaria quien le resistiese, que no avian de consentir los otros que quisiere vuestra Magestad ocupar todo el mundo y trayer (*sic*) asi la monarchia dél, y esto todo dezia con mas furor de manos que de palabras."

† "Estuvo quando esto dixé un poco dudando y como mal tragando."

1527.

had not met with corresponding fairness on our part. Saying which, the Cardinal turned towards him (Mendoza) as if he wished him to understand that he was the object of the conversation. Was glad of the opportunity thus given him of replying to the allusion, as he saw that the Cardinal was only trying to create a bad feeling against the Emperor. Stated then in the most positive terms, and loud enough for those Lords (*Milores*) to hear him, that the Emperor had nothing so much at heart as peace, both general and private, between all Christian Princes, and that he (Mendoza) had received ample powers to conclude both; that as regarded general peace the Emperor sought it not only for the prevention of present and future evils, but also that all their forces might thereby be directed against the common foe. The Emperor was willing to pay his share of the expenses, provided the Holy Father did his duty, and helped with a crusade, &c. If, therefore, the Emperor, now so powerful in Italy, could propose this, it only showed how far he was from having fostered the present wars, much more from wishing to promote them in the future. That as regarded private peace, the Emperor would, as soon as the other side offered just and honourable terms, treat with them in the same spirit. He was determined to observe strictly all former treaties, and those who sought to evade this would have to vindicate their conduct hereafter. He was moreover content to waive a portion even of his rights if that would serve the interests of peace. As a proof that he (the Emperor) wished for nothing better than that peace should be settled by the King [of England], he had sent him (Mendoza) ample powers for negotiating the same as soon as fair terms should be offered. If such were not the case, the Emperor could nowise be responsible for the delay. The report of the advanced state of his armaments was quite incorrect. The Emperor had communicated his plans to the King. After the sitting of the Spanish Cortes, and before setting out on his expedition [against the Turk], he would not fail to consult with the King, nor would he undertake anything of the sort without first hearing his opinion about it. (*Cipher* :) During the latter part of the ambassador's speech the Legate gave evident signs of impatience and ill-humour, and after saying a few more words to the Lords, in English, took leave of him (Mendoza) and of them, and returned to the King. Mendoza was then privately and confidentially addressed in French by one of the Knights of the Garter there present,* Lord Aejer (Exeter?), who congratulated him on having spoken so well to the purpose; for, he said, statements in direct opposition to those he had just made were being daily circulated at Court, so that they had given up any hope of the negotiations for peace advancing. The Lord did not wait for an answer, but went away immediately.

* "Llegó a mí uno de aquellos de la Orden que despues supe se llamava Millor de Aejer (*sic*) y disimuladamente me dixo en lengua francesa," &c.

1527.

Was then summoned by the King, who said to him, "This delay must end; let the Emperor name the conditions on which he will give up the hostages at once, and the conferences shall begin immediately. Thirty days have already passed, during which you (Mendoza) have been quite inactive. The negotiations cannot be postponed, as you wish, until the powers of the ambassadors are examined, for I pledge my most solemn word that they shall be ratified before the conclusion of the treaty. You must act at once, or else I shall be convinced of the Emperor's bad faith, and will then seek other means of obtaining peace."

Begged the King to wait ten days longer, having already sent [to Flanders] for the lawyer. Promised, at the end of that time, if the lawyer had not come, to act in conformity with his instructions, provided the other side made their proposals first. Then took leave, the King remaining apparently little satisfied with the result of the conference.

Has found in all these interviews that the King of England is much more violent than the Legate, which is quite the reverse of their usual manner. Heard this very week that there had been again some talk of war against Flanders, which was stoutly opposed by several (English) gentlemen (*algunos caballeros*) on account of the woollen trade. No preparations for war, however, are visible. Is convinced that the King is sending money to Italy. Fears that through the embassy, now daily expected [in England], some agreement will be made about this. The Bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont), the third President of [the Parliament of] Paris,† and another gentleman, not an ecclesiastic, whose name escapes him at this moment, are to be the ambassadors.‡ It is not M. de St. Pol, nor anyone of his rank, as had been announced. The King is having preparations made at Greenwich for some great entertainment or banquet, at which the Princess, who has not generally come to Court since she has had her own separate establishment, is also to be present. This has led to a rumour that the Princess (Mary) is going to be betrothed to the King of France. Cannot ascertain whether there is any truth in the report. Has advised Madame of everything, that she may forward the intelligence in cipher, either by way of France or by sea, from Flanders. Does not think that besides the King and Cardinal any living person here knows what they are about, but it is generally believed that no settlement whatever between this country and France can be of long duration. (*Cipher*.) Great discontent prevails throughout the kingdom at these public mummeries (*farsas*); disaffection to the King and hatred to the Legate are visible everywhere. The King and Legate have still another business in hand, which is to make the King's illegitimate son [Henry Fitzroy]

* "Y temo que con esta embaxada que agora viene se haga alguna declaracion."

† Le Vyste.

‡ Francis, Viscount of Turenne.

1527.

King of Ireland. He was created Duke [of Richmond] last year. The plan is most unwelcome to the nation, who hold that should this be carried out it will be tantamount to having a second King of Scotland for this kingdom. The cause has roused such ill-will [among the people] that, were only a leader to present himself and head the malcontents, the King would soon be obliged to change his councillors.* The Queen is very dissatisfied with these proceedings, though little of it is communicated to her. Since his arrival in England, he (Mendoça) has never been able to speak to her alone, though she desires it, and has tried for an interview. She has several times sent the Bishop, her confessor, to him, to say that he (Mendoça) can only obtain an interview by applying to the Cardinal. He must not let it appear that he has any political communication to make to her, but merely messages and commendations from former friends in Spain. Went therefore to the Cardinal, and said to him that having been formerly in waiting on the Queen herself, and on her mother [Isabella], he had many things to say to her respecting old friends and things in which she took interest, and therefore wished to know when he might wait upon her. The Cardinal said he would let him know. Next Sunday spoke to the Queen in the Cardinal's presence, taking care not to mention any matters except those connected with the Queen's friends and servants [in Spain], as previously stated. Their conversation, however, was suddenly interrupted by the Cardinal, who said, "The King has many things to tell you. Her Highness will perhaps excuse us if we take leave and go. You shall have audience another time." He (Mendoça) has not the least doubt that this interference of the Cardinal was the result of a preconcerted plan to prevent any conversation between the Queen and himself. She (the Queen) thinks, and he (Mendoça) is of her opinion, that without the Cardinal's consent it will be impossible for them to communicate in future, and that even if they did, whatever might be said about her would do more harm than good.† As far as he can judge, the Queen wishes to learn from him (Mendoça) what are the Emperor's real intentions and wishes respecting this matter of the general and private peace, and what mandate he himself has brought to England to guard against any hostile determination of the King, her husband,‡ because her suspicions are raised, as she sees that they do not tell her truth in these and other matters. She would very much like, if an opportunity offered

* "Y el Reyno todo siente mucho aquella platica por parescer que si se concluye, sera adelante otro rey de Escocia para este reyno. Está la cosa tan preñada de malas voluntades que si ubiere uno que guiare la dança, creen que se mudaria todo el Consejo del Rey de Inglatierra."

† "Y syn su consentimiento paresce á la Reyna y aun á mi que dannaria mas lo que se hablase della."

‡ "Querria, segun lo que yo he conocido informarse de mi de toda la voluntad de Vuestra Magestad en la paz general y particular [que] tiene, y principalmente en los medios que truxe para que su marido no [la ?] quebrasse."

1527.

itself, to speak to the ambassador on these subjects, and knows quite well that he (Mendoza) is equally desirous to inform her of the present state of affairs. She would do everything in her power to preserve the old alliance between Spain and England, but in reality, though her wishes are strong, her means of carrying them out are small.

(*Common writing*.) The ten days' term having expired, and the lawyer from Flanders not having made his appearance, the Cardinal sent the other day for him (Mendoza) and said, "You must now be fully convinced of the King's desire for peace. Forty days have been lost entirely by your fault. I cannot make up my mind to believe that you have acted on this occasion according to instructions received from your court, and yet your whole conduct in the affair has been so inconsistent with your master's wishes, as expressed in his letters to the King [of England], that I cannot help thinking you had a mandate and instructions to that effect, and that whilst the Emperor assured us that he desired nothing so much as a speedy settlement of all pending questions, and the establishment of a good and solid peace through the mediation of the King, my master, he was actually deceiving us as to his real sentiments. Words will no longer do; unless you declare immediately the Emperor's intentions respecting this peace, the King will withdraw his offer of mediation, and have no more to say to it." (*Cipher*.) This last sentence the Cardinal mixed with certain words of ambiguous meaning, as if he wished to intimate that his master would be glad of an opportunity to break off with the Emperor, and pass over to the other side.

Recollecting what the King had told him on a similar occasion, and perceiving that an attempt at further delay might bring on a rupture of the negotiations; that the French ambassadors were on the road [to Greenwich], and that the King had promised to ratify before the conclusion of the treaty, Mendoza told the Cardinal that as soon as the opposite party spoke by his mouth, he would reply. The Cardinal then said, "I will tell you at once and in two words what the proposals are. Firstly, that the Duchy of Milan be placed in the hands of a third person, pending arbitration (intimating that the King of England should be named the umpire),* and all matters [concerning the Duke] referred to persons entirely free from suspicion, all necessary securities being given for the restitution of the Duchy. Secondly, that the ransom to be paid for the sons of the King of France should be of the same amount as that paid by the King Don Juan [Jean Sans terre] when a prisoner in England, viz., one million. These two points once settled (the Cardinal added) peace will soon follow, as the others offer no difficulty."

* "Que Vuestra Magestad pusiese el ducado Millano (*sic*) en terciaria, y parece como que me señalava su Rey por tercero."

527.

Replied that such proposals as these were far more likely to promote discord than peace, and that if no fairer ones could be offered, he (Mendoça) would not advance one step in the negotiation. Were King Francis to give as much as his predecessor, King Jean [Sans terre], he would find that the territory ceded to England on that occasion was of much greater value than the Duchy of Burgundy. Many words passed on both sides; persisted in his refusal to negotiate until fairer terms were offered, but promised that if new overtures were made they should be taken into consideration and an answer given.

Seven more days passed, and some time was thus gained for the expected lawyer to arrive; though in reality, what with the promise of ratification by the King and the new powers to be produced by all the commissioners, his presence was no longer so urgently needed. During this time he (Mendoça) was frequently pressed to come forward, but perceiving that no better offers were made, resolutely maintained his position and refused to answer. At last, the embassy from France having arrived at Calais, the Cardinal sent again for him, and having first warned him in rather angry words that unless he (Mendoça) opened the negotiations the King would throw them up altogether, proceeded to say that he had a proposal to offer from the King of France which he (Mendoça) would do well to accept in the Emperor's name, viz., that the ransom for the King's sons should be fixed at one million and a half; and as regards the Pope and other Italian questions, that the Duchy of Milan should be placed in other hands than those of the Duke of Bourbon, since it was quite irregular that whilst the Duchy was under arbitration it should remain in the possession of one of the claimants.

Could not longer safely delay answering; said therefore that this question of the ransom was not the one on which the negotiations could be established, but that in order to inspire the King with full confidence he (Mendoça) would, if the Legate would but give him his priestly word that the communication should be kept secret between the King and himself, tell him the basis on which the Emperor would consent to negotiate for peace. The Legate placing his hand on his breast and taking a solemn oath of secrecy, Mendoça proceeded to say that the basis on which the Emperor would treat was the fulfilment by the King of France of the engagements entered into with the Viceroy of Naples. This point once granted, he (Mendoça) would at once exhibit certain articles and declarations in writing, which would throw much light on the said offers and promises made by the King of France to the Viceroy of Naples. As regarded Milan, the Duchy or part of it was now completely in the hands of the Imperial army. If the Duke's case was to be referred to arbitration, and his estate placed in the hands of a third person (*terceria*), what better security could be demanded than that offered by the Emperor of taking it out of the hands of

1527.

his soldiers and placing it in those of Mons. de Bourbon? The Emperor could but follow in this case of Milan the practice observed between rulers and their vassals whenever the estates of the latter are placed under arbitration. He (Mendoza) had never heard that it was the custom for Princes, whilst they took cognizance of crimes committed by their vassals, to place their fiefs under arbitration. The Emperor had done as much as he could in the matter by consenting that, until the case was properly investigated and judgment given, each party should retain its own, on condition, however, that Lodi and Cremona should be restored at the issue of the aforesaid inquiry, since it was but just that in the event of a confiscation, whoever should hereafter receive from the Emperor the investiture of Milan, should also have the cities forming part of it.

The Legate's answer was that, as regarded the King of France and his promises to the Viceroy, the ambassadors had not been explicit enough. He, himself, knew nothing about those promises, and unless they were specified and explained he could not give his opinion. The articles and declarations which he (Mendoza) offered to bring forward might be of such nature that, although both (the ambassador and himself) agreed upon the principal point, they might very well dissent on minor ones. He had reason to believe that the promises alluded to, as made by the King of France to the Viceroy, were only in case and on condition of this new treaty abrogating the Madrid one. After saying which, he (the Cardinal) began to specify the articles, to the abrogation of which he (Mendoza) ought in his opinion to consent.

Replied that of the engagements taken by King Francis the Viceroy was the best judge and witness. If, however, the King chose to specify what those promises were he could do it with the greatest ease, since they originated with him. As to the abrogation (*revocacion*) of the Madrid treaty, that was a sort of proposition that could not for a moment be entertained, for it was not to be supposed that the opposite party would be so unreasonable as to make such a demand. At present he (Mendoza) could make no further declaration on the subject. The promises and engagements of the King of France once taken as a basis for the new negotiation, he (Mendoza) was ready to come forward with the Emperor's additional conditions (*adiciones*).

After trying in vain to ascertain from him what those additional clauses could be, the Cardinal, as he (Mendoza) suspects, concluded that the discussion of the treaty of Madrid and its articles would be left to the last, and, therefore, persisted no longer in his demands. He (Mendoza) ended by assuring him that the terms he had to propose were so just and honourable that everyone would see how earnestly the Emperor desired peace, even though he should be a loser, and his enemies gainers by it. After which, and without

1527.

any further allusion to the Milan affair or to the Pope, the conference ended.

(*Cipher* :) Mendoza declined to name and specify the engagements entered into by the King of France, which the Cardinal often pressed him to do, for two very good reasons. Firstly because, though His Majesty frequently referred to them in his letters, they were not actually enclosed in the last packet that came by Chateau; and secondly, because by his ambassador not mentioning them, a way is left open for the Emperor to increase his demands as may best suit his purpose. He is therefore determined not to give any explanation whatever on this subject until he has received [from Spain] the copy of the memorandum containing the said engagements and their specification, and knows for certain what the Emperor's intentions are. By this means some time may be gained, though there is reason to suppose that the Cardinal, perceiving his (Mendoza's) opposition to having the treaty of Madrid abrogated (*revocado*), will give up his point, as he must be convinced by this time that we intend it to remain in full force, and must fear lest the declarations to be made thereupon should be stronger and more explicit even than those contained in that instrument.

Will therefore conclude nothing without first referring to the Emperor. (*Cipher* :) Does not yet see any chance of a speedy termination. The Legate has positively stated that the King of France will only make peace through his brother of England. Is sure that the former has been induced by offers from this country to retract what he promised in the first instance, and that unless it be agreed beforehand that peace is to be concluded here and nowhere else, the proposals from France must be unfavourable to the Emperor, and the negotiations [in Spain] indefinitely delayed. Thinks, however, that two good results might be obtained by referring the settlement of peace to the King of England: the first, that the King of France will then have no one to support him in his claims for an improvement of the conditions; the other, that the Emperor will thus secure this King as his ally; otherwise, though peace might perhaps be more firmly knit [in Spain], yet King Henry would be seriously annoyed by it, and seek hereafter occasions for discord, both on account of the English trade which he wants to promote, and also because this would give him an opportunity to show his displeasure at the peace not having been settled through his mediation.*

Perceives clearly that they aim at obtaining the abrogation of all previous treaties, and also at the appointing of the King of England as arbitrator, in case of any differences arising during the negotiations. Evaded this point as well

* "Assi por complirle para que su mercaderia mejor se venda como por el sentimiento que le daria de que la paz no se hiciesse por su mano."

1527.

as he could without giving offence; though in truth they are not likely to insist any longer on it, when in looking over his (Mendoza's) mandate and instructions they find that the abrogation of all former treaties is formally and positively prohibited therein.

(*Cipher* :) Should his opinion be asked as to whether the King of England ought to be chosen for the said arbitration, he (Mendoza) would not hesitate to say, that all things considered, and from his knowledge of men and things in this country, it is not advisable to make this King an arbiter of the differences, &c.; in the first place, because he is sure to act far more in the King of France's interests than in his (the Emperor's); and in the second, because, though openly professing to desire this peace, he is secretly hostile to it, and if the arbitration were put in his hands the Legate would immediately contrive to upset it; whereas if the King is not made the judge, and the peace is in a fair way towards settlement, it could be concluded more to the Emperor's advantage here than elsewhere. Should the Emperor incline to this course of action, the ambassador begs him to send at once some member of his own Privy Council to assist him in the negotiations (two persons carrying so much more weight than one). In this manner he has no doubt that with the new instructions that may come from Spain, and with God's help, the Emperor's wishes may yet be carried out.

(*Common writing* :) Received on the 12th of February, by an English courier, a letter from His Majesty of the 1st of the said month, dated from Valladolid. Has communicated its contents to the King and Cardinal. The latter received the information sent him by the Emperor respecting the embassy now with him from the Pope and the King of France far more graciously than usual (*con mejor voluntad que suele*); took therefore the opportunity of speaking to him (the Cardinal) on his own private affairs, (*cipher*) both concerning his pensions and also the promise of a larger sum of money if in the treaty of peace now being negotiated between the King of France and His Majesty he (the Cardinal) would support the Emperor's interests. The Cardinal replied in a few words, begging him (Mendoza) to thank the Emperor in his name for his kindness and generosity to him, and saying that he should be glad to receive payment of all arrears on the ecclesiastical pensions hitherto granted to him, but that as to any further offers the Emperor must pardon his declining them, as he had already refused several ecclesiastical benefices in France; that as to serving the Emperor's cause, that he always had done, and would do to the extent of his power. With regard to his (Mendoza's) offer of a large recompense in money, if in these negotiations with the King of France he (the Cardinal) would support the Emperor's interests, he could only say that not all the gold in the World could make him alter his conviction that private peace must

1527.

first be settled, as that and no other was the pivot on which a general and lasting peace turned. Was then dismissed by the Cardinal with more gracious words than on the last occasion.

No reliance, however, is to be placed on this apparent friendliness. Is convinced that the Cardinal is pledged to the King of France, and that his services are not to be secured without large sums of money. His son is now in Paris, and it is said that the King of France has promised to bestow especial favours upon him. The Cardinal, moreover, is in constant communication with the French ambassador (Gioachino Passano), for whom there is no secret chamber, as he has audience from the Cardinal in his own closet and at all hours. Thinks it necessary to dissemble and conceal all suspicion until the present storm has blown over.*

(*Common writing* :) Has since waited on the King, presented His Majesty's holograph letter, and informed him of the arrival [in Spain] of the ambassadors from the Pope and the King of France, as well as of the state in which the negotiations were at the time the letter was written. Added that His Majesty, desirous of acting now, as he had ever done in all former treaties, quite as much in the King's interests as in his own, begged to be informed whether in these last negotiations for a private peace with France, or in the matter of the liberation of the hostages, there was any point in which he could oblige the King; if there was, he [the King] would find him as well disposed as ever to do so. The King replied that he thanked the Emperor very much for his message, as also for his promise of friendly interest in his own private affairs with France before the liberation of the hostages, but that for the present no differences had arisen between King Francis and himself to interfere with their friendship, &c.†

(*Cipher* :) The same day the ambassador presented the Emperor's letter to the Queen, whom hitherto he has been unable to see. Related to her all that had passed between the King, her husband, and the Emperor, touching the mediation for the settlement of peace, and also the terms brought by him (Mendoça) for the King's especial gratification. The Queen replied as one who would fain make every possible effort to preserve the former good understanding between the King and the Emperor. Judging from the pleasure which the Queen seemed to receive on hearing the flattering words contained in the Emperor's letter, he (Don Iñigo) thinks she must have been previously misinformed respecting the Emperor's real sentiments in this affair. Were it as easy

* "Y tiene aquí tanta ynteligencia con el embaxador de Francia, que para con el no ay camara secreta ni hora; pero en todo esto es menester hazer del ladron fiel hasta ver en que paran estos nublados."

† "Respondiome quel tenia en merced a vuestra Maiestad la quenta que le dava de lo que allá [en España] passava, y mucho mas en lo que le ofrecio cerca del hazer sus negocios antes de la entrega de los hijos de Francia; pero que no tenia al presente ninguna diferencia con el dicho Rey syno amistad."

1527.

to secure the Cardinal's good-will for the preservation of this good understanding as the Queen's, there would be nothing to fear.*

(*Common writing* :) The ambassadors arrived here on the 3rd inst., and were very well received; they had been twenty days coming from Paris. (*Cipher* :) Thinks this delay was intentional, in the expectation of some treaty of peace being concluded in the meantime (in Spain) between the King of France and the Emperor. Had that been the case the ambassadors' instructions would have been changed. It is reported that these ambassadors bring also proposals for an alliance by marriage, and that the King of France himself will soon follow. Does not, however, think that this visit of the King will take place so soon. Although the preparations now going on at Greenwich somewhat confirm the report, it might be only a sort of demonstration on the part of these people, the better to gain their object. On the other hand, it is asserted by the English, that previously to the marriage between the King of France and the Princess of Wales, who has just arrived at Richmond, both the King and Princess will respectively renounce their rights to the kingdom of Ireland in favour of the illegitimate son of the King of England [Henry Fitzroy]. All these negotiations are most unwelcome to the English nation, and will be more so still if the plan is carried into execution.

(*Common writing* :) Letters from Master Russell have arrived here, stating that he had raised thirty thousand ducats in aid of the Pope, and that there had been an encounter between the Imperial army and that of the Pope, in which the former, commanded by the Viceroy [of Naples], had sustained great loss. The damage done was in reality very small. It has since been reported that a truce for some years has been agreed upon between the Emperor and the Pope, in which the King of France is not included; that therefore the latter intends recommencing war, and sending fresh captains and men-at-arms to Italy; also that between King Francis and the Venetians 12,000 Switzers are to be paid to strengthen the armies of the League. Thinks this news must have been the cause of the King and Legate no longer pressing him (Mendoza) to give the specification of Francis' engagements to the Viceroy; they have not spoken to him on the subject for a fortnight. (*Cipher* :) They had decided on sending a courier [to Spain] to ask for particulars, but since the arrival in London of the said news, have given it up. Fears that this delay may have arisen out of despair of obtaining peace on their own terms, and if so, that they will have recourse to war.

* "Y si tan presto se pudiese persuadir la amistad de vuestra Majestad y del Rey de Inglaterra al Cardenal como á su Alteza, no temeria [yo] á hombre."

1527.

(*Common writing* :) Was writing the above to send by one of the galleys now in port, when he (Mendoça) received a summons to wait upon the Cardinal.*

To make quite sure of having rightly interpreted the cipher, encloses a copy of the terms (*declaraciones*) which he (Mendoça) was to propose in case of the French agreeing to accept the engagements made with the Viceroy as the basis for negotiation. Takes this precaution, because the cipher being new, and his secretary not yet well acquainted with it, there might be errors in the transcribing, and the matter is too important to be neglected.

Begs also to be informed whether the said terms (*declaraciones*) which he (Mendoça) was to bring forward, in case the French ambassadors consented to treat as before stated, are to remain in their present form, or whether they are likely to be augmented or diminished according to circumstances. However this may be, let them come properly amended and drawn out, so that the ambáassador may at once commence the negotiations for peace. The memorandum concerning the engagements entered into by the King of France with the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) might also come at the same time, for although it is to be presumed that the parties here will have some difficulty in accepting them, they will object still more to the treaty (*concordia*) of Madrid remaining in full vigour.

Has been told by the Cardinal that he knew that the Emperor had lately sent a personage of his court to France with ample powers to treat for peace. "The Emperor," he added, "makes a great mistake when he thinks that he can negotiate more to his advantage in any other country than in England. I take God to witness that nowhere in the world can the Emperor obtain more advantageous terms than here in London. He is very much mistaken if he thinks otherwise." Saying which, and in order that he (Mendoça) might have time to put down in writing the substance of the above conferences before the sailing of the vessel for Spain, the Cardinal withdrew to his own apartments, after informing the ambassador that the King no longer contemplated sending a courier by land [to the Emperor] as announced, but that the ambassador's letter could for greater security be enclosed in his own (the Cardinal's) packet. (*Cipher* :) As his letter was entirely written in cipher, he (Mendoça) did not hesitate to intrust it to him. The Emperor must already have received it. It is dated the 11th, and contains in abstract what is here given in detail. Another letter sent by Captain Mingo de Larrea will also inform His Majesty of what has been done since his (Mendoça's) arrival in England.

The present goes by the Emperor's comptroller, &c.

(*Cipher* :) With regard to Brian Tuke and his pension, His

* For an account of this interview, see Don Iñigo's letter of the 2d, No. 31, page 84, which is also to be found in duplicate under date of the 11th.

1527

Majesty ought to know, before he (Mendoça) offers it to him in the Emperor's name, that the said Brian Tuke is already in receipt of one from the King of France. This being the case, as he (Mendoça) has been assured, and the Cardinal, who is the principal party, not being on our side, no other support can be of much use under present circumstances. Yet if His Majesty should decide that, notwithstanding the above consideration, the ambassador is to make the offer, let the Imperial warrants come for him and the rest, as mere promises will not do at the present time, for the truth is that there is great want just now, not of promises, which these people entertain unwillingly, but of substantial gifts to be distributed to several individuals to prevent at least their doing mischief.*

Count Salamanca, ambassador from the King of Bohemia, Ferdinand, arrived here yesterday, the 17th inst., and was well received by the King and Cardinal; but as his object is to obtain help in money, he (Mendoça) fancies that he will not succeed. As the Count is shortly to sail [for Spain], he will no doubt inform His Majesty of the state of affairs in this country.—London, 18th March 1527.

P.S.—Considering that these French ambassadors were supposed to be trying for an offensive alliance against the Emperor, he (Mendoça) thinks that this King's pledge, as reported by the Cardinal, in the last interview,† must be of very good omen, for if there had been any real impediment, why take an engagement which nobody asked for? It now remains for His Majesty to decide what had better be done for his service, and let the instructions come with all possible speed, that the ambassador may at once set at work, his will to execute the Emperor's commands being always the same, &c.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins and between the lines. pp. 24.

16 March. 38. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.

Salazar, A. 40,

f. 265.

B. M. Add. 28,576,

f. 133.

Wrote by duplicate on the 8th and 9th inst. all the news he had up to those dates. Since then (on the 11th) Cesaro Ferramosca and Secretary Seron arrived with the Viceroy's ultimatum. After a good deal of negotiation, in which those two officials were assisted by the General of San Francisco, the matter was concluded last night (15th Oct.), and the treaty signed. Ferramosca left this morning at dawn for

* "Y en verdad que aqui ay gran neccessidad no de prometer, que no lo oyen de buena gana, pero de dar algo de presente á algunas personas si quiera para que no dannasen."

† "Segun la platica que aquy avya de pensar que estos enbaxadores avyan de sacar de aqui amystades ofensivas contra vuestra Majestad, he tenido por buena nueva la prenda que de parte del Rey en la postrera platica me dixo el Cardenal."

1527.

Bourbon's camp, and Secretary Seron went to the Viceroy's at Naples. As he (Perez) is ignorant of the conditions of the treaty, and knows besides that Ferramosca has written by this messenger both to the Emperor and to the Regent Juan Bartholome de Gattinara, there is no need for him to make any remarks on the subject, save to say that the armistice is already known all over Rome; (*cipher* :) that the Romans in general are glad of it; only the French, English, and Venetians appear anything but pleased. As to the Imperialists at Rome, most regret that the armistice has been made at such a time, when through Bourbon's marching upon Florence better terms might have been obtained than those which, as the report goes, have been signed. (*Common writing* :) The Viceroy is shortly to come here. The Pope's Legate remains at the camp as security for his person.

Renzo da Ceri has returned from the Abruzzo, where they say he has taken several castles and fortified towns. The two sons of Count Montorio still hold their father prisoner in Aquila, and it is added that the Count is to be brought to Spoleto for greater security.

(*Cipher* :) The Ferrarese ambassador residing at this court complains bitterly of the armistice just concluded with the Pope, of which he maintains previous notice ought to have been given to the Duke, his master. He has lost Modena, which had been offered to him by the contrary party, and many other advantages besides. Cannot say how the Duke will take it, but has reason to believe that he will be anything but pleased at the arrangement, though no means shall be spared on the part of the Imperial minister to convince him that he can be no loser by the armistice.

Hears also from Secretary Seron that the Neapolitans were lately so intent upon war, and so well prepared for it, that they will be sorry to hear of the armistice having been signed.

(*Common writing* :) Mons. de Bourbon was on the 12th inst. one mile from Bologna. There was a scarcity of provisions at the place, but many more men were there than were actually wanted for the defence of the city. It was feared that a revolution of some sort would take place (*que harian alguna mutacion*). Whether it was Bourbon's intention to lay siege to the place, or go forwards, nobody here knows. Certain it is that the Florentines are in terrible fear of being attacked, and have sent people to implore the Pope to make peace with the Emperor, and not be the cause of their utter destruction and ruin. They had contributed large sums towards the expenses of the present war, and could not bear the burden any longer. Should Bourbon attack them, they had no force to resist; their city would be sacked, &c.—Rome, 16th March 1527.

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

1527.

18 March. 39. DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof- u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 12.

(*Cipher* :) Said in his last that there was no probability of the Legate despatching a messenger to the Imperial Court. Was inclined to think so from the Cardinal's manner and words at their last interview. Has now reason to suppose that they (the King and Legate) have changed their mind, and will send an express.

Since then the Cardinal has again shown him (Mendoça) the powers brought by the ambassadors of the League; has examined them, and finds them correct enough. That of the King of France has a clause to this effect, viz., that the approval and consent of the Venetians is required, and also that this King is to be paid in full all the sums which the Emperor owes him; which conditions do not seem to him (Mendoça) of a nature to impair the said powers. The Cardinal promised to give him copies of them, and asked for those of the Emperor in return. Should this courier delay his departure the copies shall be made out and sent; though if a lawyer is to come from Flanders in the meantime, there is really no excuse for the delay (*parece escusada esta dilacion*), as he may see the originals and give his opinion.

The Legate has again pressed him (Mendoça) to write home and say that never will the Emperor find so fit an opportunity as the present to treat for peace; nor any court either where more care is likely to be taken of his affairs. He (the Emperor) ought to trust in the King and in him (the Cardinal). Gave him to understand that as soon as the specification of the engagements taken by the King of France should arrive from Spain he (the Cardinal) would find the means of increasing to two millions the ransom (*rescate*) to be paid [for the sons of France], on condition that the treaty of Madrid was slightly modified in some of its articles. With regard to the Duchy of Milan, if restored to the Duke (Francesco Sforza) an annual tribute of 100,000 ducats and upwards would be paid to the Emperor,* and 30,000 or 40,000 cr. annual pension (*de renta y pension*) to the Duke of Bourbon by way of compensation. If this arrangement did not suit the Emperor's views he could leave the affair to be decided by the King of England, as the opposite party was willing to do the same, he (the Cardinal) assuring His Imperial Majesty that in either case the utmost would be done for his service. The peace once made and ratified (added the Cardinal), the King, his master, would willingly give 200,000 cr. and upwards to enable the Imperial forces now in Italy to be employed at once against the Turk. Though he (Mendoça) replied as best suited the Emperor's interests, the Cardinal insisted upon his writing

* "Y en lo que toca al ducado que se daría a Vñª Magestad, con que fuese restituido al Duque Francisco, una gruesa pension, señalando que sería mas de cient mill ducados, y que al Duque de Borbon le darían treynta o quarenta mill escudos de renta y pension."



1527.

home an account of the interview, and saying that the Emperor had no better friend (*servidor*) than himself, as he had plainly shown last year, when the Italian League was made, and was now showing in his negotiations with the King of France for the Emperor's sake. His Majesty ought to be persuaded that no alliance (*deudo*) whatever, which might be made in England [with the royal family of France], would in anywise impair the connection and friendship existing of old between England and Spain. "I know for certain (he added) that my enemies have misinformed the Emperor respecting my acts and sentiments, but I can assure him that I profess greater friendship for him than for the King of France, as the one is natural and of old standing, whereas the other is quite new and unnatural. For all these reasons the Emperor ought to trust me implicitly in these negotiations."

This last remark giving him, as it were, an opportunity to bind the Cardinal more and more closely to the Imperial interests*, Mendoca lost no time in replying that truly the Emperor had always considered him (the Cardinal) his best friend [in England], as he (Mendoca) had frequently had occasion to learn by experience and from his letters, but that respecting the friendship and affection which he (the Cardinal) professed for the Emperor certain doubts oppressed his (Mendoca's) mind, which he begged him to clear up. How was it that he had refused the pension which he (Mendoca) had lately offered him from the Emperor? That looked very much as if he shunned to accept the Emperor's token of friendship. The Legate then protested with great oaths (*dixome con grandes juramentos*), that if he had refused the proffered gift, it was merely in order to be wholly unfettered in these negotiations, and better able to work for the glory of God. He (the Cardinal) did not reject the Emperor's bounty; he only deferred to accept it till the peace for which he was working should be concluded. That object attained, he would do as the Emperor pleased, and gratefully receive whatever was offered to him. The truth of the matter is that since the arrival of the instructions the Cardinal is much more amiable and courteous than he was before, and is acting with greater friendliness towards the Emperor. He is keeping the French ambassadors waiting until the Emperor's answer comes [from Spain]. He (Mendoca) can only account for this change in the Cardinal's manner to him in two ways; either because the conditions brought by the French ambassadors do not entirely satisfy the King of England, or because they (the King and Cardinal) think that by professing just now greater friendship for him than for the King of France they may obtain his unconditional consent to the peace being concluded here, which is what they are aiming at.

* "Al qual pareciendome que avia coyuntura, para ver si pudiera prenderle, le respondi que en verdad Vña Magestad le tenia por su verdadero amigo," &c.

1527.

Has also been informed by the Legate that the King of England has here a natural son, whom he much wishes to make King of Ireland, bestowing upon him other large estates besides; that the King holds this son in such affection that he would show the same honour and regard to anyone entering into an alliance with him as with the Princess, his daughter. The Legate much wishes that this alliance* might be secured by the Emperor for the daughter of Madame Eleonor, both being of suitable ages.† Replied that though he (Mendoça) was not thoroughly acquainted with the treaty of Madrid in all its details, yet he imagined that by one of its articles‡ the Emperor's niece had been promised in marriage to the Dauphin of France. Was, nevertheless, desired by the Legate to bring the subject before the Emperor, as he (the Legate) knew how devoted the King was to his son, and how much he took this alliance to heart. Suspects this to be in consequence of the proposal of the King of France for the hand of the daughter of England. Believes that though she may be promised to Francis for the present, if the Dauphin were to be freed from his engagements, they would prefer him for the Princess' husband, and that is the reason why the Cardinal has made him (Mendoça) the aforesaid overtures.

Begs for further instructions, especially as to whether he (Mendoça) is to agree at once to the settlement of peace here. This should be decided speedily, since everything turns upon this point. Matters are now in suspense, waiting for His Majesty's answer, and according to its tenour the King and Cardinal will declare in favour of one of the two parties; for although they have been lavish in their offers, and lately given signs of benevolence and friendship towards us, there can be no doubt that their promises and protestations have no other object than that of persuading His Majesty to trust in them, and place in their hands the conduct of these negotiations. This Legate is a man who goes with the times; no trust can be placed in his words or promises.

Having heard that the King frequently repudiates what the Legate says in his name, he (Mendoça) asked for an audience, that he might learn from the King's own mouth whether what the Cardinal had stated in his name was true or not. After duly thanking him in the Emperor's name for the answer he had given to the French ambassadors on the subject of the proposed marriage alliance, as well as for his declaration that no new family ties with the royal house of France would impair the old friendship existing between England and Spain, Mendoça begged the King to declare

* "El Legado querria que tal prenda como aquella la tomasse V^{ra} Magestad para la hija de Madama Leonor."

† Eleonor was the Emperor's eldest sister, being born on the 15th of November 1498. She was first married to Dom Manuel, King of Portugal, who died in 1521, and had a daughter by him called Doña Maria.

‡ The fifteenth of the Concordia or Treaty of Madrid.

1527.

himself on the overtures recently made by the Legate. His answer was that the ambassador might write home and inform the Emperor that all the Legate had said was perfectly true. He (Mendoza) was to assure the Emperor that if he (the King) should eventually marry his daughter to the Prince now seeking her hand,* this would in no way prejudice the Emperor. He added, "My answer to the French ambassadors has been that their King having been formally betrothed to the Emperor's sister (Eleonor) I could not decently, whilst these circumstances lasted, entertain a proposal for another union, as I am unwilling to separate man and wife,† more especially in the case of the Infanta Leonor, to whom I am so closely allied." The King, therefore, waits for an answer [from Spain], and, as before stated, confidently expects that it will be favourable. His manner is so changed that in appearance he is more inclined than ever he was to the preservation and maintenance of the old alliance [with Spain]. Yet he (Mendoza) has reason to suspect that all this show of friendship is nothing more than an attempt to gain the Emperor's confidence. Notwithstanding the King's fair words and protestations, the truth is that these ambassadors of the King of France obtain frequent audiences and hold great conferences with the Legate (*traen grandes tratos con el Legado*), and that great preparations and assemblies (*grandes aparejos y Cortes*) are being made, as if for the reception [at this court] of some Prince, as he (Mendoza) has already had occasion to advise.

Should the Emperor agree to the settlement of peace in England through the mediation of the King and Cardinal—a thing in which on equal terms we may lose nothing and gain much, since we shall thereby secure this neighbour's friendship—in that case let the answer come as speedily as possible, as likewise another ambassador who may act in concert with him (Mendoza). Should, however, the negotiations now conducted in Spain present a more favourable aspect, and the Emperor make up his mind to have this peace concluded without England's mediation, in that case let this present courier‡ be detained with fair words and excuses until a final settlement be made.

The embassy§ from the King of Bohemia (Ferdinand) had audience yesterday to ask for help against the Turks. They were told in the King's name that nothing could be done until this peace, which was the foundation of all other

* "Teniendo por cierto que aunque uviesse de casar su hija con quien se la pidia que no avia de ser perjudicando al Emperador."

† "Que no querria quitar á nadi su marido, quanto mas á persona con quien tenia tanto deudo."

‡ Bluemantle, who arrived at Valladolid on the 7th of April. See a letter of Lee and Ghinucci to Wolsey, dat. the 17th, in Brewer, vol. iv., part ii., p. 1368.

§ Count Salamanca, mentioned elsewhere, part i., pp. 116 and 935.

1527.

treaties, had been settled. Gave them what help he could on the Emperor's behalf. Does not think they will obtain any help.

Dr. [Fernando] de Victoria, the Queen's physician, will set out shortly for Spain. Knows him from experience to be well disposed to the Emperor. Will, therefore, before he departs, intrust him with certain messages* for him (the Emperor). Commends him to his notice as deserving of all confidence.

Has written very fully by this courier. The packet is addressed to Dr. Lee for greater security in passing through France.—London, 18th March.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

Addressed: "To His Imperial and Catholic Majesty the Emperor and King of Spain."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 6.

18 March. 40.

SECRETARY PEREZ to LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.

Salazar, A. 40,

f. 269.

B. M. Add. 28,576,

f. 135.

The truce was concluded two days ago [16th March] for eight months. (*Cipher:*) A door is left open for France and England until the 10th April, and for Venice until the 22nd inst.; if they do not then join they will be considered enemies to the Emperor. These gentlemen who have brought about the truce are of opinion that owing to the defenceless state of the kingdom of Naples, the slowness of Bourbon's march, and the total want of money and supplies everywhere, it has been beneficial to the Emperor, rather than otherwise. The Pope, they say, gives money for the pay of the Germans; but as I have had no hand in the negotiation, I cannot say whether the report is true or not.

(*Common writing:*) The Regent, Miçer Joan Bartolomé de Gattinara, sends his compliments and begs to be excused with Your Worship for not having written for so long a time. He leaves Rome to-day for Bourbon's camp, whence he promises to write to Your Worship. This morning, at daybreak, Secretary Seron left also for the Viceroy's camp. The latter is soon expected in Rome.

(*Cipher:*) The only sign of the convention being advantageous under present circumstances is that the truce is by no means palatable to the French, English, and Venetians.

(*Common writing:*) The enclosed letters for Secretary Soria I beg Your Worship to forward as soon as possible [to Spain], as well as that of the Regent (Joan Bartholomé de Gattinara), wherein he explains all that has passed here in the negotiation of this truce. It is important that His Imperial Majesty should be informed of it, although I have no doubt

* "Le diré algunas cosas para que á Vñra Magestad informe."

1527.

that Cesaro Ferramosca has already written by that way and by others.

Renzo da Ceri has come to Rome. They tell me that he is anything but pleased with the armistice, for had he found an opportunity he would willingly have prosecuted his victories in Naples.

The sons of Count Montorio have so far gained in the present game, that they have committed their own father to prison, and got possession of Aquila. How long the city will remain in their power is more than I can tell, but I should think not many days.

Cesaro [Ferramosca] left this morning early for Bourbon's camp.—Rome, 18th March 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "A Don Lope de Soria."

Indorsed: "Copy of letter of Secretary Juan Perez to me [Lope de Soria]."

Spanish. Contemporary copy partly in cipher. Deciphering on the margins. pp. 2.

20 March. 41. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 275.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 136.

Encloses duplicates of his letters of the 16th and 18th inst., which were forwarded to Soria by a courier of the Pope going to France; also a letter from the Regent,* Joan Bartholomé, to the Grand Chancellor (Mercurino di Gattinara), with a full account of the negotiations for, and particulars of, the truce.

The day after the signature the Pope sent an ambassador to Venice, and Langes (De Langeay), the King of France's chamberlain, went also thither for the purpose, as it is generally believed, of preventing the Signory from joining the convention. Opinion differs as to what the Venetians will do on this occasion. Some think that they will sign the convention from fear of the German lansquenets invading their territory; but the greater part suspect that they will not ratify, expecting help from France, &c.

(*Cipher*:) The Pope has excused himself with the Venetian ambassador (Contarini), by saying that what he had done was from sheer necessity, and because his army fell to pieces. His men had no food (*no tenian que comer*), and he could not provide them with money. His Legate at Bologna had written to say that if an armistice of some sort was not agreed upon, that city and its territory was irretrievably lost to the Church. The Florentines also had declared that the moment Bourbon appeared before their walls they would open the gates, and give him any war contribution he

* This title of Regent (Regente) was given in Spain to the presidents of each of the boards composing the Councils of Aragon and Naples.

1527.

might demand, rather than expose the city to be sacked. He was very sorry, but could not do otherwise, even if he chose. He (Perez) has been told that upon the Venetian ambassador suggesting that the Signory would send money and provisions for his army, the Pope declined the offer and persisted in his idea. The Viceroy is expected here on the 25th, and there seems to be no doubt that the convention will be ratified.

As he (Perez) stated in his letter [of the 16th], the best sign that the agreement lately made is beneficial to the Emperor is that the contrary party abuse (*dizen bravezas*), and threaten all those who have had a hand in it, and that Alberto di Carpi, though on the point of death, denies his own King (*reniega de su Rey*), and shockingly vilifies him.

(*Common writing* :) It is reported that the Pope's Legate called upon the Viceroy the other day, and that, in consequence of a conference they held together, an order for the suspension of hostilities by sea and land has been sent to both armies.

To-morrow the Abbot of Farfa is to be set at liberty upon a security of 25,000 ducats that he will be faithful to the Pope.—Rome, 20th March 1527.

Postscriptum.—The Pope's Legate refused at the last moment to go and see the Viceroy. Fancies the reason is that the Legate would not have it believed that he had gone to the camp for the express purpose of bringing him to Rome. Thus the Legate will return without seeing him.

Signed : "Perez."

Addressed : "Reverendo Domino Archidiacono de Belchit in curia Cesareæ Majestatis."

Spanish. *Original partly in cipher*. *Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet*. pp. 4.

21 March.

42.

DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the EMPEROR.

(*Cipher* :) Has written both by sea and land of all events up to the 18th inst. The King and Legate still use fair words and make great offers; suspects, nevertheless, that they are now concerting measures with the French ambassadors in direct opposition to the promises that have been made.

It is openly stated by this King that the Emperor must not take offence at his marrying his daughter, the Princess, as he pleases, since he (the Emperor) married [in Spain] as seemed best to him. Fears that should this marriage with the King of France be arranged, other measures will soon follow, especially if King Henry sees that the negotiations for this peace are not placed in his hands. Believes that the courtesy lately shown him (Mendoça) is entirely in the hope that peace may be negotiated here, and that the King's answer to the French ambassadors, which he (Mendoça) was desired to commu-

1527.

nicate, was all pre-arranged with the King [of France]. Indeed, the understanding between the Legate and the French ambassadors becomes more and more intimate. Whatever may be said to the contrary, it is evident that the King and Legate look upon the interests of the King of France as their own. Would not, therefore, intrust them (the King and Legate) with any important matter, although, as the point must necessarily be discussed in the ambassadors' presence, there would, perhaps, be no harm in doing so.* At any rate has been informed by the Legate that the treaty of marriage with the King of France is suspended until the Emperor's answer arrives. Does not know whether this is true, but is sure that the Legate has quite gone over to the French.†—London, the 21st of March.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 2.

March.
K. u. K. Haus-
hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224.

43. The ARTICLES proposed by the EMPEROR for the PEACE with FRANCE [sent to Don Iñigo de Mendoza].

1st. Whatever may be done and agreed to between the parties to be understood without any innovation or detriment of the treaty of Madrid, unless it is clearly and expressly stated so in the treaty.

2nd. The withdrawal, for the present, of the claim on the Duchy of Burgundy to be without prejudice of the rights which the Emperor claims to have to the said Duchy, *quocumque jure vel titulo quasito ante fœdus de Madrid.*‡

3rd. All the articles of the treaty of Madrid, general as well as particular, of which no express mention is made, or change introduced respecting the King's offers to the Viceroy, to remain in their full force and vigour, and be fulfilled according to the letter of the said treaty.

4th. Every other condition of the treaty, which the King of France promised to fulfil, such as the payment in cash of certain sums, the reimbursement of the indemnity owing to the King of England, the restitution of the Duchy to Bourbon (*restitutionem ducatus Borbonensis*), and other matters therein contained, to be fulfilled before the King's sons obtain their liberty, "*quando ex preteritis omissionibus hec sola cautio sit adhibenda.*"

5th. The whole of the above stipulations to be ratified and confirmed by the General Estates and Parliament [of France], so that if not ratified by the General Estates, it may be by all the provincial ones, "*in qualibet provincia separatim congregandos.*"§

* "Y por esto no pondria yo en sus manos cosa que fuese de sustancia, pero para que delante de ellos se tratase no parece que avria inconveniente."

† "No sé si dice verdad, pero le creo muy resuelto con estos Franceses."

‡ The underlined words are added to the draft in Granville's handwriting.

§ Added by Granville.

1527.

6th. That the Emperor be not obliged to send his sister Eleonor [to France] until the King has fulfilled all and every one of the above conditions, at the time that the hostages are about to be restored, and when, after paying one half of the stipulated sum, the King of France will have ratified and confirmed the present agreement.*

7th. That the King of England is to be guardian (*conservator*) of this new treaty, and give his letters patent in the fullest form, promising help and assistance to the obedient party, and resistance to either of them who may show reluctance or ill-will.†

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.

22 March. 44. DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the EMPEROR.
K. u. K. Haus-
Hof- u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 17.

Hears‡ from the Legate that unless peace is concluded the King of France will certainly make war upon Flanders in person. This may have been said only by way of intimidation, and in order to hurry on the conclusion of peace here; but he (Mendoça) is nevertheless convinced that should the Emperor attempt to set out for Italy, both England and France will try to prevent his passage. That is the reason why, when he (Mendoça) is asked whether the Emperor intends visiting Italy, he always replies that no such intention exists, and that no preparations for such a journey are being made. Does all he can to maintain friendly relations with the King and Legate; but is convinced that if words are not soon followed up by deeds, they will openly declare for the King of France. Both think that they have already shown great consideration in having waited so long.—London, the 22nd of March 1527.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoça."

Postscriptum.—Since writing the above has heard that the reason why the King of England did not, in the first instance, give a favourable answer to the French ambassadors was that

* This sixth article has likewise a line on the margin as if to call the attention of the ambassador to it.

† This draft or copy of the conditions proposed to the Emperor in 1527 has no date, but is placed among papers of the month of July. I have not hesitated to assign to it that of March, for various reasons. 1st, because there can be no doubt that it was made previous to the sack of Rome and death of Bourbon (on the 6th of May), since one of its clauses (the 4th) stipulates that all honours and titles shall be restored to that duke; and, 2ndly, because, as it will be seen hereafter, Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle, in a report of his, dated April 1527, alludes to the very emendations in his own handwriting, which I have underlined.

‡ The first part of this letter is only a repetition of Don Iñigo's despatches of the 11th and 18th.

1527.

King Francis had promised to give up Boulogne this Easter, and yet was continually putting it off. Cannot vouch for the truth of this intelligence, but evidently the Legate is dissatisfied with the conditions offered by the French ambassadors. Still believes that if the King of France does not come to terms with the Emperor he will do so with the King and Legate on whatever conditions they may impose.

Addressed: "To His Imperial and Catholic Majesty the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. pp. 8.

28 March. 45. The ABBOT OF NAJERA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 294.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 138.

On the 3rd inst.* I informed Your Majesty of what Mons. de Pelu and I (the Abbot) had achieved with the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d' Este). Since then, on the 5th inst., the Duke has had an interview with Mons. de Bourbon, the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon), the Marquis del Guasto, and Count of Agamonte (Egmont), at a place on his estate called Finale, 17 miles from Ferrara and 8 from Buon Porto, where the Imperial army happened to be quartered at the time. A council of generals was then held, at which it was resolved to march upon Florence, without stopping, by way of Sasso and Barbarino, the same route which the Viceroy of Naples, Don Ramon,† took when he invaded Tuscany. As there are six days' march through mountainous districts, and the roads are bad for the carriage of artillery; as, moreover, the Imperial troops were not expected to find provisions on their way, (*common writing*) the Duke of Ferrara consented, as I said in my former despatch, to lend 1,000 sacks of flour, and about 1,000 more of wheat, to be divided among the men, so that each soldier should carry his own rations. He has given us, besides, 15,000 lbs. of gunpowder, 5,000 more for firelocks (*scopetas*), 1,000 pounds of saltpetre to refine the gunpowder and make it fit for firelocks,‡ 300 balls for sacres, 30 horses for the field artillery, with corresponding accoutrements of 100 breast harnesses.§ He offered, besides, to give anything that might be required, excepting only the sum of 50,000 ducats which Mons. de Bourbon asked him as a loan, and which he said he could not lend, as he had no money with him, though he kindly promised to go back to Ferrara and procure as much of that money as he could from the merchants of that city; and so he did, for on the 7th inst. the Duke returned to his capital,

* See above, No. 33.

† Don Ramon de Cardona, Viceroy of Naples (1509-12), and general of the Spanish army in Italy, under Ferdinand.

‡ "Para refinar la de cañon que sirve para escopeta."

§ "E con una municion de cient collares."

1527.

and soon after he wrote to say he had obtained 15,000 ducats. On the very same day I (the Abbot) went to Carpi by Mons. de Bourbon's command, and caused the two companies (*banderas*) of Spanish infantry, and the light horse of Joan Batista Castaldo, to evacuate that city, having first issued to them one month's pay, which the Duke [of Ferrara] himself had lent us for that purpose. This done, I gave the Duke possession of the said city of Carpi, to be held by him for Your Majesty until the marriage [of Don Hercole d' Este], as a sort of dowry for his future wife, Doña Margarita of Austria.* Three hundred men and 50 light horse of the Duke were left in charge of Carpi.

Next day, the 8th inst., the Imperial army marched to Buon Porto, and thence to Castel San Joan (San Giovanni), 10 miles from Bologna, and 25 from Ferrara, whither I (the Abbot) went that very day for the money which the Duke had promised. Two days after my arrival at Ferrara the Duke gave me the 15,000 ducats lent by the Ferrarese bankers, and they were immediately distributed among the Germans, as they absolutely refused to give any part of them to the Spaniards. Thinking that the former would be satisfied with this supply of money and consent to march, and that the Spaniards, having some provision [on the road], would have patience, an order was issued for the army to march next day; but about sunset the Spaniards also mutinied, and came to the general's quarters, vociferously asking for pay. That he might escape the first fury of the mutineers, Bourbon left his quarters secretly and repaired to those of George Frenespergh (Fruntspergh). Without any further disturbance the Spaniards went out of the camp (*se salieron al campo*), formed their squadrons, and held a consultation with the gunners as to the expediency of evacuating that district (*y consultar al artilleria fuera de la tierra*). The Germans also mutinied at the very same hour, and came to Bourbon's quarters, crying *guelte! guelte!* but not finding him at home, sacked his apartments, took away his silver plate, broke stools, chairs, and benches, and committed many other lawless acts (*cosas deshonestas*), such as an infuriated soldiery is wont to commit on such occasions. After which they quitted the ground (*se salieron de la tierra*) and formed in line (*hicieron su esquadron*), holding a consultation with the artillery force attached to their division. Shortly after, however, both Spaniards and Germans returned to the ranks (*esquadrones*), though they went on till the hour of noon firing guns (*disparando el artilleria*), sending deputations to headquarters, and asking for money. At last Juan de Urbina, for whom the Spaniards have great respect, arranged with the Marquis del Guasto that on the payment of one crown per

* The Emperor's illegitimate daughter, born in 1521 of a Flemish lady, called Marguerite Vangest.

1527.

man they would all march on contentedly. George Frenesperghe, on the other hand, could not appease his Germans (*tudescos*) with less than half a month's pay. Perceiving which, the Marquis del Guasto set out immediately for Ferrara, and I (the Abbot) accompanied him. We then obtained from the Duke a further loan of 12,000 cr., out of which 3,000 were paid on account of Jeronimo Morono's ransom (*talla*). We returned to the camp on the 15th, and proceeded to divide this money between the Spaniards and Germans, in equal shares, and yet, on the 16th, they again rose in mutiny until the hour of noon, declaring that they would not move unless the Duke of Bourbon promised them more money on account when in sight of Florence, and would, moreover, pay them all arrears, amounting to 150,000 cr., on the 21st of April. The Duke refused to take an engagement which he knows he could not fulfil. Georgio Frenispergh was for a while within the lines of his Germans, earnestly requesting them to march on, as, he said, the opportunity would slip away, &c. Nothing he did or said, however, could persuade them to move, and the consequence was, that on his return to his lodgings, after his dinner, he was struck by a fit, and remained some time senseless, &c. We all thought he was dead, and had been poisoned. Should Frenesperghe (Frunespergh) die, or be obliged to remain behind at Ferrara, we shall not know how to deal with these Germans, he being the only man who has any influence over them. All the evils above enumerated come from our not having money to pay the troops. Hopes that His Majesty will provide some immediately without waiting for the army reaching Florence, for neither Sienna nor Lucca, our allies, can or will furnish anything but supplies of food, and that only in small quantities. Besides, it is quite certain that we shall take Florence, and get thereby a large sum of money as expected. That city has made great preparations for defence, and it might happen that the enemy flocked thither in such numbers as to make it impossible for us to reduce it, although it must be said that our men are determined to storm the city or perish in the attempt. Antonio de Leyva must be helped also, for if he cannot pay his men he will not be able to defend Lombardy.

Advices from Rome, of the 4th inst., state that Andrea Doria landed at Puzzuolo with 1,000 men, and took a village (*burgo*) on the coast; but upon Don Ugo coming from Naples with infantry and cavalry, he had to abandon his conquest with the loss of 100 men, besides many who were drowned, two small pieces of ordnance, and three banners. One of Doria's captains, whom he held in great esteem, was killed on the occasion.

The Viceroy of Naples is still at Ciprano, increasing his army. That of the enemy in front of him diminishes for want of supplies. He has written to Bourbon exhorting him to advance, and promising to do the same on his side,

1527.

disregarding any attempt that may ensue from Andrea Doria's landing on the coast.

Among the Germans of this army a rumour is afloat that upwards of 15,000 of their countrymen are coming down to Italy. Should they come, as is presumed, by the Fryguli (Friuli) and by order of the King of Bohemia (Ferdinand), much good may be expected from them, but if they come as volunteers (*aventureros*) they may do much harm and can do no good at all to our present undertaking.

The Marquis of Saluzzo and Count Gayaco are inside Bologna with all their forces, and are fortifying the place under the impression that the Imperial army will soon attack them. The Venetians who were engaged in the defence of Parma and Piacenza are now at Rezo (*en el Rezo*), ten miles from this place. It is said that their design is to watch our movements, and see what route we shall take. Should our army go beyond Bologna without attacking it, they will most likely join the French in that city, and seize Parma and Piacenza altogether, lest the Pope should make an agreement with His Imperial Majesty, and deliver those two cities into our hands as it is believed he will do.

Five days ago some of our light horse captured, close upon the gates of Bologna, an English gentleman (*un gentilhomme yngles*), who was going from Venice to Rome. He had with him letters from the Florentine ambassador, and from Prothonotary Casale to the ambassador of his King residing at Rome. Copies of the said letters are enclosed, except a few words in cipher, which could not be read. Your Majesty will see by them what kind of argument is used to persuade the Duke of Ferrara to abandon the Imperial cause, and how the Duke resists the temptation.

(*Cipher*.) In letters brought by Paulo de Rezo (Paolo d'Arezzo), the Pope's chamberlain, Mons. de Bourbon has received orders from home [not to proceed, and to suspend hostilities according to the agreement entered into with the Pope]. Yet if he [Bourbon] thinks it necessary to go on, and finds himself strong enough for the undertaking, he may do it, as that will give the Viceroy time to advance as far as Rome, that is in case he (the Viceroy) is sufficiently forward to be able to accomplish this, *quando este fuese tan adelante que lo pudiesse fazer*. The Duke of Bourbon, however, is to consider the matter well before he sets out on his expedition. Upon which the next day the Marquis del Guasto and myself (the Abbot) started for Ferrara to ask the Duke's

* This paragraph, owing to an omission of the deciphering clerk, has no sense except by the addition of the sentence placed between crotchets. It stands thus: "Por cartas que truxo Paulo de Rezo, recibió Mons de Borbon la orden, mas que no obstante todo esto si le pareciesse passar adelante con el exercito que lo ficiesse sintiendose fuerte para ello, por que el Vizrey se entretendria y vernia con su exercito fasta Roma, quando este fuesse tan adelante que lo pudiesse fazer."

1527.

advice on these matters, and also for a loan of at least 35,000 ducats, wherewith to pay these men, go on marching, and thus secure the 300,000 promised by the Pope at the time that the Viceroy was on the point of invading the Papal territory with his army, besides the cities of Parma, Piacenza, and Ostia offered as security for the payment of that sum. The Duke's advice was that we should continue our march, but as regards the money we could not obtain any more from him.

We returned on the 23rd inst., having received news, whilst at Ferrara, of Cesaro's arrival at the Imperial camp. Having heard what the latter had to say, and read the draft of the treaty made with the Pope at Rome, which he had with him, Bourbon called a council of war, composed of the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon), the Marquis del Gasto (Guasto), Don Hernando de Gonzaga, and the rest of the captains, Germans as well as Spaniards, and in the presence of Ferramosca himself and of me [the Abbot of Najera] proceeded to explain to them the matter of the truce, and how it was the Emperor's wish that they should all go back to Lombardy; that each captain was to address his company in that sense, and engage them to return home. The captains answered that Bourbon's orders should be executed; they would go to their men and tell them of the Emperor's determination. This was on the 25th. Next day, the 26th, the Spanish infantry in particular, the light horse, and the men-at-arms sent a message to the general in chief that they preferred marching on without money to going back; this they would not do, unless they were paid their arrears beforehand. In this mood have they persevered until this day,

The Germans, on the other hand, as they had Bourbon's most solemn promise to be paid on the 21st of April all their arrears, amounting to upwards of 130,000 ducats, sent word to say that they would go wherever the Duke wanted them. But since then the Spaniards, perceiving that the Duke's order is for them to go back [to Lombardy], have gained the Germans over to their opinion, and have so worked upon them, representing that their common interest lies in an advance upon the Roman territory, as otherwise they will never be paid, that they (the Germans) have yielded to their solicitations and declared that they will not go back. If to this be added that there have been latterly heavy snow-storms and much rain, and that the men are in a state of mutiny, Your Imperial Majesty may easily imagine the precarious state in which the Emperor's generals and ministers find themselves. Indeed, had not Cesaro Ferramosca secretly left this camp, and taken refuge at the quarters of Hernando Gonzaga, who is with the men-at-arms two miles from this place, he would hardly have escaped the fury of the mutineers, who were looking out for him. He (Ferramosca) is still there, waiting for Bourbon's final answer, which has been, that

1527.

he should very much like to observe the truce, in obedience to Your Majesty's commands, but that, seeing the determination of his men, he prefers going on to losing his army, and giving the men occasion for committing disorders, &c.

It is therefore decided that to-morrow (the 29th) we shall march seven miles to the bridge on the Reno, three miles from Bologna, on the road to Rome (*strada Romera*?) and that every day the men will continue their march more or less until they reach Florence or Rome.

The Marquis del Guasto and some other captains and servants of the Emperor, fearing lest by following the Duke's orders they should disobey the Imperial mandates respecting the observance of this truce, have decided not to move unless the Duke, as Your Majesty's lieutenant-general [in Italy], should give them the order in writing. The Duke has expressly given him verbal orders to that effect, but the Marquis has gone this very day to Ferrara. Should he there receive the order in writing, I have no doubt he will come back, and take his post with the army.

Ferramosca has gone to Ferrara to ask the Duke for a loan of 40,000 ducats, which, added to the 60,000 he expects to receive from the Pope, might be distributed to the Germans of this Imperial army; but I fancy the Duke will not give the money. Please God he may give me the 6,000, for which I intend to ask him to-morrow, to pay the pioneers, (*gastadores*) and other minor expenses of this Imperial army, for without it we can neither advance nor retreat.—[Castel] San Juan, 10 miles from Bologna, 28th March 1527.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 14.

29 March. 46. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 305.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 144.

Wrote on the 16th and 18th inst. by a Papal courier going through France. The duplicate went on the 20th by way of Genoa, and the bearer was a courier going to Lyons. The triplicate went by the same route, addressed to Maffeo Tarsis. Since then the Viceroy has come to Rome, where a great reception was prepared for him. He is staying at the Palace, where much honour is done him. At times he (the Viceroy) goes to see the Pope; at others it is the Datary and Jacopo Salviatis, who come to him and converse. As he (Perez) knows for certain that the Viceroy does write frequently about this armistice and other matters connected with it, there is no need for him to say more concerning it, only that the Pope shows great satisfaction at the Viceroy's being with him at Rome. There can be no doubt that the negotiations proceed

1527.

briskly, and that one of these days, perhaps before the departure of the present courier, the articles of the treaty will be published, &c.

Cesaro Ferramosca has not once written ever since he left Rome for Bourbon's camp. We only know that he arrived there, told that general what his instructions were, and apprised him of the armistice which had been signed. Bourbon answered that he accepted and approved what had been done here, but yet his acts do not seem to bear this out. The Romans are loudly complaining of his continual shifting and changing, and of the march through their territory (*que cada dia innovan cosas contra sus tierras*). That is the reason why the Viceroy wrote to him the other day, by one of his most confidential servants, begging him at once to withdraw his men from the lands of the Church, &c. The Colonnese, on the other hand, fear that unless His Majesty takes care of their interests, they will be completely ruined in consequence of this armistice.—Rome, 29th of March 1527.

Addressed: "Cathce. Mati."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

7-8 April. 47. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 146.

Wrote on the 29th ult. by a courier whom the Viceroy despatched by way of Naples. Encloses the duplicate. As the Viceroy himself has written to the Court giving a minute account of what passed since his arrival in Rome, he (Perez) need not dwell further on the subject, especially as the information he has does not come directly from Lannoy himself, but from persons of his suite.

On the 2nd inst. the Pope received news by an estafette from Bologna that the lansquenets would not attend to Bourbon's orders, but insisted on marching upon Florence. The Pope was somewhat alarmed (*recibió alguna alteracion*) on the receipt of this intelligence, and consequently the Viceroy determined to repair next day to the Imperial camp. He is to be accompanied by a bishop, who is high steward (*mayordomo mayor*) of His Holiness' household, and greatly attached to the Imperial service. They are very hopeful of making the Germans change their present purpose, having, as they say, found out that the chief cause of their disobedience is that their arrears, amounting to 100,000 ducats, have not been paid. As the Pope has now provided this money, there is reason to believe that they will stop in their march, evacuate the territory of the Church, and pass to the lands of the Venetians until the term granted to them for joining the treaty has expired, which will be at the end of this month. Should Venice not agree to the proposed terms—which, considering the pressing solicitations and brilliant offers of the French King, might very well happen—in that case the

1527.

Imperial army would have much work in hand, and for that purpose it would be advantageous for them to be installed in the enemy's territory.

Until the Viceroy returns from the camp with a satisfactory answer the Pope will not rest, as this intelligence of the Imperialists marching on Florence keeps him in a state of fear and anxiety. He is now sending thither all the Switzers who were here, and served in the last war against the Colonnese, in all about 1,600 men. There was a great row the other day and much fighting between these same Switzers and the Pope's guard of Italians at the cries of *Roma, Roma! Italia, Italia!* Had it not been suppressed in time, after two hours' fighting, much evil might have ensued. As it is, more than 20 people were killed on both sides, three or four of them by shots from the Castle of Sant Angelo, which, in order to separate the fighters, had to make use of its artillery.

Since this letter was begun the Viceroy has left for Bologna by post, followed only by a few attendants. The Pope will not rest until he returns. Some hours before his departure the Viceroy received a large packet of letters from Court, among which was one from the Emperor to him (Perez) in date of the 18th February.

It is reported that the King of France has placed at the Pope's disposal the one million and a half of gold which he prepared for paying the ransom of his children, on condition that he (the Pope) will again join the League and make war on the Emperor. He (the King) no doubt thinks that this is the cheapest and surest mode of getting his hostages back. Similar offers have been made by him to Venice, but there is reason to suppose that if the Pope saw the lansquenets and Spaniards fairly out of his territory he would pay little attention to these offers from France, for he is very tired of the last war, by which his estates have suffered much.

It is said that the Datary (Gianmatheo Giberto) is going as Legate to France and England, and afterwards to Spain, and that the general [of the Franciscans] is to accompany him as far as Marseilles. The report is, however, that King Francis refuses to give them a safe-conduct, that being the reason why they have not yet departed on their mission.

(*Cipher* :) Cannot tell whether the aforesaid ambassador will leave or not. Some assert that if the Datary goes to France and England his real mission will be to persuade those Kings to declare war against the Emperor, for it is well known that what he (the Pope) has hitherto done has been from sheer necessity, not out of respect or affection for the Emperor, whom he hates to see all powerful in Italy. Should he, therefore, find the least encouragement—and most politicians here are of opinion that he will—from the Kings of England and France, he will undoubtedly break off any engagements he may have made previously, and recommence war.

1527.

(*Common writing* :) The Marquis and Bishop of Astorga* have not yet arrived.

On the 3rd the presentations for the bishoprics of Salamanca and Oviedo were made in due form ; but the Pope objects to the words *presentation* and *nomination*, and wishes that in future *supplication* should be substituted.

The Prince of Salerno, the Duke of Trayeto (Traietto), and Don Diego de Caravajal have lately arrived in quest of the Viceroy. Thinks that as the latter is absent from [Rome] they will soon go back [to Naples].

A gentleman† of Mons. de Bourbon has also arrived here with a message to the Pope, informing him that both the lansquenets and Spaniards of his army were united (*hermanos*), and had decided to come to Florence, and even to Rome. He could not help it ; they led him on more like their prisoner than anything else ; they had attempted his life more than once, and sacked his house. Yet if His Holiness would send him before the 15th inst. 150,000 ducats to pay his troops, he (Bourbon) would do all he could to stop their advance. Every day that passed, their demands would increase. The Pope, as can easily be conceived, was terribly put out by the intelligence, saying, "I have trusted to the Viceroy, given the Emperor the investiture of Naples, and disarmed my own army. I well deserve any calamity that may befall me. Yet as the Viceroy has gone to Bourbon's camp, I trust that he will do his duty." He said he would consult upon the affair with his Datary, and return an answer to-day. Bourbon's messenger accordingly went this morning to call on the Datary, who said he had not yet heard from the Pope ; but as to his giving 150,000 ducats at once, as demanded by Bourbon, the thing was as impossible as to make heaven and earth meet. The Pope could not give one ducat more than what he had already sent to the camp. He offered, however, to answer this evening after sunset. Should he (the Datary) fulfil his word, he (Perez) will add a postscriptum to this letter ; if not, the Datary's answer will go by the next. Mons. de Bourbon's gentleman has assured him that there never was a finer or more determined set of men than those now marching under, or rather against, that captain's command ; for the Spaniards, having made league with the Germans, are perfectly united, and march in beautiful order, each man taking his biscuit for eight or nine days, so as not to be obliged to stop on the road. They have taken the route to Imola for the sake of the provisions, which are more abundant throughout that district.

* The Marquis' name was Don Pedro Alvarez Osorio ; the Bishop's, Don Alvaro Osorio.

† Probably Mons. de Montbardon, hereafter mentioned in a despatch of Secretary Seron to the Emperor.

1527.

Here they fear greatly for Florence and for the rest of the Papal estates (*por lo demás*). They believe that Bourbon's message to the Pope is only a stratagem to get money, and that he could, if he chose, make his men go back. Some blame the Pope for signing the armistice; others say that if the Viceroy had not consented to it the Pope's army would actually have died of starvation, as there was no money at Rome to keep it up. He (the Viceroy) might then have resumed the offensive, and recovered the villages (*lugares*) which the enemy took from him in Naples.

The Viceroy entered Florence yesterday, but the gentleman of Mons. de Bourbon thinks that he will not dare to go to the Imperial camp, as he would be in danger of his life there. Cesaro Ferramosca had gone to Ferrara, but was expected soon at Bologna.

The Pope's answer to Mons. de Bourbon's message has come at last. The messenger is to start to-morrow. The Pope refers entirely to the Viceroy, and hopes that between him and Bourbon they will be able to persuade the men to evacuate the territory of the Church. This notwithstanding, in addition to the Switzers mentioned elsewhere in this letter, he is now sending three battalions (*banderas*), once belonging to Giovannino de' Medici, generally called "bande nere," and held in great estimation here, on account of their gallant defence of Frosinone during the last war.—Rome, 8th April 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Ces. Cath. Mti."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 5.

[12?] April. 48. GRANVELLE'S REPORT to the EMPEROR upon the AFFAIRS OF ENGLAND.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 15.

Has, in obedience to His Majesty's commands, drawn the following report upon Don Iñigo's despatches of the 10th, 11th, and 18th March. Though the matter in itself is so important as to require greater repose in mind and body than he (Granvelle) at present enjoys, fatigued as he is by a long journey,* suffering from disease, and worn out by the cares [of his office], he has not hesitated to offer his opinion, and suggest the substance of the answer to be given to that ambassador's despatches. Submits his ideas on the subject to the Emperor's approbation, trusting that His Majesty's privy councillors [in Spain] will correct his faults, and fill up his omissions, so that the public weal may be ensured, and

* "Que requería mas descanso y reposo de cuerpo y de espíritu que de hombre peregrino trabajado de largo camino y de muchas dolencias del cuerpo y del ánimo." Nicolas Perrenot had recently arrived in Spain.

1527.

general peace, so much desired on all sides, permanently settled.

To Don Iñigo's first letter of the 10th of March the answer might be that His Imperial Majesty had duly received the despatch sent by his controller (*contrarelator*), and that if the non-receipt of his (Don Iñigo's) instructions by the first messenger through France had given rise to suspicion [in England] it was not the fault of the Emperor, who firmly believed that the duplicate sent by sea would reach England first. If the despatch by land contained no allusion to the one forwarded by sea, and to the instructions which accompanied it, it was merely owing to an oversight of the clerk in office, the Emperor having positively ordered that a private letter should be written to his ambassador informing him, in case of the land express reaching England first, that the instructions had gone by sea. Besides, from the very answer which the Emperor caused to be made out in French, for the inspection of the English ambassadors [in Spain], and of which a copy was duly forwarded, Don Iñigo might have concluded that the instructions were *not* to be sent by the English messenger going through France. Yet Don Iñigo's prudence and discretion in resisting the Cardinal's pressing solicitations and rude attacks is very much to be commended, as well as his opposition to any measure that might endanger the negotiations. He (Don Iñigo) ought to be warmly thanked for his exertions on this point, and be assured that the Emperor will leave nothing undone for the settlement of this peace on honourable terms, even if he should for that purpose sacrifice some of his own rights.

As the principal basis of the negotiations consists in the powers presented by each of the parties, without which no progress can be made on either side, it appears to him (Granvelle) that the difficulty raised by the English respecting those sent by the Emperor to Don Iñigo, and the clause therein contained that *the powers are to be understood without revocation of any former ones*, is without weight, and has been insidiously put forward, since all powers granted on such occasions generally contain a clause to that effect; which clause, if omitted in this instance, as the English suggest, would be equal to an abrogation of all former powers granted by the Emperor, as well as to an attempt to tie him down in such a manner that peace could only be made through the King of England's hands. For by that means and in the absence of the aforesaid clause, were the Viceroy [of Naples] or any other of the Emperor's ministers in virtue of the said powers to conclude truce or peace, and enter into some sort of agreement with the Pope, the Venetians, or other confederates, such treaties and stipulations would be without value, especially as the Emperor has frequently declared to the English ambassadors that he had sent special powers to Rome to treat for peace whenever an opportunity should

1527.

offer, and the ambassadors of the League here [in Spain] had offered to bring sufficient powers to treat at the Imperial Court. This notwithstanding, His Imperial Majesty, not to be in fault with anyone, was now forwarding new and fuller powers to Don Iñigo, commanding him at once to commence negotiations [in England], though with this proviso, *i.e.*, that if in the meantime there was a chance of peace being made elsewhere, the opportunity of obtaining such a boon should not be allowed to pass.

This being the case, Granvelle's opinion is that on no account ought Don Iñigo's powers to be altered or modified, and that the said clause of *non-revocation* ought to be forcibly affirmed in them. Yet if the Emperor's Privy Council, after mature deliberation, should be of opinion that England ought to be humoured on this particular point—in order not to alienate entirely the affections of their King—then, in that case, a separate protest might be drawn out in the presence of the same notary and witnesses called for that purpose, so that the non-insertion of the aforesaid clause in the powers should not be interpreted as a declaration that the Emperor consented to revoke all former powers to the Viceroy and others of his ministers, but, on the contrary, intended the same to remain firm and valid as before. If thought preferable other powers of a later date might also be granted to different persons, omitting that clause, but reproducing it separately.* But Granvelle thinks that it would be far more honourable (*honesto*) to satisfy the English by proving to them that the clause is one of ordinary use in such powers, and that they have no reason to suspect His Imperial Majesty of being desirous of concluding peace elsewhere than in England; for when the powers of Rome and Venice, as well as those sent by France to her ambassadors, were examined at this court (*acá*), not only were they found insufficient, but the English themselves agreed that they were so. This being a fact, it is natural to suppose that those which the confederates sent to England are equally so; and therefore, though the King of England may promise ratification and give other securities, it stands to reason that the Emperor could not listen to their overtures at the time that their powers were considered defective. This is plainly shown by the answer which the Emperor gave in writing on that occasion, and of which a copy was sent to the English ambassadors residing here. Another copy must be forwarded to Don Iñigo, if not already gone, that he may the better appreciate and point out the many flaws and irregularities contained in the said powers of the Pope, France, and others among the confederates, and perceive more clearly at the same time that the knowledge of

* “O si pareciesse mejor se podria hazer otro poder de data posterior en otras personas, dexando tambien la dicha clausula aparte, que seria nueva revocacion?”

1527.

these matters appertains more to the lawyer than to the knight.*

With regard to the English argument that the ratification of the powers will easily obviate any defects, the answer is near at hand. It would not be fair and equal (*juego yguat*) if, whilst the Emperor's powers were considered sufficient for all purposes, the issue of the affairs in question were to depend on the future ratification of those of the opposite parties, as His Imperial Majesty would be bound by his own, whilst the confederates remained in perfect liberty to ratify or not as they pleased. If, however, the King and Legate [of England] persisted in opening the negotiations without the powers of the confederates being rectified, and also without a most solemn and binding promise to ratify, then in that case Don Iñigo might still receive orders to treat with all possible caution (*cautela*) and equal promise of ratification, without, however, being obliged to exhibit his own powers and prove that they were sufficient.

What Don Iñigo said respecting the general peace, and his answer when the proclamation (*publicacion*) of the Emperor's intended enterprise against the Turk was alluded to, came very *à propos* indeed, as also what he stated to some members of the Privy Council concerning the Cardinal's persuasions.

Respecting the threats of an invasion of Flanders, it is necessary for the ambassador to have eyes and ears open, ready to listen to any rumours on the subject, in order to advise home as soon as possible. Occasions also ought to be sought, without raising suspicion, of conversing with the Queen (Katherine), and getting out of her as much information as possible on this point.

As to the specification of the offers made by the King of France to the Viceroy (Lannoy) for peace and for the liberation of his sons, which Don Iñigo says he has never received, though the Emperor gave orders that they should be transmitted to him, Granvelle thinks that a copy ought to be forwarded at once, that the ambassador (Don Iñigo) may communicate them to the King and Legate, telling them that a similar one was already in the hands of the English ambassadors, and intimating at the same time that unless the French acknowledge the said offers it would be quite useless to transmit to England the declarations founded thereupon, as it would be clearly demonstrated that France did not wish for peace, since she took no notice of the promises made by her King.

There is no plausible reason for placing the arbitrage of these matters in the hands of the King of England; but whenever he or the Cardinal becomes pressing, it will be wise

* "Y que entienda mejor que el conocimiento desto appertenesce (*sic*) mas al letrado que al cavallero."

† "Y tambien de buscar siempre ocasiones de hablar con la Reyna y saccar della lo que se podiere."

1527.

for the ambassador to dissemble and declare in general terms that the Emperor will be most happy if peace is concluded [in England] through their mediation.

With regard to the Cardinal's pensions, old and new, besides full payment of arrears, care should be taken to keep him always in tempting expectation of them* and in good hope, that though he may not accept at present what has been offered, it shall be kept and reserved for him whenever he may feel inclined to do so, and that orders shall be given for the speedy settlement of all arrears. This, in Granvelle's opinion, is an important matter which admits of no delay; the Emperor should at once take care that the Cardinal is satisfied on this point.

Of the arrival of the French ambassadors [at the Imperial Court], of their proposals, and of the answer given to them, though these matters are in general terms and according to the uses [of diplomacy], yet it would be advisable to dissemble and show that both the overtures and answers are being made with the zealous and sincere intention of promoting peace, and with complete secrecy.†

It seems incredible that there should be any serious contemplation of a marriage between the Princess of England and the King of France, the King having been already married by proxy to the Queen Doña Eleonor, the Emperor's sister, and having since then, when set at liberty and allowed to return to his own kingdom, written many letters begging that the Queen, his consort, might be sent to him. Even supposing that the English should consent to this marriage on the conditions and securities which are reported, it is hardly credible that the French could agree to it, as the terms demanded by the English King would be far more important to the French than the restitution of Burgundy and the fulfilment of the articles of the treaty of Madrid.

The declaration of the proposals‡ made to the Viceroy, which Don Iñigo has had translated into Latin, and of which he has sent us a copy, appear quite satisfactory, and in accordance with the substance of the memorandum transmitted

* Literally in savoury lips (*con la boca sabrida*).

† The whole paragraph runs thus: "De la llegada de los embaxadores de Francia, y de lo que propusieron y se les respondió, aunque parezcan cosas generales y ajustadas, todavía es bien dissimularlo, y mostrar que se haze con buen zelo, y verdadera *confidentia*." If this last underlined word is intended for the French *confidence*, i.e. "confidential and secret communications," I may, perhaps, be justified in translating as I have done, especially as the negotiations for peace, which at this time were privately conducted both in Spain and France, independently of those attempted in England, were so secret that very little transpired about them, as may be gathered from the correspondence of Dr. Lee and the Bishop of Worcester (Ghinucci), Henry's ambassadors in Spain. Yet *confidentia* might also be meant for *confianza*, i.e. trust or mutual reliance. Granvelle was a native of Flanders, and his knowledge of Spanish was not very extensive. Most of his letters and despatches are in French, and whenever he writes in Castilian his style is anything but clear.

‡ "Las declaraciones de los ofrecimientos del Visorey."

1527.

to that ambassador. He (Granville) sees no need for change in them, unless the Emperor, for his own vindication, chooses to moderate some of the articles, in which case the two restrictive notes (*apostillas*) written in the Chancellor's* own hand at the end of the second and fifth articles might be added, and the sixth also omitted, leaving its import to be expressed generally in the treaty of Madrid.† Care, however, should be taken that no innovation be introduced into the treaty of Madrid itself, excepting in those articles which must be adapted to the proposals made to the Viceroy.

Respecting the Cardinal's statement that the Emperor had recently sent a certain person to the French Court with full powers to conclude peace, this is altogether untrue. Don Iñigo ought to be informed of it, that he may contradict the report. It must have originated with the French, and be one of their own inventions to cover the secret mission here [in Spain] of L'Esleu Bayard, who came for the purpose of negotiating both private and general peace, as the Emperor informed the English ambassadors at the time.

As regards Brian Tuke's pension, even though he should be, as reported, in the receipt of one from France, it is desirable that it should be offered to him. Should he not forward the Emperor's interests [in England] it can be stopped. Should there be any other persons to whom, in Don Iñigo's opinion, some sort of gratuity ought to be given, the ambassador might send a list of their names, rank, and the offices held by them, as likewise of the sums to be distributed in each case.

To Don Iñigo's second letter of the 11th, as it is in substance nearly identical with the first, no further answer need be given, excepting to state that the offer made by the King of France to the Viceroy was to pay not only two millions of gold, but also all sums owed by the Emperor to the King of England, in addition to the indemnity promised by the treaty of Madrid.

Should it be decided to conclude peace in England, certainly one or two ambassadors should be sent thither to share the responsibility with Don Iñigo; or if not, an able and experienced lawyer, who would not be easily deceived. Madame [of the Low Countries] should be instructed on this point.

In answer to Don Iñigo's third letter of the 18th, he should be instructed to examine most carefully the new powers which he says have been shown him, and see if they correspond in all respects to the formula now sent him.‡ If they do, then he can, on the receipt of the copies of the said powers, freely show his own. It would, however, be well for him, if he had time, to send the powers here [to Spain], or at least to Flanders, that they may be examined and inspected.

* Granville was at this time High Chancellor in the Low Countries.

† "Dexandolo en la generalidad del concierto de Madrid."

‡ "Si en ellos son las condiciones mencionadas en el aucto que se le embia."

1527.

In answer to the Cardinal's assertion that if the Emperor would trust him he might easily have the ransom raised to two millions, provided that at the same time certain articles in the treaty of Madrid were altered, Don Iñigo should say that the Emperor trusts the Cardinal entirely, and that is the reason why he (the Emperor) fully expected an increase rather than abatement in the terms offered by the King of France to the Viceroy, or than any other change prejudicial to his (the Emperor's) interests.

As regards the offer of making over the State of Milan to the Emperor, on condition of the payment of certain annual pensions,* he (Granvelle) believes that this is merely a stratagem to tempt His Majesty and find out his real feelings on the subject. It is not advisable that the Emperor should in this case show his affection for any particular person. Don Iñigo therefore should be instructed to say that the Emperor simply seeks justice. If the sentence be in favour of the Duke Francesco, let him be reinstated; if, on the contrary, it goes against him, and he is to be deprived of his estates, let them be given over to the Duke of Bourbon, to whom the Emperor has already granted the investiture of the Duchy in the event of the Duke's (Francesco Sforza) guilt being proved. Thinks, nevertheless, that it has been an unwise step to have set Hyeronimo Moron (Girolamo Morono) at liberty, and especially to have given him part in the affairs and counsels of the Emperor. This will give rise to all manner of rumours and surmises, and people will say that there is no real disposition to do justice in this case, and, moreover, that the imprisonment of Moron (Morono) was more for the purpose of bringing an accusation against the Duke [Sforza] than for any other.†

With regard to the proposal of placing the Duchy in the King of England's hands, pending sequestration,‡ Don Iñigo must be instructed to persist in the answer he has already given. Until justice has taken its course, the Emperor cannot depart from his promise to the Duke of Bourbon. The judges chosen for this purpose (Don Iñigo may add) will be quite free from suspicion.

The Cardinal's overtures to Don Iñigo respecting the King's illegitimate son and the intention of conferring upon him the title of King, together with the proposal for his marriage, might be considered in the light of a joke (*burla*), were it not that the Cardinal's presumption and folly (*presumption y locura*) are well known. Such proposals would be unworthy of an answer, were it not that perhaps there may lurk under them some wicked scheme for causing a rupture of the Madrid

* "En quanto á lo del Estado de Milan, que dize se daria á sa Magestad con las pensiones," &c.

† "Por que desto saldrán muchos juycios y notamientos de la non recta intencion de hazer justicia, y se presumirá mas presto la prision del Moron haver sido cautelosa, e con manera para hazerle acusar al Duque que por qualquiera otra causa."

‡ "De lo del sequestro en poder del rey de Inglaterra," &c.

1527.

treaty, to prevent which Don Iñigo must give particular attention. In his (Granvelle's) opinion a courteous answer should be given, saying that the Emperor was pleased to hear of the King of England's intention to bestow such honours upon his illegitimate son, and suggesting that, though the Emperor cannot dispose of the hand of his niece the Infanta of Portugal—as that would be acting in opposition to his own engagements thereupon,* and as the said Infanta is moreover in the power of the King of Portugal—yet he sees no objection, when the King of England has conferred such rank on his said illegitimate son, in forwarding his marriage with some other Princess more suitable to his age and position, and as nearly allied to the Emperor as the said Infanta of Portugal. The suggestion might at present be made in the vague terms above expressed, without hinting at the said marriage being with one of the daughters of Denmark, or with an illegitimate daughter of the Emperor.†

The promise made both by the King and Cardinal that no new relationship should in any way affect the old alliance and friendship between the two countries, Spain and England, is of no moment, as they might say, when reminded hereafter of their engagements, that they only meant those treaties of commerce which did not positively include a clause of offensive and defensive alliance. No reliance, therefore, can be placed on such indefinite phrases.

Don Iñigo's reply on the subject of the King of France's marriage was very appropriate.

Thanks should be offered to the King for the reception given to the ambassador of the King of Bohemia (Ferdinand), although little good is likely to result from it.

Respecting the Queen's physician, Dr. Victoria,‡ Don Iñigo ought to be told that when he arrives the Emperor will treat him as his services deserve.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 7.

* "Por no contravenir de su parte á lo assentado, y por ser la dicha Infanta en poder del Rey de Portugal."

† Margaret, born in December 1522, and married in 1535 to Alessandro de' Medici, Duke of Florence, and after his death (1537) to Octavio Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza. Christiern II. of Denmark married Isabella, the Emperor's sister. He had two daughters,—*Dorotea*, who became the wife of the Palatine Frederic; and *Christina* (Christierna), who married Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan. The Emperor, however, had another illegitimate daughter, named *Juana*, who died in 1530, at Salamanca, at the age of seven or nine. See Florez, *Reynas Catolicas de España* (Madrid, 1761), vol ii., p. 867.

‡ "Del phisico de Victoria (*sic*) quando viniere, que su Magestad terná el acuerdo qual conviene á sus servicios." His Christian name was *Fernando*. He was, as will be seen hereafter, the bearer of a verbal message from Katharine to the Emperor respecting the divorce. See also Don Iñigo's letter of the 18th of March, No. 37, p. 121.

§ This report or *consulta* was evidently drawn at Madrid, where Granvelle was residing at the time. A copy of it might have been sent to Flanders, which accounts for its being now preserved in the Imperial Archives of Vienna. It must have been drawn between the arrival of the English courier (Bluemantle) at Valladolid on the 7th of April, and the answer given by the Charles to Lee and Ghinucci on the 17th. See Brewer, *loco laudato*, p. 1368.

1527.

13 April.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
 f. .
 B. M. *Add.* 28,576.
 f. 151.

49. The VICEROY OF NAPLES to LOPE DE SORIA.

At the time that the armistice was concluded between the Pope and the Emperor, it was agreed that I should go to Rome within a period of eight days, for the purpose of signing and executing the last agreement, and attending to other matters relating thereto. I consequently went to Rome, but was told by the Pope that I should oblige him very much by coming here [to Florence], so that I might be nearer to Mons. de Bourbon and concert with him the best means for keeping the truce just concluded in the Emperor's name. Immediately after my arrival I despatched a messenger to Mons. de Bourbon, informing him of the cause of my journey. He sent me La Mota (La Mothe) and his own almoner,* with whom and with the persons in whose hands the government of this city at present is I have had long consultations as to the best means of effecting the retreat of the Imperial forces. It has been resolved that to-morrow, the 14th, I go and hold an interview with Mons. de Bourbon to see whether the pending negotiations can be brought to a conclusion, which I have no doubt they will.

Three or four days ago Miçer Andrea Spinola brought me your worship's two letters of the 5th inst; one of them in cipher. He accompanies me to the camp, and promises to return to Genoa as soon as I have given him a letter for your worship.—Florence, 13th April 1527.

Indorsed: "Copy of a letter from the Viceroy to Soria."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

20 April.

50. APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSARIES for the PEACE with the POPE.

S. E. L. 1,454,
 f. 68.
 B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
 f. 152.

The Emperor to all Persons, &c. Appoints Charles de Bourbon, Duke and Prince of Auvergne, his Lieutenant-General in Italy; Charles de la Noy, Prince of Sulmona, Count of Asti, Viceroy of Naples; Ugo de Moncada, Prior of Messina, "Orator Sancti Joannis Hierosolimitani," and his Captain-General of the Sea; the Venerable Francisco de los Angeles, General of the Order of St. Francis, to be his agents for the peace to be made with the Pope.—Valladolid, 20th April 1527.

Latin. Original minute. pp. 5.

21 April.

51. MARTIN DE SALINAS to FERDINAND, King of Bohemia.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
 c. 71, f. 171 v°.

Wrote by Longoval, who left Valladolid on the 11th March, but as the vessel in which that messenger went met with a furious tempest at sea, he was obliged to return to port again. As Mons. de Prat (Praet), who was on board, would not trust to the sea again, but decided, with the Emperor's consent, to take a land route, the despatches were forwarded through

* His name was Monthardon, and he seems to have been employed on various missions.

1527.

Longoval by sea. Hopes that they have reached their destination, although there is nothing conclusive in them as regards the promised succours, the Emperor being unwilling to take a final resolution thereupon until he hears of the arrival of Don Antonio de Mendoc a, and what that ambassador has been able to accomplish after receipt of his instructions.

Count Hortenburg has forwarded to him (Salinas) from England certain despatches of His Highness, to which full answer has been sent through Mons. de Praet and Madame Marguerite.

Has since sent to Portugal a gentleman named Sancho Bravo, to compliment the King and Queen in His Highness' name.

Chancellor Gattinara left this town (Valladolid) on the 28th of March, on a pilgrimage to Monserrat. Whether he will return here or not, is more than he (Salinas) can say; but if he does, it will certainly not be to the favour of the Emperor, who is not likely to receive him again, unless somebody interferes in his behalf. All business is now being transacted in the Council of State by Count Nasaot (Nassau), the Confessor (Loaysa), Don Johan Manuel, Laxao (Lachaulx), and Secretary Juan Aleman (Lallemand); the rest of the councillors are dispensed (*escusados*) from attending the deliberations.—Valladolid, 21st April 1527.

Addressed: "To the King [of Bohemia], my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

21 April.

52. The EMPEROR to the ABBOT OF NAJERA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.

Salazar, A. 40,

f. 336.

B. M. Add. 28,576.

f. 155.

The King, &c. We have duly received your letter of the 18th February, brought by Colonel Filippe (*sic*) de Herrera, from whom, as well as from the contents of the said letter, we have perfectly understood the present state of affairs in Italy. We thank you for your exertions, and have no doubt that you will continue to serve us with the same zeal and devotion as hitherto.

After Easter it is our intention to remit to Mons. de Bourbon a good sum of money, that he may provide for the wants of our army. Let us hear of its doings as often as possible.

Our negotiations here with the deputies of the Cortes, to obtain a subsidy from them, go on very favourably, as you will see by the enclosed memorandum. "*Fiat prout in ea*," &c.—Valladolid, 21st April 1527.

Addressed: "Lupi Sorie."*

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

* Evidently a mistake of the clerk who drew out the minute, since the letter was addressed to the Abbot of Najera, in answer to one of his of the 18th February. (See No. 27, p. 69.) The order in Latin, *Fiat prout in ea*, in the Secretary's hand, was no doubt intended as a memorandum for the clerk to insert the act of the Cortes in reference to the grant, &c. Similar circular letters were addressed to Soria at Genoa, and Perez at Rome.

1527.

24 April. 53. ALONSO SANCHEZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 341.

B. M. Add. 28,576.
f. 156.

Wrote on the 18th inst.* What has since happened His Imperial Majesty must have heard from Mons. de Bourbon and others. As the Imperial soldiers insisted upon continuing their march, and had on the 18th advanced as far as Piede di St. Esteban, the Viceroy was obliged to leave Florence. On his way to Bourbon's camp he was attacked by peasants (*villanos*), and as he had no escort with him (*yba horro y con muy poca gente*), was in great risk of being murdered by his assailants, who were in large numbers. He owed his safety solely to the swiftness of his steed. The Pope's chamberlain, who accompanied him, was wounded in the affray. (*Cipher* :) Has been told for certain that this Doge (Andrea Gritti) has received information that certain letters of Mons. de Bourbon had been intercepted, showing that there was secret intelligence between him and the Viceroy as to the march of the Imperialists. The latter was also with the army, and there was no longer question of France or of an armistice;† on the contrary, orders had been given for the 80,000 cr. which had actually been forwarded from Florence to Bourbon's camp, that he might begin the payment of his troops, to be brought back to that city, since all hopes of an armistice had vanished, and the Imperial army was pushing on. The Pope and the Florentines had earnestly requested the Signory to order the advance of their troops, a thing of which they have hitherto been afraid, less the armistice should be concluded, and they left alone. Their answer is that if His Holiness pledges his word not to make peace with the Emperor, and to send his army against the kingdom of Naples, they will help with all their forces. The Florentines also sent a message on the 21st to say that Bourbon is advancing, and that they are terribly afraid of his troops. It is not certain whether the Signory will send them any assistance, but he (Sanchez) rather thinks they will, in order to cause a diversion, and prevent the Imperialists from invading their territory, which is the thing they most dread.

(*Common writing* :) According to intelligence received from the Court of France, and which this Signory has published, the Kings of France and England were soon to meet on the confines of their respective dominions in order to hold a conference and settle about the marriage, which was to take place under these conditions: One year's time was to be allowed before the King of France should take Princess Mary [of England] for his wife; but if, in the meantime, peace was made, the King of France was to marry Doña Leonor (Eleonor), the Emperor's sister, and his second son [the Duke of Orleans] the Princess. Both Kings, it was added, were

* As this letter of the 18th is not in the volume, it is to be presumed that it was intercepted.

† "Que no havia ya mas Francia ni platicas de assientos."

1527.

about to send their ambassadors to Spain to lay this matter before the Emperor.

(*Cipher* :) Hears that the King of France proposes sending an army of 15,000 men here, and intends Venice to keep the same number. A native of Ferrara, who has long resided in France, where he has married, has lately come to Venice. He (Sanchez) suspects that he brings a mission from that King to the Signory.

(*Common writing* :) Encloses copies of letters from Don Antonio de Mendoza, and one from the Secretary of the King of Hungary and Bohemia.

(*Cipher* :) The Grand Turk (Solyman) has presented the Signory with 500 weight of calmitra (saltpetre), which they wanted for the manufacture of gunpowder, as they cannot at the present time take any out of Pulla (Puglia). It came in a vessel from Constantinople. They say also that the Turk has placed at the disposal of this Signory his treasurer and his armies, and anything else that may be wanted. (*Common writing* :) Notwithstanding all this, his (Sanchez's) information, derived from merchants and others living in Turkey, is that the Sultan is making no preparations to invade us this year. Cannot say whether these people will incite him to do so for the next.

(*Cipher* :) Has been told that in the last *pregay* or *consilio rogatorium*, which was held yesterday, the 23rd, it was decided that their army should march to the assistance of Florence, and of Rome also if required.—Venice, 24th April 1527.

Signed : "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed : "Sacre Cese. Cathce. Mti."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 6.

25 April.

54. CHARLES DE LANNOY to LOPE DE SORIA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 346.
M. Add. 28,576,
f. 159.

Wrote from Florence,* informing him of the object of his journey thither. Went afterwards to Bourbon's camp with no small risk to his person, having been attacked in the way by the peasants (*villanos*). Was not more fortunate at the camp. Found the Duke and the rest of the Imperial captains very willing to go back and fulfil the terms of the agreement entered into with His Holiness, but money was wanting, and the soldiers seemed determined not to obey that general's orders, and refused to march on. Agreed that he and Mons. de Bourbon together should sign a letter to the Pope, asking him to provide with the Florentines the money required for the payment of the Imperial troops. Signed the letter, and came again to Florence to wait for the Pope's answer. Left the Imperial army encamped close to Rezo (Reggio).

* See No. 49, p. 147.

1527.

Just arrived in Sienna. As soon as this letter reaches Genoa, you will issue orders for the vessel (*fusta*) which came lately from Spain with the mails, to be got ready for sea, as well as a good brigantine and two frigates, all well armed and stored with provisions, their crews paid for two months. They are to sail immediately for this Siennese coast and enter the river Grosseto, close to Salamon. When there, let them send a messenger informing me of their arrival. Andrea Spinola is still with me. Will send him back soon with a long letter, &c.—Sienna, 25th April 1527.

Indorsed: "Copy of the Viceroy's letter to Lope de Soria."

Spanish. pp. 2.

25 April.

55. DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien, Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 227, No. 16.

[*Cipher*:] Has written both by sea and land of what has passed here up to this date, and especially of the great pressure that has and is still being put upon him to declare in the Emperor's name the conditions of peace. Has been told that unless he acts at once upon his instructions, they (the King and Legate) shall consider that the Emperor withdraws altogether from the negotiations, in which case they will act as seems best to them. Was given clearly to understand that the French ambassadors, then just reaching the shores of England, brought such terms that unless the Emperor would trust in them, and consent to have the general peace negotiated and concluded here (in England), they would only look to their own convenience.

Things being in this critical state, Mendoça felt that after having kept them waiting 40 days for the instructions which Chateau brought at last, and subsequently 20 more days for the arrival of the lawyer whom Madame was to send, but who never came, any attempt to delay further might cause an open rupture, and that it was wiser—since the lawyer does not come—to enter at once upon the negotiations in pursuance of the Emperor's mandate, which directs him (Mendoça), the powers having been shown and ratification promised, and the opposite party first stating their conditions, to declare forthwith the Emperor's pleasure.

Accordingly, having found upon examination that the powers of the French ambassador here were quite correct, that ratification had been pledged, and that the opposite party had already come forward with two proposals, saw that the declaration could no longer be postponed. Did not, however, as he wrote at the time, declare his terms before the opposite party, but only under oath of secrecy to the King and Legate. Knows well that the Emperor's orders were, that should the aforesaid conditions of ratification, &c., be kept, he (Mendoça) should openly make his statement before the parties; but thought it even then more advantageous for the negotiations

1527.

to withhold his declaration from the French ambassadors, as by communicating to the King and Legate what was purposely concealed from the others, greater confidence was shown in them. Went no further than stating to the King and Legate that if the French ambassadors would engage to advance a little (*un punto mas adelante*) upon the terms offered by their master to the Viceroy of Naples, he (Mendoza) had no objection to begin the negotiations at once.

Wrote also to advise His Majesty that the new French embassy had arrived in London, and brought fresh powers from their master, the King, which powers were shown to him (Mendoza) by the Legate.* They contained two clauses: one implying that the consent of the Venetians should be considered essential to this peace, and the other that the King of England should be paid all that is owing to him. To the former of these conditions—the consent of Venice to peace being made here in England—there was no objection at all, as the ambassador of the Signory (Venier) had been duly empowered to give it. As to the latter, though he (Mendoza) represented to the Cardinal how much the Emperor would be hurt to see such a clause in his enemy's powers, he could not press the point very hard, lest they should suspect that he was trying to gain further delay in the payment. It was therefore agreed that the powers should remain as they were, ratification was solemnly promised, and the King of England undertook to answer† for all parties.

Wrote also at the time that, though from the Emperor's letters it could be inferred that the sum offered by the King of France to the Viceroy amounted to two millions of gold, yet he (Mendoza) thought it advisable to give the above vague answer, partly because the specification of these engagements, though often promised, had not come from Spain, and partly because, by giving an evasive answer, a course might be left open for the Emperor to declare the nature and amount of the said engagements whenever he found it most suitable to his interests. Told, therefore, the King and Cardinal that in truth he was not aware whether any cession of territory had been stipulated, or what was the amount of money to be paid by those engagements. Should there be any the Emperor would write all particulars to whomsoever should be appointed to receive his answer.

Mentioned also in his letter the answer which the Legate and the King himself stated to have been given to the French ambassadors when pressed by them to renew their old friendship and alliance by means of a marriage. The answer, as the Legate informed him, was that no new treaty between the Kings of England and France could in any way be allowed

* "Y aviendo ya los contrarios hecho primero dos ofertas y abierturas." This last word *abierturas* is meant for the French "*ouvertures*."

† "Quedó que traerian los poderes como quisiesen, y que se ratificaria todo lo que se asentasse, y que el mismo Rey respondiese por todas las partes."

1527.

to interfere with former alliances, thus giving the French ambassadors clearly to understand that no offensive alliance against the Emperor was meant. This statement being one of great importance, he (Mendoza) took care to have it confirmed by the King himself.

The ambassador, moreover, failed not at the time to express his opinion respecting the said answer to the French. Either these latter had not offered such favourable terms as these people expected, or else the King is affecting less partiality for the French, in the hope of inducing the Emperor to place the negotiations entirely in his hands.

Called the Emperor's attention also to the great change that, if his words are to be relied upon, had come over the Legate as regards him. Hitherto he would listen to no offers made in the Emperor's name; but recently, when he (Mendoza) was expressing the Emperor's regret that he would not accept any fresh pensions from him, the Legate replied that he did not positively refuse them, only that he delayed their acceptance till after the conclusion of peace, that he might be entirely free to work as should seem best for the service of God and Christendom at large. Reported also that the King of England had told him (Mendoza) that the only difficulty in the settlement of general peace lay in two points: one was the Duchy of Milan; the other the delivery of the hostages. As regarded the Duchy of Milan, were it placed in his hands, he (the King) would take good care that it should be disposed of as the Emperor wished. He himself should be more pleased if it were bestowed on the Duke of Bourbon, who was his own relative,* rather than on the Duke Francesco [Sforza], with whom he had no connexion at all; but should the Emperor wish, contrary to his expectations, that the Duchy should be restored to the Duke Francesco, then in that case a pension of upwards of a hundred thousand ducats should be paid to the Emperor, and another of thirty or forty thousand settled on M. de Bourbon. Did not consider this at all feasible, but was desired by the Legate to advise the Emperor thereof, as he did at the time, as well as of another proposal, which was that the Pope should at the conclusion of the peace give 200,000 ducats in aid of the expenses of the Imperial armies in Italy. With regard to the delivery of the hostages, the King would see that the ransom was fixed at two millions, on condition that certain articles in the treaty of Madrid should be altered. Told the Legate in reply that it seemed to him (Mendoza) an unlikely step towards peace, to start a grievance respecting articles so just and reasonable and so easy of fulfilment as those of the treaty of Madrid.

The above is a summary of the contents of Mendoza's letters forwarded by the Emperor's comptroller (*contrarolor*) and by a herald sent by this King [to Spain], whose return is shortly

* "Aunque yo se lo heché muy de fuera."

1527.

expected. Until his arrival with the Emperor's answer, no change is likely to be made either in the overtures of these French ambassadors, or in this King's determination, unless indeed their suspicions should be aroused by some new attempt at delay. Has gained but little information respecting the articles that have been proposed; those who could give it him keep aloof and will not say one word about it, not being sufficiently remunerated (*pagados*) by the Emperor, and consequently more reticent with him than with any other foreign ambassador. What he (Mendoça) can say for certain is that frequent disagreement exists among the [French] ambassadors themselves, who are the same as those mentioned in his letter of the 18th of March; only that, having as they have the King of France near at hand with his Council of State, their differences are soon reconciled.

Since the news came that the Emperor would not come to an agreement with the King of France, his ambassadors have been very assiduous with the Legate (*aprietanse con el Legado quanto mas pueden*). This determination of the French to form an alliance here as best they can, being a hindrance to the negotiations for general peace, it might be as well that the latter should be concluded in Spain, and not be exposed to interruption at this crisis.

There is a report that the King of England asks in return for his daughter (*en recompensa de su hija*) the countries of Boulogne,* Montreuil, and Abbeville. It is hardly credible that these countries will be given up, although the King of France is becoming daily in greater need of the English alliance, being already forsaken by the Emperor, by the Pope on account of the truce (which is firmly credited here), and perhaps also by the Venetians. Some days it seems as if everything was settled between them, others quite the reverse. Quite recently the French ambassadors went to Richmond, where the Princess is at present residing, to pay their respects to her, but it appears that the Queen, who is also there, would not allow her to appear, alleging that she was indisposed, and so the ambassadors had to return without seeing the Princess, much to their disappointment.

The King of England and Legate are daily expecting, as His Majesty has already been informed, the specification of the engagements entered into with the Viceroy, and of the terms which he (the Emperor) demands. Although the opposite party have opened the way by stating their terms and presenting their powers, and although the King of England has fairly promised to have the powers renewed to the satisfaction of all parties, and ratify all that shall be concluded at this court, yet he (Mendoça) suspects that notwithstanding all their fine words, should his answer not be such as they confidently hope,

* The original deciphering has "*Colonia, Montruel, y Habavilla*," but Bolonia (Boulogne-sur-Mer) must be meant.

1527.

namely, that peace shall be concluded here [in England], the two Kings will form a closer alliance than they have yet done, and the delivery of the sons of France will be demanded in the name of the King of England. As to the Princess' marriage, though she may be promised to the King of France, believes that the real scheme is to have her married, if possible, to the Dauphin, and that is the reason why they are trying to have some of the articles of the Madrid Convention altered as much on their own account as on that of others.

Has heard since writing the above that the King and Legate are much troubled about this [Italian] truce, and have expressed to the Nuncio their regret that the Pope should have made it without seeking their advice and consent first. For though in the treaty, which they are now drawing up with the King of France, it would be no disadvantage to them to see the King reduced to still greater straits, yet as it is not probable that he will thereby be led to offer the Emperor fairer conditions than he has already done, they do not wish to see him forsaken by the Pope at the present time. On the other hand, it is also rumoured that the King of France agrees to grant all their demands, and if so, it is to be feared that the English will not let this opportunity of gaining his alliance slip out of their hands. Nothing is signed as yet, but, he (Mendoza) is sure that before these ambassadors return to France the treaty will be concluded.

It is said that some person of higher rank* than these present ambassadors is to come over [from France] for this betrothal. The ambassadors on their second visit saw the Princess, which they had not done before. They were received by the King in a manner which seemed to indicate that the treaty with France was prospering, or at least that he (the King) wished it so to be believed. Thinks they only wait for the Emperor's answer to bring matters to a close one way or the other; and that if any further delay should render them suspicious, they will—lest the opportunity should be lost—conclude the treaty at once.

Some English merchants, in consequence of the many reports of this marriage now in circulation, have been to Flanders for the purpose of collecting the goods they had there and bringing them hither to this country. They assert that one of the members of the Privy Council told them that there would be war between this kingdom and Flanders. Cannot discover any foundation for such a report at the present moment.

In the event of this new alliance by marriage leading to the formation of an offensive one against the Emperor, he (Mendoza) thinks it advisable to propose a marriage between the King of Scotland and the dowager Queen of Hungary [the

* Anne de Montmorency, Grand Master of France.

1527.

Emperor's younger sister]. In his (Mendoza's) opinion two advantages might thereby be gained; either the King would at once show a decided preference for a Scotch rather than for a French alliance—as all wise people amongst his subjects advise—or, if he did not actually try to prevent the marriage, it would give the Emperor just such a check over this King as he formerly had over the King of France.*

Little else remains to be said. He (Mendoza) considers it certain that a treaty will be concluded speedily between the two Kings. Thinks, however, the fulfilment of their mutual engagements rather problematic, the King of England desiring that Boulogne should be given up to him immediately, and the King of France wishing that the Princess should be first betrothed to his son. Thinks it will be difficult for either side to place any trust in the other. The Legate is no doubt afraid that in consequence of this [Italian] truce the Emperor will raise his demands. Perceiving that the King, his master, is not sufficiently strong to take up alone the cause of France, and that the King of France, being made aware of this, may one of these days come to a separate agreement with the Emperor, as the Pope has lately done, he (the Legate) is terribly afraid of being left on one side. This preoccupies him so much that, as people say, he has had no peace ever since the news was received [in London], and the indisposition he is now suffering from has no other cause.†

Count Salamanca and two more ambassadors‡ who came the other day from Bohemia have left. They were told in reference to their commission that the King of England could not assist them at present until this peace was concluded, but that his ambassadors at the Archduke's Court would convey his final resolution. Should the King of Bohemia in the meantime do his best for the promotion of general peace with the Emperor, he would find the King of England disposed to favour and help any undertaking against the Turks. Thinks the King of Bohemia will send an ambassador to Spain for this purpose, and it is added that the Legate has also written making the same request of the Pope, that their ambassadors together may entreat (*suplicar*) the Emperor to conclude this peace.—London, the 25th of April 1527.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 8.

* "O a lo menos tendria alli Vuestra Magestad a quien le retruxiere quando se pusiese en algo, como hazia al rey de Francia en los tiempos passados."

† "Y assi por esto como parecerle que su Rey no basta solo para levantar el partido del rey de Francia, teme que no aga con Vuestra Magestad lo quel Papa, que es viendose apretado hazer su apuntamiento. Hasele todo esto tanto assentado en el estomago que dize el vulgo que esta mala dispusicion que al presente tiene fué de la dicha nueva."

‡ They had audience of Henry at Greenwich on the 14th, when one of them, John Faber, is said to have delivered a public oration after the German fashion. See Rawdon Brown, *Venetian State Papers*, vol. iv., p. 39.

1527.

26 April.

56. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
 f. 353.
 B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
 f. 160.

Encloses duplicate of his last, dated the 7th inst.* The Viceroy reached Florence, and wrote thence to the Pope, saying that if money was speedily procured he would undertake to make the Imperial army stop in their march, and go back. He afterwards went to Bologna to consult about the affair with Mons. de Bourbon, and wrote again, saying that 200,000 ducats were wanting to pay the troops, &c.; without them nothing could be done. The report is that the Pope consents to give that sum, part to be furnished by the Florentines, and the rest by way of a loan to the Viceroy, under proper securities that the money shall be refunded. This he hears from Secretary Seron and from others who are in correspondence with the Viceroy; he himself knows nothing about it, except what they tell him; he cannot go to the Palace and hear the news, as he is confined to his house by illness.

Has been told that His Holiness fears that, if once the Imperial army gets hold of the 200,000 ducats, they will not go back, but, on the contrary, will come to Rome and demand more money. He is, therefore, considering what securities he can ask. Has no doubt that the Viceroy will give all that are necessary. Up to the moment of his writing, nothing has been decided.

The brother of the Duke of Lorraine (Vaudemont) came to Rome the other day, and was very well received by the Pope. He has now gone to Civittà Vecchia to embark; some say for France, others for Sicily. Has written to Don Ugo, informing him of this, that the Viceroy of that island may be on his guard.

The bands formerly belonging to Giovannino de' Medici, called "le bande nere," have also left Rome. Some say that they have been dismissed, and show great discontent at the measure; others assert that they are being sent by the Pope to Florence, and that money has been provided; but before they quitted Rome they did much harm, and sacked some citizens' houses, without any one daring to oppose them.

The Datary has not yet left for France and England. The general of the Franciscans, who is to accompany him as far as Marseilles, and then go to the Emperor in Spain, says that he will not leave Rome until he hears what measures the Viceroy will take with the German lansquenets and Spanish infantry now quartered between Rimini and Faenza.

(*Cipher* :) Has heard that the Pope is secretly treating with the Venetians to make an inroad on Puglia, promising, if they do, to help them with money. We shall soon see whether the report be true or not, as well as the Datary's plan, which is said to be to go to France and invite the King to come to Italy, making him various offers, &c. Has been told that if unsuccessful in his mission, the Datary does

* No. 47, p. 136.

1527.

not intend to return to Rome, but has given orders for his house at Verona to be prepared for his reception in 20 days' time.

(*Common writing* :) There have been slight disturbances at Sienna owing to one of the citizens being in correspondence with the emigrants (*fuorusciti*). Aguilera writes to say that the governors of the place do not seem inclined either to lend money, to restore their confiscated property to the emigrants, or to give up the artillery. Had written thus far when a friend came to tell him as a positive fact that the general of the Franciscans, the Datary, and the Bishop of Carpentras, Sadoletto, the Pope's secretary, have left Rome; the last-named bishop for his own see, the three former for Civittà Vecchia and for the galleys of Vaudemont. Others assert that they are not gone, but have only retired to a monastery, there to perform their devotions during this holy week (*estos días sanctos*). Cannot say which of the two reports is the true one, as he (Perez) is still confined to his house. All he can say is that the general has not informed him of his departure, though he (Perez) never fails to inquire after him, &c. The Marquis and Bishop of Astorga have not yet arrived. It appears they left Genoa on the 6th inst.

All here are rejoicing in consequence of news having been received that the Imperial army is actually retreating, owing to 80,000 ducats having been distributed among the soldiers, besides 70,000 more promised, the moment they should evacuate the territory of the Church. On the 15th the Viceroy was at a castle called Castro, not far from Forli, where he was to hold an interview with Mons. de Bourbon, the Duke of Ferrara, and the Marquis del Guasto. The conference at an end, the Viceroy was to come back; he is soon expected in Rome.

Since writing the above, has ascertained that the general of the Franciscans is still at Rome, in a monastery of his order, where he has been spending Eastertide. This letter goes by him, as that is perhaps the quickest and the surest way. Is afraid, however, that when he (the general) hears that neither the lansquenets nor the Spaniards chose to obey orders, but insisted upon marching [on Florence] he will probably change his mind and not go [to Spain] at all. Yet, it must be avowed, the report that the Imperialists were retreating, and which, as aforesaid, filled these courtiers with joy, has proved false. The men are actually advancing by forced marches upon Rome, and on the 18th were 30 miles from Florence, which, however, these people are confident will resist the attack. It is added that the Imperialists are cutting straight through the Siennese territory, on account of provisions being more abundant there than in the countries they have hitherto traversed, harassed, as they say they are, by the French and Venetians. The alarm caused here at Rome by this intelligence cannot be described. The Pope,

1527.

however, hopes that the Viceroy will come back soon, and that he will prevent as much as possible the ravages of the Imperial soldiers on their march; which ravages are indeed great, since neither Bourbon nor their captains have any command over them. The report here is that wherever the troops pass they destroy and burn everything before them.

Knight Commander Aguilera has returned from Sienna. His mission was unsuccessful. The citizens refuse to give money without a direct order from the Emperor, and intend sending an ambassador to Spain.

(*Cipher:*) Some are of opinion that if the Imperial army comes to Rome the Pope will not stop here, but will take refuge either in France or in Venice. The ambassadors of these two powers are very solicitous just now that the Pope should not come to terms with the Emperor, but return to the [Italian] League. They promise wonders, and the King of France in particular offers to come to Italy with a powerful army, and send, besides, money and troops for the conquest of Naples.

(*Common writing:*) The Datary is still here, and nobody knows when he intends leaving Rome. It is generally believed that he is waiting for the issue of this present affair. When he goes, he will take with him the Bishop of Carpentras (Sadoletto), who is to remain as Nuncio in France, whilst he himself is to go to the Emperor in Spain.

Cesaro Ferramosca came back on the 24th inst. from Florence, where he had been some days waiting for the Viceroy. As the latter did not make his appearance in that city, Ferramosca would not wait any longer for him. He told the Pope how much he and the Viceroy had toiled to induce the Imperial army to retreat, and how in his journey to Bologna he (Lannoy) had been attacked by peasants (*villanos*), who had wounded his (the Pope's) chamberlain. The Viceroy had been so furiously attacked at first that he owed his safety entirely to the swiftness of his steed, though when the peasants knew who he was, they had treated him with due respect.

There is no news of Count Guido Rangone, the governor of Arezzo, whom the Pope had sent with a mission to Mons. de Bourbon, an evident sign that the roads are intercepted and all communications suspended. It is reported that the Florentines are determined not to open their gates to Bourbon. Rather than give him the 150,000 ducats, at which they were rated by the last agreement, they prefer resistance, as that money, they say, will keep them for three months, especially if they have, as is generally reported, again joined the League. This, however, is not so credible as appears at first sight, for neither France nor Venice will have them as allies unless the Pope joins also. On the other hand, some assert that the latter has actually signed a new agreement with France and the League, and certainly there is just now so much beating of military drums in the streets of this capital that some faith

1527.

must be attached to the report. The Pope, moreover, has been advised, in order to replenish his coffers, to create a number of cardinals, and it is generally believed that he will do this. France and Venice make most brilliant offers, &c.

The Imperialists are supposed to be close to Sienna. What route they will take is not known. Florence is defended by Federico Bozolo with 6,000 men, Italians and Swiss; the Marquis of Saluzzo has with him 4,000 men, not including the Italians; Count Guido [Rangone] about the same. In short they make the whole forces of the League amount to 30,000 infantry, besides the cavalry and the men-at-arms. Though the enemy proclaims that they are not afraid of us, and that they intend attacking the Imperialists wherever they can meet them, there must be some other plan in view, probably an invasion of Naples, as they fear that the Colonnese, hearing of the advance of the Imperialists, might invade the estates of the Church, as they did on the last occasion. That is the reason why they are now doubling the guards at the gates of Rome, preventing egress to all estafettes, and seizing all letters that come in. However this may be, as this fact is well known, nobody here uses that mode of conveyance for his official correspondence.

Cesaro Ferramosca has told him (Perez) that the Pope complained bitterly to him of the Emperor's generals and ministers for not fulfilling the conditions of the armistice. Of Lannoy himself he had no complaint, but against Mons. de Bourbon he had a grave accusation to make. The Florentines had offered him all the money he might want for the payment of his troops, and yet, instead of retreating, he had ordered his men to advance, and refused the money sent by the Florentines (*y no quiso tomar el dinero que ya gelo havian embiado.*)

(*Cipher:*) The Bishop of Pistoya has just been sent to Civittà Vecchia; some say to get the galleys ready in case the Pope wants to go away, others to bring certain wheat to Rome.

(*Common writing:*) There is no longer question of the Datary going to France, but it is rumoured that the Pope still wishes the general of the Franciscans to go to Spain on a mission to the Emperor.

A messenger has been sent to the brother of Lorraine [Vaudemont], who went the other day to Civittà Vecchia to embark for France, bidding him remain where he was. When the messenger arrived Vaudemont had already sailed for France, as it is believed.

The Prince of Salerno and the Dukes of Malfo (Amalfi) and Trayetto are still in Rome. There are not wanting people who say that, when ready to go, they may possibly be prevented. Has written to Don Ugo de Moncada to send for

1527.

them, as most likely they dare not depart without his orders. The Marquis and Bishop of Astorga were to have been here for the holy week; but owing to a Florentine delegate (*comisario*) having arrested a courier who accompanied them, on suspicion that he was the bearer of certain letters of the Siennese ambassador at the camp of Bourbon for his Signory—which when investigated proved to be true—the two brothers went to Florence, where they are still, for the purpose of showing that they were in no way implicated in that matter.

A courier has just arrived, who brings letters from the Viceroy for his secretary [Seron]. The latter is to tell the Pope that unless 300,000 cr. are sent to the Imperial army he (the Viceroy) does not think that the men will go back one step. The Viceroy himself promises to pay part of that sum. For the greater security of the courier who is to go back with the answer, Cesaro Ferramosca has decided that Bernaldino de Albornoz shall accompany him as far as Sienna with an escort. It is not likely that His Holiness will agree to such conditions. If he does, Perez will not fail to advise. All he can say for the present is that the Pope's captains are enlisting recruits as fast as they can, and that the guards at the city gates are being doubled for fear of the Colonnese and Neapolitans.

Bishoprics of Oviedo and Zamora, &c.

Has no news of the general of the Franciscans, except that he is still residing at a monastery. Ferramosca wants very much to have an interview with him, but as he has been unable to ascertain his whereabouts, will most probably quit Rome to-morrow without speaking to him.

The Pope, it is said, will certainly create some cardinals, and thus procure money.—Rome, 26th April 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

P.S.—The Prior of Capua is dead. Cardinal Frenesis (Farnese) wishes to have the priorate again, but as he is by no means friendly to us, orders had better come to prevent his appointment, unless by His Majesty's express commands.

It is rumoured that Andrea del Burgo is coming here as ambassador from the King of Hungary and Bohemia. Has just heard that the Florentines have sent a man of their own to inquire of the Pope what they were to do in the present circumstances. The Pope's answer was that he wished to know first how his Romans meant to behave. If they promised to assist him and defend his cause he would remain at Rome; if not, he would embark on his own galley, and go to Pisa, though both the King of France and the Signory of Venice have offered him an asylum. Should he be compelled to go to that port he would let them know. In the meantime they were to get ready, as he had a sufficient fleet with him to receive them on board.

1527.

To-day Cardinals Frenesis, Ursino, and Cesarino have met (*han estado en congregacion*) at Campo Dolio (Campidoglio) with the Romans, and proposed to them to lend the Pope 60,000 ducats. If they do, and promise besides to assist and defend him, the Pope will remain [at Rome]; otherwise he will go away. Nobody knows what their answer will be.

The Prince of Salerno and the Dukes of Trayetto and Amalfi will leave for Naples to-morrow, having already taken congé of the Pope.

News has been received that the Turk [Solyman] is dead.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 7.

28 April.

57. CAPITULATIO FLORENTINORUM.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 339.
B. M. Add. 23,576
f. 168.

On Sunday, the 28th of April of the year 1527, at Florence, in the Palace of the Medici, and in the presence of Galeazzo Hieron. Eufredutio (*sic*), a native of Fano, and familiar to Sylvio [Passerino], Cardinal of Cortonna, and of Bartholomeo, "olim domini Marci de Ferrariis Papiensis diocesis," the following agreement was concluded between the most illustrious Michaelo Antonio, Marques of Saluzzo, lieutenant-general of His most Christian Majesty in Italy, and commander-in-chief of his armies, Andrea Gritti, Doge of Venice, Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, on one side, and the Republic of the Florentines on the other.

1st. The said Republic of Florence to be considered as freely and voluntarily forming part of the [Italian] League and Confederation, previously existing or that may be made hereafter.*

2nd. The Republic engages not to negotiate with the Emperor unless the consent and approval of the contracting parties be previously obtained.

3rd. That this present agreement in nowise affects whatever may have been done, settled, and concluded by His most Serene Highness the King of England and the most Reverend Cardinal of York, Legate of England, respecting the said League; but is, on the contrary, intended to confirm and ratify whatever conditions and obligations have hitherto been, or may hereafter be, stipulated, "quicquid ad commodum et utilitatem utriusque eorum conventum fuerit."

* "Quod predicta Respublica Florentinorum de vetere sit et esse intelligatur liberè et expressè tanquam principalis in præsentis fœderis, ligæ et intelligentiæ [actu] comprehensa, &c." Some days before, on the 26th, and after Lannoy's departure from Florence (on the 23rd), there had been a revolution in that city, which was easily put down by the Duke of Urbino, though the inhabitants later succeeded in expelling the Medici from the city and proclaiming independence. See Brewer, p. 1361.

1527.

4th. The said Marques of Saluzzo, in the name of the most Christian King of France; the most illustrious Alvise Pisani, procurator of St. Marc, and proveditor-general of the Venetian forces (*provisor in castris*), and Signor Marco Ferrariis, resident ambassador of Venice, as representatives of the most illustrious Prince and Doge, Andrea Gritti; and lastly, the Magnifico Scipione Altellano, ambassador of Duke Francesco Sforza near the person of Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino and commander-in-chief of the Venetian forces—all and every one of whom have exhibited proper mandate and powers (*patentes litteras plumbeas*) in date of the 23rd inst.—promising to have this agreement confirmed and ratified by their respective masters within the period of *one* month from the date of the present instrument,* &c. The said parties “*ex una, et clarissimi viri Domino Antonio Præsidi (?) Ecclesiæ Reipublicæ Florentinorum sufficiente numero congregati, viz., Hyeronimus de Caponibus, Antonino de Putiis, Paulus de Medicis, Matheus de Statiis, Bartholomeus de Valoribus et Nicholaus de Denia agentes virtute iis attributa, vire et nomine Reipublicæ ex altera,*” having signed the present at Florence on the 28th of April 1527.

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

28 April. 58. PROTHONOTARY CARACCILOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 354.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 170.

Since his letter of the 4th the Duke of Bourbon has advanced as far as Castel San Giovanni in the Bolognese. During his march Cesaro Ferramosca went to Rome, and concluded with the Pope, on the 16th ult., an armistice of eight months. Cesaro was sent to the Imperial camp to notify the same to Bourbon, that he might observe the truce, &c. The Duke's answer was, that he himself was ready to fulfil the agreement entered into with His Holiness, but that the army under his orders would not hear of it.† The Viceroy then went to Rome, and thence to Florence, to prevent if possible a further advance of the Imperial troops. According to a letter of his‡ to Lope de Soria, which he (Caracciolo) has seen, a sum of 200,000 ducats was offered to the army, and yet the offer was rejected, and the soldiers continued to advance. They must be by this time close upon Florence, intent upon besieging it, or otherwise march onwards. The artillery they have left with the Duke of Ferrara, having first obtained a promise from the Siennese to furnish any guns, ammunition, and provisions that may be required for the undertaking.

* The League was renewed on the 27th of June. See Rawdon Brown, *Venetian State Papers, &c.*, vol. iv., p. 69.

† Che per sua signoria non restaria, ma lo exercito contradicea.

‡ Probably that of the 25th, No. 52.

1527.

The latest news is that neither France nor the Venetians will accept the armistice concluded with the Pope. Such being the state of affairs, and war being imminent, Antonio de Leyva has determined to send Captain Rivadeneyra [to Spain], that he may inform His Imperial Majesty verbally of the wants of this army, &c.

His (Caracciolo's) opinion is that when the Viceroy proposed an armistice it was chiefly owing to the precarious position of the kingdom of Naples, and also to the plague which is now visiting it. Thinks also that Mons. de Bourbon, or rather the army under his orders, has good reasons for not accepting it; for certainly, though eight months' truce might be considered a sufficient basis whereupon to build hereafter a solid and lasting peace, the fact of France and the Venetians refusing to grant the armistice sets the Emperor entirely free from his engagements, and places him in a condition to show to the World that it was no fault of his if the truce was not accepted.

Had the 200,000 ducats been delivered, and a short date fixed for the payment of the remainder, he (Caracciolo) has no doubt that the soldiers would have been persuaded to go back. The Imperial army might then have encamped on Venetian territory, and perhaps induced the Signory to accept the armistice, and pay a reasonable sum of money, which they can well do, being, as they are, the richest people in Italy just now. Once in the Venetian territory the Imperialists might keep an eye over Lombardy and defend it from any attack of the French; whereas, now, the truce not being accepted, the army, without receiving the 200,000 ducats, goes far away from this estate of Milan, which is so ruined and so exhausted that no help whatever can be expected from it. No money is to be had, and such is the scarcity of provisions, not only in the capital but in the whole of the Duchy, that many people in the villages actually die of hunger, as no other food is left but the grass and plants in the fields. The Germans and other soldiers of this garrison are living entirely at the expense of the inhabitants (*viueno sopra le spalle della città et del estado*). Antonio de Leyva has not a "quatrino" to pay his men with. But let not His Highness fancy that these Germans or Spaniards will on this account allow one single penny (*soldo*) to be deducted from their usual stipend; on the contrary, though their arrears amount to more than double the sum that it was last year, they will not consent to a reduction, and the Milanese, on the other hand, cannot be expected to furnish both provisions and money. If the Imperial army goes as far as Rome it will be nearly 300 miles away from Milan, and when the enemy sees our forces occupied in those parts, and Antonio de Leyva unable to move for want of money and provisions, it is almost certain that their army, opportunely reinforced by Frenchmen, Switzers, and others,

1527.

will make a dash upon the Duchy and put it in jeopardy. Leyva has at present only 5,000 Germans and little more than 1,000 Spaniards under him, a force insufficient to garrison and defend so many fortified towns and smaller castles as there are in the estate. Another thing to be taken into consideration is the Emperor's express command to his ministers in Italy to conclude a truce with the Pope, for it might happen that, in consequence of the advance of the Imperial army, the Pope and the Florentines would be induced to pay a larger sum and offer better conditions of peace, as otherwise Florence might ultimately be sacked,* and perhaps Rome too, and the Pope obliged to fly from his capital; all matters of the utmost consequence at the present juncture. Owing to these reasons the expedient (*apuntamiento*) above proposed, though violent, would be far preferable. The sack of Florence, though beneficial to the army itself, he (Caracciolo) fancies would not be approved by the Emperor, whose heart is too compassionate not to regret such violence in time of truce. It might still happen that the Duke of Bourbon, perceiving that Florence was in a condition to resist his attack, would leave it behind and march on Rome. But these are matters on which he (Caracciolo) cannot express his opinion, since he does not know what Mons. de Bourbon's plans and intentions are. Has no doubt, however, that the generals† have duly informed the Emperor of their determination, and that they have plenty of reasons to act as they do. Captain Latore (La Torre), present bearer, will duly inform His Highness of the state of things here.—Milan, 28th August 1527.

Signed: "El Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sac. Ce. Mti."

Italian. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet pp. 4.

29 April.

59. SECRETARY SERON to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 361,
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 174.

Sends duplicate of the Viceroy's despatch, which Lorenzo Aguirre, the courier, took.

His Imperial Majesty must feel sure that the principal reason which the Pope had for signing the armistice was his total want of money for carrying on the war. The Florentines have spent nearly one million of gold, and refuse to give any more. The Pope, besides, saw that were his troops to be worsted he would infallibly lose Florence, and perhaps the Pontificate too; whereas if he was successful all the

* *Potria occorrere que essendo passato avanti lo exercito, per el timore incorriano il Papa et Fiorentini a mayor (sic) summa et ad altre condizione, ò vero potriano pigliare Florentia et saccagiarla et similmente Roma, et fare fugir il Papa, cose tutte di grandissimo momento.*

† "Ambi dui questi signori habino facto con cause urgentissime quello hanno facto."

1527.

gain would be for France, and for the Venetians. Knowing this well, and wishing for a truce, the Pope was for some time in suspense, as he found no means of allaying the fears which pressed on his mind respecting the Emperor's intentions. The ambassadors of the League kept telling him that the Emperor wished to make himself master of Italy, and that the Imperial army in Lombardy would come to the Romagna, and though he (the Pope) was told that Mons. de Bourbon had received positive orders to remain where he was, and fulfil the treaty signed by the Pope, he could not be quieted until it was suggested that the Viceroy should be sent for to come to Rome, as he did, and settle, if he could, the affairs of the army.

The Viceroy, on the other hand, knew perfectly well that his visit to Rome would be fraught with danger and excessive personal annoyance, but, all things considered, he decided to come. (*Cipher* :) The ruin of the kingdom [of Naples] had already commenced, and if no remedy was provided, the whole of it would have been lost. His Imperial Majesty may believe him (Seron) when he says that not only the provinces and districts [of Naples] were unprepared to make any resistance, but that spontaneously, and for the sake of change, most of them had sent deputations, some to the Pope, and others to the King of France, through Renzo da Ceri, offering their services, &c. The Viceroy perceiving this, and that he could not possibly prevent it, as he had no money or men to carry on the war at so many points, decided on a suspension of hostilities. The armistice was then concluded, by which means the towns and castles conquered by the enemy were restored, the fleet of the confederates sailed away, and the Pope forsook his allies, who had almost conquered the whole of Naples and the Abruzzi.

All this was obtained through the Viceroy's coming to Rome. The Pope, at first, showed great satisfaction and confidence, but very soon letters came from Cesaro Ferramosca, from Bourbon's camp, explaining how he had found slight disposition there to abide by the truce. It was consequently agreed that he (the Viceroy) should go to Florence, that he might from thence negotiate with Bourbon, and persuade the Imperialists to go to the Venetian territory, such as the district of Rubico,* where there are no fortified towns. The Duke of Ferrara could not oppose an arrangement of this sort, as he asserts that this district, which is contiguous to his estate, belongs to him. The Pope himself approved of the scheme, saying, "When the Venetians see the Imperialists encamped in their territory they will the sooner agree to the armistice." And so it happened, for when the Venetians heard that the Pope had signed the truce, they suspected that the Imperialists would occupy Reggio, and immediately withdrew their forces on the other side of the Pò.

* Rovigo.

1527.

Meantime the Duke of Bourbon, who had remained inactive at Castel San Giovanni, between Bologna and La Mirandola, for upwards of one month, perceiving that the Venetian army could no longer offer opposition, began to march in the direction of the Romagna, and notwithstanding the agreement entered into with the Pope, sent here a gentleman of his chamber, named Montbardon, who saw His Holiness, and agreed that on the payment of 150,000 cr. the army under his orders should withdraw from the estates of the Church; though in a letter to the Viceroy, of which a copy is enclosed,* he had positively declared that he wished that sum to be raised to 200,000. The Viceroy arrived in Florence, where he was visited by Mons. de la Mota (La Mothe), and by another gentleman of Bourbon's suite, when an agreement was made with the Florentines on precisely the same terms as those stipulated by Montbardon, namely, that on the payment by the Pope of 150,000 cr. (*escudos*) the Imperial forces would withdraw from the estates of the Church. This sum was to be paid in the following manner: 80,000 cr. within four days, and the remaining 70,000 during the ensuing month of May, by bills of exchange on Ferrara or Modena, at Bourbon's choice. With this arrangement Bourbon's men seemed very pleased, and the Pope recovered his tranquillity of mind. The Viceroy thought, and not without reason, that his journey to Rome had been quite successful, although out of the 150,000 ducats he (himself) paid 20,000, and pledged himself *pro formâ* that His Imperial Majesty would repay the remainder to the Florentines. Of the remainder, 60,000 were to be paid by Philippo Strozzi and Giacopo Salviatis, according to the agreement made with Moncada on the 22nd of September [1526].

In consequence whereof the Viceroy decided to hold an interview with Bourbon, whom he met on this side of the Alps (Apennines).

I will not stop to describe what happened to the Viceroy on his way thither and since, because His Majesty will be informed by a letter which I have just received from him, and of which a copy is enclosed. Since then no argument has been omitted to persuade the Pope to increase the stipulated sum by 50,000 ducats; but his answer has always been that he could not, if he wished, give one farthing more, for the sum which had been prepared at Florence, in virtue of the first agreement, had been entirely spent for the subsidy of the garrisons of Florence and Bologna. Has written to the Viceroy announcing this determination of the Pope, and also that His Holiness has again returned to the League with Venice and France; that the Duke of Urbino and Marquis of Saluzzo, with their respective forces, are now marching to the assistance

* Not in the Academy's volume.

1527.

of Florence and of His Holiness, and are already in Tuscany, not far from our army.

The Imperialists who had left behind the territory of Sienna, the better to ensure the supply of provisions, and were marching upon Florence, have suddenly returned to their former quarters close to Sienna. The object of this movement is evidently to leave Florence on one side, and march on Rome. God knows what may ensue, for both parties have fears and anxiety to deal with.*

It is reported that the Pope is enlisting troops as fast as he can, and that he will have at the end of this week 8,000 men, with whom he intends defending Rome in case of its being attacked. Some of these new levies are destined for the service of the galleys, and to infest the coast of the Siennese, but as it might happen that, after going thither, they might be sent against Naples, I have written to the Council of that kingdom, and also to Don Ugo and Alarcon, warning them to be on their guard, and call the Spanish infantry together again.

All things considered, the Imperial servants ought to rejoice at Bourbon's determination. It is very desirable that he should approach Rome under present circumstances, because were the Pope to dally with the Viceroy, courteously or uncourteously (*cortes ó descortesmente*) as it might be, then the whole of the Spanish and German force might advance and make a sudden attack upon this city (*cargar sobre lo de acá*). The Colonnese might also make a dash (*venir de golpe*) and recover the lands they lost during the last campaign; for although they have not the means of increasing their force, or doing much by themselves, yet united to the detachments from Naples they might be of great assistance in an undertaking against this city, and thus prevent the Pope from acting contrary to the Emperor's interests. His Holiness is well aware how strenuously the Viceroy has laboured for the observance of this armistice. He is now at Sienna, and probably will not return here. I fancy that were the Pope's wish to be carried out, and the Imperial army to stop in its march, the Viceroy's safe-conduct would be respected by the enemy; but such not being the case, he (the Viceroy) will not dare return to Rome.

The Pope evidently wishes for the strict observance of this truce in all that concerns Naples, because were he to be attacked by the troops of that kingdom and by the Colonnese, whilst the Imperialists advanced on Rome, he might be in great danger. The Viceroy, himself, has an interest in observing it, as otherwise the Pope would never again trust the Emperor or his ministers, and the war would rage more fiercely than ever. This cannot be successfully carried on with the want of discipline now prevailing in our army, for

* Dios sabe lo que se seguirá, por que ninguna de las partes está sin trabajos."

1527.

the men will not obey their commanders unless they are regularly paid. Even in the event of their advancing as far as Rome—which is the best solution that can be expected under present circumstances—it is to be feared that, after doing all possible harm in this city, they will march on to Naples, there to demand payment of their arrears, &c. — Rome, 28th of April 1527.

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. pp. 4.

29–30 April. 60. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 364.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 183.

After closing the duplicate of his letter of the 26th, which went by Bernardino de Albornoz, present bearer, the Viceroy's courier was sent back with the answer that the Pope would not give the 300,000 ducats demanded of him, on the plea that he was not sure that after paying that sum the Imperial army would positively retreat. He therefore preferred spending that sum in his own defence. He is now enlisting troops as fast as he can, who are to be sent to Viterbo in all haste. News has come that the Imperial army has retaken the road to Florence, at which these Romans are greatly delighted, as they say the Imperialists (*cesareos*) are sure to be annihilated, the army of the League being much stronger in numbers than they are. They place great confidence in the Duke of Urbino, whom they say the Florentines have lately gained over to their cause by restoring a very strong castle of his, which they took some time back, at which the Duke has been highly pleased, and promised his support.

Has been told that the Siennese gave Bourbon 22 field pieces and 4,000 infantry, and offered to supply his army with provisions for three months gratis (*de gracia*). They are all very determined, and ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for the success of the undertaking.

The Pope is somewhat in dread of the Neapolitans, though he says he feels sure that the Viceroy will nevertheless fulfil the conditions of the armistice. Yet if the Imperialists were to be worsted, which may God avert, serious inconvenience might arise from their being hand over head as they are at present.

(*Cipher*.) All those who wish for the Emperor's success would very much like to see the Neapolitans stirring and coming this way, because were they to enter Rome now, the Imperial army would not come and sack the city, which is what these Roman courtiers fear most. The Florentines, on the other hand, do nothing but send their goods and chattels here from fear of Bourbon's army. He (Perez) has written to Don Ugo informing him of the state of affairs; does not know what resolution will be taken, but certainly should he come here [with the Colonnese] the Pope would not remain one day more at Rome.

1527.

(*Common writing.*) This morning the Prince of Salerno and the Dukes of Malfa (Amalfi) and Traietto, Cesaro Ferramosca, and several more Neapolitans who were here [at Rome] left for Naples. They go by land, and will ride so hard that they expect to reach the frontier to-morrow.

The Viceroy is expected here to-morrow. All are anxious to hear what message he brings from Mons. de Bourbon, and the Pope wants also to know what his intentions are respecting Naples, as he seems confident that the army there will not stir to invade the lands of the Church.

Has just been told that the general of the Franciscans will also start for Spain to-morrow. Cannot yet say whether he will be the bearer of this letter, but whether he does or does not, he cannot fail to inform His Majesty of the state of affairs.

There has been much difference of opinion in this last consistory about the new creation of cardinals. Some people doubt whether any will be made, though most of the applicants have paid the money beforehand.

The Romans have not yet offered the Pope either men or money; the only thing they have promised is to pay one third of the amount that the ecclesiastics and courtiers shall give. This proposal has been accepted, and their quota, estimated at 60,000 ducats, is actually being distributed among the citizens according to their individual income.—Rome, 29th April 1527.

News has come to-day that the German lansquenets and the Spaniards, when at 14 miles from Florence, suddenly retraced their steps and marched towards Sienna. They had marched 13 miles in one day. This movement of Bourbon is considered as of very bad omen here, since the people suspect that he intends attacking this city. So great has been the alarm caused by this intelligence, that the guards at the city gates are being doubled, and great fears are entertained lest the Colonnese and Neapolitans should make another attempt. The Pope, it is said, has ordered three or four of his own galleys to come to Sant Paolo, close to Rome, for what purpose nobody knows.

Gave last night to the general of the Franciscans the duplicate of the present letter, and of that of the 26th, which Bernaldino de Alarcon took. Hears that he (the general) will not go so soon, but will wait until the Viceroy returns. News has come that the Imperial army is soon to be reinforced by 15,000 Germans, and that His Majesty had sent 100,000 ducats towards their pay. Antonio de Leyva was preparing to meet them. Cannot say whether this news is true or not, but if true, these Germans will be of great assistance just now.

Military preparations of all kinds are being made here. Artillery has been sent to Viterbo and other places in the Roman estates; everywhere the castles and towns that are

1527.

susceptible of defence are being strengthened, and provisions, removed from the villages that cannot be defended, stored in them.

Hears at the last hour that the reason why the Imperialists, after approaching Florence, retraced their steps and took the direction of Sienna, was that certain secret intelligences (*tratos*), which Bourbon had in that city, had been discovered, and some of the parties concerned taken prisoners.—Rome, 30th April 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacrmæ. Cesæ. Catholcæ. Mati."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

30 April.

61. TREATY OF PEACE between the KING OF ENGLAND and the KING OF FRANCE.*

S. E. L. 2,849, f. 72,
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 181.

The Commissioners on the part of Francis, King of France, are as follows:—

Gabriel de Grammont, Bishop of Tarbes.

François, Vicomte de Turenne, Knight.

Antoine le Viste, Knight, Sieur de Fresnes, "Parisiensis Senatus and Primus Britaniæ Præses."

Johannes Joachim Passanze (di Passano), Seigneur de Vaux.

Commissioners on the part of England:—

Thomas, Duke of Norfolk Treasurer of England.

Charles, Duke of Suffolk, Lord Marshal of England.

Thomas Bolenus (Bouleyn), Viscount Rochefort.

William Fitzwilliam, Treasurer of the King's Household.

Thomas More, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The following articles were concluded and agreed:—

1st. The treaty made at the More on the 20th of August 1525, between King Henry on one part, and Madame Louise, the Regent of France, and King Francis on the other, to remain in full force.

2nd. True peace, friendship, confederacy, and alliance between the contracting Princes, their heirs and successors, and the dominions which they at present possess, or may acquire in future, to subsist till the end of the World.

3rd. None of the contracting parties to help or assist in any way the enemies of the other.

4th. The King of England has claimed the title and possession of the kingdom of France. The wars which have arisen out of those claims have been the cause of mortal enmity between the two nations. The King of England

* Published by Rymer in the fourteenth volume of his *Fœdera*, p. 218, with a few slight alterations. It is there preceded by an introductory preamble, beginning: "Cum diviniior illa hominum pars," which I have omitted as unnecessary.



1527.

renounces his claims to the title or kingdom of France for himself and his successors.

5th. The King of France binds himself and his successors and heirs to pay to the King of England and to his successors and heirs for all times to come, till the end of the World, the annual pension of 50,000 gold crowns (each crown to be worth 38 *soldi Turonenses*) in two instalments, viz., the 1st May and 1st November of each year.

These payments do not in any manner liberate the King of France from the payment of the 2,000,000 which he owes the King of England and his successors, according to the said treaty concluded at the More on the 30th of August 1525.

The King of France binds himself and his successors to deliver, without any compensation, to the King of England and to his successors, in the town of Brouage, in Xantonía (Saintonges), every year, such a quantity of salt, that if paid down in money its price would amount to 15,000 gold crowns (of 35 *soldi Turonenses* each), which at present are worth 38 *soldi*. No export duty of any sort to be levied on this salt.

6th. Should subjects of either of the contracting parties infringe any of the above stipulations they shall be punished accordingly, and yet the treaty will remain in full vigour.

7th. The contracting parties bind themselves to ratify, and exchange the ratifications of this treaty formally subscribed by themselves, and sealed with their great seal. They also bind themselves to swear to the same, and give them the force of perpetual law in their respective kingdoms.

Follow the names of the prelates, nobles, and cities in both countries who are to be securities for the strict execution of this treaty.*

The King of France binds himself to have this treaty ratified by the estates (*etats*) of Normandy and Languedoc, the Parliaments of Paris, Fontaines, Rouen, and Bordeaux. The King of England takes it upon himself to have the same authorised and ratified (*authorizetur et emologetur*) in his Court of Chancery, as well as in the Court of King's Bench, in the Court of Common Pleas, and in the Court of Exchequer.

Follow the powers. Franciscus Dei gratia, &c. Henricus Octavus Dei gratia, &c.

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 14.

1-3 May. 62. FRENCH NEWS.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 368.

B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 186.

By letters dated Lyons, the 1st of May, we hear that the King of England has despatched an ambassador to the court of the Emperor, intimating that if the sons of France are restored to their liberty, King Francis will pay what he owes

* Their names are given at full in Rymer, p. 223.

1527.

the Emperor for their ransom, and besides will marry his sister (Eleonor); the eldest, the Dauphin, will marry her daughter (Mary), and his second son, the Duke of Orleans, the Princess of England. Should the Emperor reject these proposals, the King of England will make war on Flanders. It is, however, held as certain that no agreement will be made in Spain, and that Princess Mary of England will be married to the most Christian King. It is also reported that both Kings will soon meet and have a conference on this subject, "absque solempnitate," and that then the war against Flanders will be decided upon.

3rd of May.—By letters of the 29th news has come how Mons. de Tarbes, one of the French ambassadors in England, had arrived [at Lyons] with the treaty of league between England, Venice, and the Duke of Milan, the Pope being omitted. It was to be published on the 30th of last month. The most Christian King engages to furnish 2,000 lances and 20,000 foot; the King of England to invade Flanders with 1,000 lances and 10,000 foot. Heralds are to be sent to Spain to declare war against the Emperor, in case he refuses to surrender the hostages, or withdraw his army from Lombardy, and restore the Duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza) to his estate. Respecting the marriages, the King of England is willing to wait one year. Should the Emperor within that time consent to give Francis his own sister, Eleonor, the King of England will raise no objection; otherwise the most Christian King will keep to his engagement and marry the Princess.

Indorsed: "Copy of letters from Lyons."

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

3 May. **63.** SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 401.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 187.

News has come that the Imperial army is on this side of Viterbo, and that the light horse have made inroads only 24 miles from this city. The alarm is great, principally among the courtiers. Preparations for defence are still being made, but the Pope is not yet certain as to what sort of help he is to have from his own subjects. It is rumoured that he intends going out one of these days and addressing them; but whatever assistance he may get, it is hardly credible that the Romans will be able to defend the place if attacked by the Imperialists. Meanwhile there is nothing but packing up cases and bundles, everyone being anxious to send his valuables to some place of safety. Most are sent to Ancona.

Nothing is known about the Viceroy, except that he was at Sienna, where much honour was paid to him.

Secretary Seron was yesterday on horseback, and ready to start, with the Pope's permission, on a message to Don Hugo, at Naples, requesting him not to move with the forces

1527.

under his command, when the Pope himself sent him word to remain, in order that if the Viceroy wrote about the armistice he (Seron) might be told, &c.

At the moment he (Perez) is writing the Romans are flocking to a general meeting (*congregacion*) which has been summoned, each householder having been called upon to send one of his family. Cannot say for certain what the object of the meeting can be, but has been informed that the citizens have been requested to take away from the Spaniards any arms they may have in their possession, or expel them from Rome. Knows that the citizens have hitherto refused to do either the one or the other, declaring that they (the Romans) were not at war with the Emperor, and had no wish to act in hostility to him. Many, therefore, think that though the Pope utters bravadoes (*bravea*) and talks of defending himself in case of being attacked, he will in the end quit Rome and take to flight.

Has been told that Andrea Doria offers to destroy all the ports and towns on the Siennese coast, if the Pope only gives him 3,000 infantry to effect landings, &c. Money has accordingly been sent to him to enlist that force in the island of Corsica, and two more companies (*banderas*) of infantry.—Rome, 3rd May 1527.

Signed : "Perez."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

7 May.

64. ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 375.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 189.

Has not written since the 23rd of April, as he had no positive news to communicate. Since then the Viceroy of Naples has written to the Pope and to the Florentines, that owing to his accident on his way to Bourbon's camp he had been unable to inform them of the result of his journey. He had been unsuccessful in the negotiations. Though he found Bourbon and the rest of the captains ready to accept the armistice, the Germans had refused to go back unless 300,000 ducats were immediately paid to them; (*cipher* :) and though the Signory is persuaded that between the Viceroy, the Duke [of Ferrara], and Bourbon some secret agreement exists, whereby the Imperial army is to proceed on its march, the truth is that the Pope has no real complaint of the Viceroy, and that his Nuncio here (Averoldi) says so.

(*Common writing* :) Hears from various sources that the Signory has sent to Florence upwards of 300 men-at-arms, 4,000 foot, and some light horse, under the Duke of Urbino and Proveditor Pisani. Has also been told, though he (Sanchez) does not vouch for the truth, that they are now trying to enlist 6,000 Switzers and as many Italians. With this force, joined to the men-at-arms and the light cavalry

1527.

now being enlisted by the Signory, their object is to invade the Milanese, and if they cannot possess themselves of any fortified town, at least do such harm in the country by destroying the crops, &c., as to make that estate untenable for our troops next year. These rumours are confirmed by the fact of their sending a certain number of men towards Lodi at the present moment. Has written to Leyva about these movements of the Venetians, and likewise to the bishop [of Trent], that he may be on the alert, and inform us of the passage of the Swiss infantry, if it is true, as asserted, that this Signory has sent for some.

It is generally stated here that the Pope perceiving that the armistice is not observed, but that the army is advancing, has already signed a treaty with France and Venice, the substance of which is contained in the enclosed memorandum. The Signory, it is added, are very angry with their ambassador in Rome; they have lately recalled him, and sent in his place Andrea Rosso, the same who was in France. This last they also intend to replace, and send another, who is to remonstrate, and say that their ambassador had no instructions from the Signory to sign the treaty. If he did so, it was because the Pope and the French ambassador told him distinctly that if he (the ambassador) refused to sign they would of themselves enter into an agreement with the Emperor; the ambassador signed, but referred to the Signory for ratification, upon which they wrote to the King of France, begging he would refuse to ratify. Cannot say how all this will end, nor what excuse (*color*) they will give the Pope, but has written to Rome, where this fact seems not to have been known. Has no means now of informing Mons. de Bourbon, but will do so as soon as an opportunity offers.

(*Common writing.*) Some days ago, as Cardinals Cortona and Ridolfi, who were at Florence, went out of the city to receive the Duke of Urbino, there was a riot, in which upwards of 400 gentlemen (*gentiles hombres*), completely armed (*armados en blanco*), went to the Palace, shouting "Liberta! Impero!" though others say that the cry was "Francia! Marco!" However this may be, the riot was soon appeased, upon which upwards of 60 persons concerned in it quitted the city, and went over to the Imperial camp. (*Cipher.*) Has been told that these people [the Venetians] are very sorry that the above-mentioned riot was so easily put down, because they would be glad of the government of Florence being taken out of the Pope's hands, as then the Florentines would league themselves with France and Venice. The rumour, however, is that Florence has entered into a confederacy with this Signory and with France, and promises to contribute, as long as the present war lasts, 250 men-at-arms, 5,000 foot, and 5,000 light horse. Others say that when the Venetian ambassador at Rome wrote to the Duke of Urbino and to Luigi Pisano to sign the treaty as he

1527.

himself had done, their answer was that they would not unless the Florentines promised to help with their forces, as aforesaid, and that they have actually done so, increasing by much the offers made by the Pope. Such are the rumours afloat. He (Sanchez) does not vouch for the truth, nor can he believe that the Florentines, being, as they are now, under the Pope's government, can really have made a separate engagement with the League.

Has been informed that some days ago, when the Signory thought that the Viceroy's agreement with the Pope would stand, they despatched a courier to France with a separate treaty of league for the King to sign, and that they are now waiting for an answer. According to the tenor of this answer they will prepare for war. Meanwhile orders have been sent to their galleys with the Papal fleet to go to Corfú, there to be refitted and careened. Four more of the kind called bastard (*bastardas*) are to be joined to them, and all together kept ready for any maritime service that may be required.

This Signory, it is said, has had letters from France of the 13th April confirming the news of the marriage of the King of France to the Princess [Mary] of England. Both Kings had agreed on most points, only the French wished the English to commence war in June, and the King of England not until September. Hears also that with the said letters there came also money from France for this Republic, though in small quantity.

(*Cipher* :) The Pope is about to create six cardinals, out of whom he will make as much as 240,000 ducats. A gentleman of the King of France has lately arrived in this city, who is going as ambassador to the Vayvod. Hears that the Signory has decided to provide him with a light vessel (*fusta*) to take him as far as Sienna, or the lands of Count Bernaldino, because they say that he may thence proceed on his journey without difficulty. Heard this news three days ago, and gave immediate notice to the frontiers [of King Ferdinand] for the ambassador's arrest, if he should go that way.

(*Common writing* :) Encloses copy of letter received from the Bishop of Trent, that His Imperial Majesty may hear the news of those parts.

(*Cipher* :) Has just heard the name of the messenger going to the Vayvod. He is called Antonio Rangon (Rincon), said to be a Navarrese by birth.

Has received letters from Secretary Perez, dated the 24th and 30th of April last. The Pope, after delaying his answer to the Viceroy till the 28th, had replied that he could in nowise accede to Bourbon's demands; firstly, because he had no money; and secondly, because he did not trust him. He promised to give 150,000 down on condition of the Imperialists

1527.

evacuating his territory, and yet they had advanced in their march, &c.

Hears from various sources that this Signory has received letters from Luis (Alvise) Pisani, of the 5th instant, announcing that, two days before (on the 3rd), the Imperial army was at Sant Lorenzo, three miles from Montefalcone, which is about 50 Italian miles from Rome. It is believed that at the present time they are already in sight of that city. The Signory's forces are 20 miles from Florence, on the road to Rome, and were to march on the very day Pisani wrote.

(*Cipher* :) Some think that these Venetians are only gaining time to see whether the Pope will come to terms in the neighbourhood of that city with His Imperial Majesty, because if he does they will do their utmost to take the government out of the hands of the Medici, especially as part of the inhabitants greatly desire this.

(*Common writing* :) Hears also that out of the forces under the Marquis of Saluzzo, nearly 3,000 Switzers have lately deserted with their captains to go back to their own country, being discontented with him.—Venice, 7th May 1527.

Signed : "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed : "Sacre Cese. et Cathce. Mati.

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 10.

65. SUMMARY of the TREATY between FRANCE and VENICE.*

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 406.
M. Add. 28,576,
f. 194.

The articles which, as report goes, have lately been agreed between France and this Signory are as follows:—

The Venetians to give the Pope 15,000 ducats immediately as a gift.

The King of France and the Venetians together to lend him 30,000 more every month, for carrying on the war against the Emperor. That sum to be for three months, each party contributing 15,000. What other engagements the King of France has taken he (Sanchez) cannot say.

The Venetians are to fit out another fleet, in addition to the galleys they now have with the Pope, and send it to the coasts of Pulla (Apuglia). They may not detach one single galley of those now in the Pope's service, unless his consent or that of his commanders be first obtained. A Papal commissary to reside at the Venetian camp to direct the operations and do the Pope's pleasure.

The invasion of Naples to be undertaken at once by the Papal troops and by those of France conjointly, and the Venetians to have four parts of Pulla [when conquered] as formerly agreed.†

* The same alluded to in the preceding letter of Alonso Sanchez, p. 175.

† "Y que á Venecianos se hayan de dar las quatro partes que tenian en Pulla."

1527.

The Pope binds himself not to make any arrangement whatever with the Emperor without the consent and approval of the other confederates.

For the greater security of this contract the King of France offers to pay as penalty for the Pope the sum of 2,000 ducats, and the Pope offers to deliver into the hands of the English ambassador at Rome the cities of Ravenna and Faenza, to be held as security in his master's name.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

9 May. 66.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 17.

DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the EMPEROR.

(*Cipher* :) Received, on the 4th instant, his letters of the 17th ult^o. The two seals were apparently unbroken; thinks they cannot have been tampered with. Sends this in the same way as the best test of its not having been opened.

Before answering its contents, will relate what has lately occurred here. These ambassadors from France have been trying ever since their arrival to obtain by every possible means the promise of marriage between the Princess and their King, offering more than they either can or intend to fulfil when the time comes, and alleging that the betrothal of the King and Queen of France is null and void, as no dispensation was obtained, both being, as they say, within the fourth degree of consanguinity. This being the principal cause of their coming here, the ambassadors have pushed the matter to the extent of their power, and the Legate, it must be said, has not been backward in forwarding their applications. The negotiations had reached such a point, and were made so public, that the whole kingdom, and this city in particular, were aroused to their danger, and so great was the excitement at the idea that this marriage had already been decided upon, that had a leader presented himself at this juncture, open rebellion must have ensued; as it is, though the people dared not contradict the marriage openly, they nevertheless circulated at night a number of handbills (*poliças*), wherein much greater discontent and irritation were shown against the King's Council than the Legate would have liked. In consequence thereof it was deemed expedient, in order to show the English people that the marriage for the present should neither be agreed to nor discussed, that when the ambassadors went to Greenwich to take leave, an answer should be given to them in public. Accordingly, last week, when the ambassadors repaired to Court, and publicly asked for the hand of the Princess (which before had only been done in private), the Bishop of London (Cuthbert Tunstall), in the name of the King of England, replied that, the Princess being so young, there was plenty of time for the consideration of their request, which answer was, in fact, a virtual refusal of the same. The scene was repeated with greater solemnity on

1527.

another day, when the King swore friendship to France, and certain articles besides, not specified at the time. Has tried by every means in his power to ascertain the nature of these articles, but can learn nothing definite, as all information is kept back from him more carefully than from anyone else. Has, however, heard in some quarters the report that a marriage is agreed upon between the Princess and one of the sons of the King of France (some say the Dauphin, others the Duke of Orleans), and that in consideration of this the French are to give up [to England] one of their frontier towns. Other points of minor importance are also said to have been arranged between them; as, for instance, that both English and French shall give up frequenting the fairs of Antwerp and Brabant, and take all their wares to Calais. But the authority he [Mendoça] has for all these statements is too unreliable for any weight to be attached to them.

What may be entirely credited is that in this new treaty between the two Kings [of England and France] it is stipulated that without mutual consent they shall not enter into any negotiation with the Emperor. Has been told also, (though from an unreliable source) that this new treaty does not include offensive alliance against the Emperor.

However this may be, one of the results of the agreement seems to be that King Francis is now again sending the Bishop of Tarbes to Spain, and that either with him or separately, by a different route, the King of England is also sending a gentleman named Master Poyntz, both of whom, the Legate says, are to be the bearers of very honourable conditions of peace for His Majesty's acceptance. Is told by the Legate that this King's messenger (Poyntz) has besides for his guidance certain instructions drawn up in the most friendly and conciliatory terms.* Suspects the truth of this statement; thinks that, were the case so, the Dean of the Chapel,† whom the Emperor knows, and who is here considered as friendly to Spain from the good report he made when he returned thence, would certainly not have refused to go, for he was, as he (Mendoça) believes, appointed, and his presence [in Spain] now would be very desirable in the interest of peace. Thinks unless he (the Emperor) condescends to accept this King's mediation, the latter will ultimately show his partiality. Hears that the said ambassadors are to travel post. The Emperro will hear more particularly of the terms they bring. He (Mendoça) has not been able to ascertain further what their real mission is.

The Emperor's last letter, with the instructions therein contained, arrived at the time that the Legate was at Green-

* "Y que el que va de parte de su rey, lleva en su ayuda [una carta] arto amigable y templada."

† "Que si fuera tal qual este [Legado] dice, que *el Dean de la Capilla* que Vra Magd. conosce, y le tienen aca por inclinado a su servicio por el buen reporte que hizo quando de allá vino," &c. The Dean is no other than Dr. Richard Sampson.

1527.

wich, and the French ambassadors were being entertained there. Called on his return to inform him of its contents. Thanked the Legate in the Emperor's name for all his good services, making show of much greater confidence than he (Mendoça) really felt. Swore to him that he (Mendoça) had now ample instructions and full mandate to negotiate and conclude peace without need of any further reference to his Court, and that if the King of France would only do his duty, all matters would be settled satisfactorily for both parties. But in order that these negotiations should bear permanent fruit (Mendoça observed), it was absolutely necessary that the foundation should be good and solid.* He (Mendoça) had shown the powers presented by the French ambassadors [of which the Legate had given him a copy] to certain lawyers, and asked for their opinion, which was that the said powers were faulty and insufficient. The reasons for this opinion the Legate must already have learned from the answer once given by the Emperor, generally and individually, to all the ambassadors of the [Italian] League. That on this account it was essential that a lawyer should come here from Flanders to examine the said powers.

The Legate replied that all this business seemed to him only a device for postponing the settlement of the question at issue. Two months had now passed since the Imperial ambassador first spoke of sending for a lawyer, and yet the lawyer had never come. Meanwhile he (the Legate) tried in every possible way to get out of Mendoça what were the promises made [by the King of France] to the Viceroy of Naples. All the answer he could get was that it was an unworthy trick on the part of the French to try and induce the Emperor to declare his own terms, whilst they themselves would not offer any solid basis for the negotiations. Many similar words passed at the conference, and Mendoça finished by stating that until the powers were made right, and a lawyer's opinion taken respecting them, he would not advance a step in the negotiation.

Decided on this course for the following reasons. First, because he (Mendoça) is quite convinced that peace will not be concluded on the terms proposed by the Emperor, and it will therefore be more advisable that such terms should be kept back. Secondly, on account of the armistice in Italy, of which, judging from his letter, the Emperor does not seem to be aware. The truce is considered here as quite certain, and, although there seems to be some disagreement about it amongst the Emperor's captains, yet the King of France, being by the said truce forsaken by the Pope, must sooner or later come to better terms. Thirdly, that whereas when this last letter [of the 4th] arrived the treaty between the Kings of England and France was already made and signed, there was no longer

* "Pero que era necessario que el fundamento no fuese falso, para que la obra que sobre él se cargasse fuese perpetua."

1527.

such urgency for propitiating the King of England. Fourthly, that, to say the truth, he (Mendoza) does not trust the Legate one whit more than the King of France; the Legate deals just as craftily with him as the adverse party would, so that he is always obliged to be on his guard, feigning entire confidence in him, and yet feeling none at all. Is besides persuaded that the Legate withholds nothing from the French ambassadors, and, therefore, it would be unwise to acquaint them with the Emperor's intentions before they have shown sufficient powers to treat, especially at a time when, as reported, this King and Legate are sending their own offers to Spain.

It would have been of great help to him (Mendoza) if, at the same time that he received the Emperor's last letter, Madame [of the Low Countries] had been ordered to send him the lawyer with all speed. Has been much blamed and ridiculed (*burlado*) here for the delay, for although he has declared to them that he will not proceed until the powers [of the French ambassadors] are rectified, yet cannot help thinking that had a lawyer been sent expressly to examine and report upon them, they would, if the powers were found in any way deficient, have tried to get fresh ones, being, as the King and Legate really are, anxious that peace should be settled here, and not there (in Spain). Sent Madame a copy of the paragraph in the Emperor's letter respecting the lawyer, and yet has received no answer. His arrival would have been very opportune at this time, as showing that the suspension of the negotiations was entirely caused by the defective powers of the French, not by any disinclination to treat on the part of the Emperor. Now, when he (Mendoza) states, as he has already done, that he has ample powers and instructions to proceed with the negotiations, they entirely disbelieve him, simply on account of the lawyer, so often announced, not having made his appearance. Had Madame only sent him, he might have examined the powers, pronounced them defective, and then returned home at once, whereby all suspicion would have been removed.

The news of the truce concluded by the Viceroy between the Emperor and the Pope arrived here more than 35 days ago.* The King of England and the Legate have been unable to conceal their disappointment, both on account of the Pope having made it without any reference to them, and also because it will place the King of France in still greater difficulties, and may eventually oblige them all to sue for peace at the Emperor's door (*meterse por puertas de Vra Magestad*). Though of no disadvantage to these people to keep the King of France somewhat subdued, they do not wish him to give up entirely the hope of their assistance, and so have taken the opportunity of making this fresh treaty with him. There are certain articles unknown to most of those who swore to the treaty; indeed he (Mendoza) has been told

* That is to say about the end of March. It was signed at Rome on the 1st of February.

1527.

that, with the exception of the King of England, the Legate, the Bishop of London (Cuthbert Tunstall), and a treasurer of the household (Sir William Fitzwilliam), who brought over all these proposals from France, no one knows anything about them, not even the Queen, nor the dukes and prelates [of this kingdom]. It is said that the ambassadors return to France much less elated with success than they expected to be when they came, although they have been splendidly entertained, as if their Master himself had been here, all the ambassadors, except himself (Mendoza), having been invited to the various feasts.

Two circumstances which have lately occurred here favour his (Mendoza's) conjecture that the King of England and the Legate, either for the purpose of indicating that they are ready to go to war with the Emperor, or because they really and truly intend doing so, are making just now some show of hostility. For instance, a lieutenant of the Admiral of Bretagne, who came over with the French ambassadors, has kept three large ships of war in this river (Thames), and as soon as the treaty was signed between the two Kings, took his ships out a league beyond Sandwich, and there, in English waters, commenced open warfare, and captured two Biscayan vessels laden with Spanish and a small portion of English goods. It is true that the King on hearing of this sent to redress the grievance, and showed some displeasure at what the French captain had done ; still so grave an offence against the Emperor in a country at peace with him deserved punishment, not that the offender should be allowed to go about freely. The captain has restored the ships, but is now being sued for the value of 4,000 ducats, which he took from them.

The other circumstance to which he (Mendoza) alludes is this, that certain merchants have lately called on the Legate to ask him in the name of this city whether they might safely, without any fear of approaching warfare, prepare to lade for the fair of Vergas (Bergues), for that if there were any probability of war with Flanders they would not risk their merchandise in those parts. If there was not, it would be a great loss to them not to go on with their trade. Is assured that the Legate said in reply that the merchants might well dispense with the fairs, both of Vergas (Bergues) and Emberes (Antwerp), for that the King was going to bestow a great boon upon his kingdom, for which they would all be deeply grateful to him, and that when the merchants pressed for a direct reply, and begged the Legate to specify what that boon was, he said that he could not tell them more at that time, but that very shortly he would inform them of the particulars.

All these things, in the ambassador's opinion, are done either by way of a threat, or merely to show their ill-will.*

* "Todas estas cosas son para amenasçar, o para descargar la ruyn voluntad que tienen."

1527.

He (Mendoza) does not think that they will actually declare war for the present, partly owing to the increasing prosperity of the Emperor's arms [in Italy], which may God continually augment, and partly because the English in general are such decided Imperialists that they would never be induced to take the field against the Emperor, and, therefore, the King and Legate forbear from undertaking what they might not be able to carry out. Should, however, the opportunity arise, which God forbid, they will give full vent to their malice, and if the King of France should refuse to come to terms, though, perhaps, for the reasons already stated they may not help him with men, they will, no doubt, assist with money, either privately or publicly, as circumstances may dictate. For the present, until they become more openly insulting (*hasta ver su desvergüenza mas publica*), or until the Emperor decides upon a different course of action, he (Mendoza) conceals all suspicion, and the less confidence he really feels, the more does he pretend to have. Therefore, in this matter of the ships has spoken with great forbearance, throwing all the blame upon the French, and ignoring the small penalty with which the offenders have been visited. Will continue to act in the same manner, giving them no ground for suspicion, that he (Mendoza) may better discover what they are about.

Has duly received from Secretary [Lallemand] two autograph letters of the King of France and of his mother, Madame d'Angoulesme,* to Queen Eleonor, in which the former addresses her as his wife, and the latter as her daughter. Was glad to have them that he might show them to the Legate, who has always maintained that they were apocryphal. When, at their last interview, he (Mendoza) exhibited the original letters, the Legate still persisted in his idea that they had been forged, and in proof thereof produced another one from King Francis to show the difference in the handwritings. After a rather warm and long dispute on the subject, the Legate maintaining that they were forgeries, and the ambassador asserting that they were authentic, the latter said, "It matters little whether Your Reverence thinks them genuine or apocryphal, since it is well known that the King of France wishes for nothing so earnestly as to have the Queen, his wife, by his side. It was, therefore, quite superfluous to forge letters for that purpose, and besides no minister of the Emperor's would be guilty of such an act." To which the

* The paragraph stands thus: "El secretario me embió dos letras del Rey de Francia y de su maestre, entramas de mano propia, por las quales el dicho Rey llamava muger á la reyna, y Madama d' Angulesma la llamava hija;" but in a duplicate of this same letter, instead of the words *de su maestre*, which might be interpreted of the Grand Master of France, i.e. Anne de Montmorency, the reading is: *El secretario maestre Juan Aleman me envió dos letras del Rey de Francia y de su madre, entramas de mano propia, &c.* This last being evidently a more accurate deciphering, I have adopted it in preference to the other.

1527.

Legate replied, "I do not mean to imply that the letters* are forged; I merely wish to observe that the King of France uses two different hands, one for writing to us in England, the other for addressing the Emperor." Replied that had the latter chosen, the King would have used not only two different hands, but also two different styles, to be employed with one or other of the parties; as was the case when L'Esleu Bayart went to Spain, for he had then with him two sets of instructions for his guidance, one for negotiating in the presence of the English ambassador, the other private and secret, as Dr. Edward Lee had been informed at the time. The Legate then said, "I am well acquainted with all what passed on the occasion." "Not, perhaps, so well (said Mendoza) as would be desirable, since Your Reverence seems to be ignorant of the King's usual ways of dealing, and doubts the authenticity of his letter."

The conversation then turning upon the Cortes of Castille and their late deliberations, Mendoza informed the Legate that the sittings had been suspended, and that the Emperor had desisted for the present from asking for a grant (*servicio*) of money, at which intelligence the Legate was so glad that he could not conceal his joy, as it seemed to him to be a sign that the journey to Italy was postponed. There is nothing these people dislike so much as the Emperor's aggrandizement; whenever the Italian journey is mentioned in their presence they seem downcast and disappointed; whereas if they see a chance of its not being undertaken they show visible marks of joy, as did the Cardinal on this occasion.

To conclude, Mendoza has, according to the Emperor's instructions, refused to proceed with the negotiations for peace until the French ambassadors are furnished with new powers, because those they have exhibited have been declared worthless. Again told the Legate that a lawyer was shortly expected [from Flanders] to examine the powers, and that if they were found correct the negotiations should be resumed. The Legate, however, paid no great attention to this remark, evidently because in consequence of this new treaty with France fresh terms are being prepared for the Emperor's acceptance [in Spain]. These the King and Legate declare are such that the Emperor cannot possibly refuse them. Begged to be informed what the terms were, that he (Mendoza) might forward the intelligence to Spain. Was unsuccessful, as neither would declare them, only saying

* According to Claude Dodieu's account published by Brewer, Vol. IV., Part II., pp. 1397-415 from a manuscript in the British Museum, Wolsey knew of the existence of these letters as early as February 1527, for he is reported to have asked the French ambassador whether Francis was free to marry, "for he knew that he had espoused Madame Eleonor *per verba de presenti*, that he had called her his wife in letters and in an apology in his own name, and that he had sent the Secretary Bayard with articles signed by himself to demand her."

1527.

that they were advantageous to the Emperor, and that Master Poyntz, who is to be the bearer, shall depart [for Spain] in a couple of days. That gentleman is one of those who attended the French ambassadors all the time they were in England, and therefore must be a great favourite with them. He (Mendoza) does not intend writing by him; will send the duplicate of this despatch by sea, through a courier now expected from Flanders, and if anything should occur in the meantime worth advising, will not fail to do so, either by way of Flanders, or by the courier announced in the Emperor's last letter, who has not yet arrived.

Hears whilst writing that with this said gentleman (Poyntz) goes a herald-at-arms.* This has led the French to say that should the Emperor not accept the proffered terms, war will probably be declared. On this matter Mendoza can only repeat what the Legate has often declared to him, namely, that the mission is entirely pacific and friendly. Does, therefore, attach no faith to these warlike rumours.—From the City of London, the 9th of May 1527.

Signed: "Don Yñigo de Mendoza."

P.S.—It might still happen that, in some of the meetings daily held, this resolution of sending Master Poyntz to Spain might be altered. Does not, however, think that it will be.

Addressed: "England. To His Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 13.

10 May. 67. QUEEN KATHARINE' to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-
hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 18.

Most high and powerful Lord,—I hardly know how to confess the many obligations in which I stand towards Your Highness for the many favours conferred upon me. I hold it to be that Your Highness has chosen to show sorrow for my death, perceiving that neither my existence nor my services are such as to deserve being recalled to your memory.† And yet, trusting in Your Highness' innate kindness and virtue, I will, with the help of God, employ my life in the furtherance of those objects which may be for Your Highness' service, though my abilities be scanty, and my powers small.

As Francisco Poynes,‡ gentleman and esquire (*gentil ombre*

* "Dizenme que en compañía daquel gentilhombre va un Herau Darmas (herault d'armes) por lo qual dizen franceses," &c. The herald or king-at-arms was no other than Clarenieux, as will be seen hereafter.

† Katharine's style is rather obscure, and some periods in her letters are lamentably ungrammatical. The passage reads thus: "Tengo pues que a querydo mostrar sentimiento de my muerte, vyendo que my vyda ny my servycio es tal que pueda merescer que vuestra alteza se acuerde de my."

‡ Sir Francis Poyntz, whose departure for Spain is announced in Don Iñigo's letter of the 9th. He arrived there early in July.

1527.

y continuo) of the household of the King, my Lord, bearer of this letter, will inform Your Highness, I take this opportunity to write and request that he may be credited in whatever he may say in my name, the said Poynes being a person whom I entirely trust, and to whom I bear much good-will, and am besides under great obligation on account of his many virtues.

As I fear that my letter may be tedious to Your Highness, as written by one unexperienced (*lega*) in these matters, I shall say no more here than beg and entreat Your Highness to have pity on so much bloodshed and perdition of souls so costly and redeemed at such price, bearing in mind that this world is perishable and of short duration, and the next one eternal. There is urgent need that peace between Christian Princes be concluded, before God sends down his scourge, which cannot tarry if these quarrels and disagreements (*desconciertos*) continue between Christian Princes.

If in the expression of these my sentiments I have given the least offence, I beg Your Highness to pardon me; my ignorance alone is the cause. God, &c.—Grannuche (Greenwich), 10th of May. Your good aunt Katherina.

Addressed: "The Queen of England to the Emperor, her nephew."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

13 May.

68. The EMPEROR to PEREZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 414.

B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
f. 195.

The King, &c.—Your letter of the 19th March was duly received. We write by this post to the Viceroy telling him what he is to do, and have also sent to Mons. de Bourbon 100,000 ducats for the payment of the army under his command. Orders have likewise been sent to Genoa to have ten galleys fitted out on our account, with which and ten more which that Community is to hold in readiness, besides ten others now building at Barcelona, and those of Sicily, all of which will be soon ready to be employed in our service. We hope that the affairs of Italy will be settled as befits the service of God and our own, not the purpose and intention of our enemies, and of those who have always tried, and are still trying, to create disturbances.—Valladolid, 13th May 1527.

Indorsed: "From the King, 1527."

Addressed: "To Secretary Perez, 13th of May."

Spanish. Original minute. p. 1.

18 May.

69. DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. *Rep.* P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 18.

[Duplicate of his ciphered letter of the 9th May, after which he adds:]

1527.

(*Cipher*.) As regards the defensive alliance, he (Mendoza) thinks it would be a proof of weakness and dependence on the English support to return to any discussion of the point, unless these people should start it first, especially as they evidently have no intention to advance in it until they have been reimbursed of their money. Indeed they seem to think that the best pledge for the payment of the Emperor's debts is to have the proposed confederacy and alliance postponed; the more so that this new treaty between the two Kings, as Mendoza has been informed, stipulates that they shall not negotiate without mutual consent, and moreover that when their ambassador* [in Spain] mentioned it in his note (*memoria*), it was on the supposition that he (the Emperor) would agree to the King of England's proposals.

Respecting the proposal of marriage between the daughter of the King of Denmark (Christian II.) and the bastard of England (Duke of Richmond), the Legate made no further advances (*no me salió en ello*). The reason, as he (Mendoza) suspects, is that this marriage [of the Duke of Richmond] has been put forward more with a view of freeing the Dauphin from his engagements than for any other purpose; although they tell him that the Princess of England (Mary) is not to marry the Dauphin, but his brother the Duke of Orleans; and that it has been stipulated that the Duke shall be educated here [in England], and that the King [of France, his father] is to give him [on his marriage] certain territories and lands in his kingdom, which are to remain for ever in possession of the English. However this may be, and whichever of the two French Princes marries the Princess, it is evident that the King of England will consider himself bound, as father-in-law of the Prince, to procure his liberation and attend to his affairs, &c.

How far the above reports may be true Mendoza cannot say. All the ministers and ambassadors who have taken part in this new treaty—sworn to the other day with great pomp and solemnity—give out that there is more substance in it and a closer bond of friendship and alliance (*amistad y deudo*) than the Legate chooses to own; and yet he (Mendoza) believes that these reports are circulated for the purpose of intimidation, as they fancy here that by putting pressure (*torcedor*) on His Majesty he will the sooner accept their terms.

The galleons† mentioned in a former letter are waiting for two more from Normandy. All five together, well provided, as they are, with artillery and ammunition, may inflict great

* Dr. Lee? The paragraph stands thus: "Y si su embaxador lo puso allá en la memoria que dió fue pro supuesto que Vía Magd. veniese en lo que pedia de arte de su amo."

† Those under the command of a lieutenant of the Admiral of Bretagne, mentioned in Don Íñigo's letter of the 9th. See No. 64, p. 182.

1527.

injury on the Emperor's subjects. This they have already begun to do, and though the King of England has to a certain extent redressed the harm done, thinks it would be safer for the future to arm against them in Flanders, as otherwise commerce might suffer greatly unless peace was definitively settled.

After writing the above, the courier and the gentleman now going to Spain having also started, he (Mendoza) had an audience of the King, who said to him that this embassy he was now sending ought not to be an obstacle to his declaring the commission he had from the Emperor. (*Common writing* :) Replied that he had full and ample instructions, as he had told the Legate last week, to bring the negotiations to a close, but that he could proceed no further until the French powers were amended. It was at last agreed that whilst fresh powers were being obtained from France, he (Mendoza) should send for the lawyer from Flanders, whose arrival had so long been promised, and that, once here (in London), the lawyer could examine the ambassador's new powers, and see whether they were correct or not.

(*Cipher* :) Has written again to Madame, but does not think she will send him until she receives orders from Spain, when perhaps it will be too late for him (the lawyer) to do any good.

One of the reasons of his having sought this audience of the King was to try and obtain some information about this new embassy to Spain; but could learn little except that he (the King) had sent such conditions [to Spain] as he did not doubt would be accepted by the Emperor. Replied that the Emperor had such confidence in him (the King) that he never doubted that any offer coming from him would be in conformity with his ancient friendship and alliance; and on his asking whether the gentleman (Poyntz) would be detained any time in France, the King said, perhaps unawares,* that until a safe-conduct had been granted for the French bishop [of Tarbes] and for the Englishman they would not cross over to Spain. Expressed great astonishment that he should seek a safe-conduct for one of his own subjects, for that it was treating the Emperor with great injustice to suppose that one was needed by an English ambassador going to any part of his dominions. The Frenchman would be immediately supplied with a safe-conduct, but Master Poyntz required none. He (Mendoza) begged the King to withdraw his application, as otherwise the Emperor might take offence. The King replied that a gentleman of his chamber† had lately

* "Y preguntandole si aquel gentil honvre (*sic*) se detendria en Francia algo, soltosele decir que hasta que uiesse salvo conducto para el obispo Francés y para el no entrarian en España."

† In the Abbot's letter of the 28th of March (No. 46, p. 130), it is said that an English gentleman going from Venice to Rome was taken prisoner close to Bologna by the Imperialists.

1527.

been taken prisoner in Italy. Interrupted him by saying that he was quite sure the Emperor knew nothing about it, and that when he did, whoever had committed such an act should be severely punished, though he (the Emperor) could not always be answerable for his soldiers' doings.*

Spoke again to the King respecting the terms of peace lately sent to Spain. Could not learn anything definite, but gathered from the general tenour of the King's words that they are not much more favourable than those which have been already offered; therefore did all in his power to urge upon and convince the King how much more desirable it was for him that this peace should be settled in favour of the Emperor than in favour of the King of France. The King took no notice of this remark, but replied very angrily (*como hombre que tiene el pecho lleno de malos humores*) that he must at once have an answer, *yes* or *no*, either treaty or rupture. Replied, by way of gaining time, and under the impression that a little delay might be beneficial, that the Emperor had at the King's own request referred the negotiations to England, and that, having commenced here, he thought they ought to continue where they had begun, he (the Emperor) being not only most anxious for peace, but also that it should be settled by the King's mediation. The King did not seem altogether dissatisfied with this answer, though he gave no signs of approval.† He (Mendoza) has reason to believe that, rather than have his conditions refused, the King would prefer this other expedient, as most likely the terms now proposed are not such as the Emperor can accept. Thought that if things could be kept as they are for a while, some advantage might be gained, that being his only reason for answering the King as he did. Must, however, observe that the amount of time thus gained is indeed very small; but still, should the Emperor decide not to accept the conditions, thinks this answer of his was wiser than one which would have once made the King of England join his enemies. A delay of from twenty to thirty days has therefore been obtained, at the end of which they are sure to come to a rupture, both with him here (in England), and with the Emperor in Spain.

The city merchants who, as above said, had been to consult the Legate respecting the lading for the fair at Vergas (Bergues), now close at hand, have been to him again, as the time for sending their goods thither is passing away. They were told not to suppose that the King intended to make war either against Flanders or against the Emperor, but, nevertheless, were forbidden to lade for any

* "Que cosa de soldados no era de traerse en consecuencia."

† "Respondiome á esto como honvre que segun lo que colegi del no tendria por muy mala respuesta la sobre dicha, no para quel me dicesse que la tendria por buena; pero aviso a Vña Magd. que segun lo que me pareció del la tendria por muy mejor que no refusar las condiciones que envia y por que yo temo que no son tales como Vña Magd. quiere."

1527.

foreign port whatsoever till receiving his answer, which should be finally given at the end of one month. The following day the Legate sent orders to the head of the harbour department (*oficial de las aguas*) to arrest all ships* whatsoever, English or foreign (not especially naming Flemish or Spanish ships), that should be taking merchandise to any foreign port whatsoever. Great consternation (*alteracion*) at this order prevails throughout the kingdom. Believes if the fear of very severe examples made in past times did not act as a restraint for the future, the general feeling would be to have the present government overthrown. It is also feared that, should this prohibition not be removed, the English merchants, having no market for their cloths (*paños*), will be obliged to dismiss their workmen, and that these latter, when pressed by hunger, will become disorderly and troublesome. The Cardinal gave these said merchants to understand that he should soon be able to point out to them a place, where with much less cost and trouble to themselves, and much greater profit to the kingdom, they could carry on their trade. Some think he means Montreuil, others Calais; but at present the English seem to think that rather than take their goods to France they will go without any market at all for them. Hears from (the merchants) that the French have persuaded the Legate that, if peace be concluded, the Flemings, rather than lose their trade altogether, will meet the English in the Montreuil markets, if they cannot do so elsewhere; whereas, if there should be war, they assert that through the alliance of the Kings of England and France all intercourse of trade between the Emperor's subjects and the English would naturally cease. These calculations might turn out wrong, for in either case the Flemings will conform to the Emperor's orders. Has also heard that the Duke of Suffolk and the Admiral [of England] have lately purchased some armour (*harneses*); finds, however, on inquiry that the quantity is so small that no suspicion of approaching warfare can from that cause reasonably be entertained, unless what he (Mendoça) has advised in his letter of the 9th be taken as a sign of it.

The pasquinades which these English have nightly circulated throughout this city have been so hostile to the King, and especially to the Legate, that there was a general rumour that the King intended to relieve the Legate of his share in the administration, taking from him either the foreign or the home affairs, and leaving him only one department.† Thinks there is some truth in this, for lately the Legate, on plea

* "Que arrestase todas qualesquier naves ó charruas que a qualquier parte llevasen mercaderia."

† "Han sido los escritos questos Yngleses han hechado de noche por esta Ciudad tan perjudiciales al rrey, y al Legado especialmente, que uvo gran rumor que el Rey queria repartir los negocios y quitarle ó los del Estado ó los del Reyno, de manera que no oviesse syno los unos."

1527.

of indisposition, absented himself from court for some days, and the King went to visit him in his own house, since which every mouth has been stopped.

Respecting the warlike demonstrations lately made here with so much publicity, different opinions prevail. One party in the kingdom, believing what they most fear, and knowing the Legate to be entirely French in his sympathies, consider war as inevitable (*tiene por cierto que la fuerza está entre las manos*). The other party, perceiving that the King and Legate have been trying all through last winter to discover some inclination to war amongst the nobles, and have never found it; that this King let slip the most favourable opportunity for it, which was when the League stood firm, cannot think that, now that the Emperor has from forty to fifty thousand men in Italy only, and ample funds to raise fresh troops if required, the King can seriously entertain the idea of a war, which would be so unpopular, and at the same time so ruinous to the trade of his kingdom. Those who think so maintain that these warlike preparations—if the little that Mendoça has observed and reported of them can be taken for a sign of approaching rupture—are only made with a view to serve the interests of France, and see whether by this means the cause of the King can be advanced. In conformity with this view is the answer given by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Warham), the Legate's rival, and a person of great weight in the kingdom, to a friend of his who asked his opinion of these proceedings. "Let the King and Legate take their course.(the Archbishop said); war with Flanders is much further off than people imagine."

Has minutely stated the various rumours and opinions now current in England, not indeed for the Emperor to act upon them, for after all they are but opinions, but in order that being duly acquainted with the whole, and comparing the information with the terms now proposed in Spain, he may be able to form a clear judgment and decide upon the wisest course to pursue. Can bear testimony that the words of the King and Legate are, generally speaking, very unsatisfactory, but whether this is real or assumed it would be hazardous for him to affirm. Has, therefore, written of all that is passing now; and as regards the future, quoted only the various opinions of this court, among which the most prevalent is that there will be war, and that if help is not sent from this country [to France] in men, it will be in money. It is thought that the same king-at-arms (Clarencieux), who in past years was sent to declare war against the King of France, has gone now to perform the same office in Spain. This will soon be made manifest. The King and Legate declare that peace or war depends entirely on the answer given by the Emperor. Possibly they may have another thing in mind.* Continues

* "El Rey y el Legado hazen a entender que la paz y la guerra todo depende de la respuesta de Vfa Magd.; ya podría ser que tienen otra cosa en el pecho."

1527.

to dissemble with them, affecting perfect confidence until he receives further instructions.

By his letter of the 25th of April he (Mendoza) advised the Emperor of what had occurred up to that date, and among other things mentioned having received a letter from the Count of Hoochstrate, to say that he was despatching a messenger to Spain. This induced him (Mendoza) to forward by that route (that by sea from Zealand) his said despatch of the 25th. Trusts that it has reached the Emperor's hands. Amongst other remarks contained in the said letter, Mendoza stated his opinion that in the event of this King declaring for France, as it is feared he will do, it would not be ill-advised if a marriage alliance should be proposed between the King of Scotland (James) and the [widow] Queen of Hungary,* for though the Scotch have a strong natural leaning to the French, yet seeing the English fall off from their ancient alliance, it would not be very strange if they did the same. Besides, as it is the opinion of all wise (*cuerdos*) people in this kingdom that this marriage [with the King of Scotland] is the one that the King really intends for his daughter [Mary], and that all other proposals are simply entertained as a means of bridging over the time till the right moment comes, were the King to see that the Emperor was seeking an alliance in the same quarter, he would be compelled, in view of this greater danger, to abstain from the treaty with France, and ultimately declare for him. For indeed with the Scottish marriage this King gains that kingdom and his own, whereas without it he loses them both.†

Has tried to ascertain the name of those who opposed the Legate in this late declaration of the King's. Has been assured that his greatest enemies are those who are now supporting him in this matter, hoping thereby to bring him to destruction, knowing, as they do, that the indignation of the whole country is roused against him, and that if he should carry out his warlike plans, of which he has lately given so many indications, there will be an outbreak and rebellion when men and money come to be raised for the purpose. Therefore, these pretended friends of the Legate are urging him on as much as they can, for they would not be satisfied with turning him out of office, but seek his entire ruin; and so, though unwillingly, they conceal their hatred of him, and favour his politics. Those who, but for the Legate, would be entirely on the King's side are the Duke of Norfolk and, among ecclesiastics, the Bishop of London [Tunstall]. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Warham) never comes to court unless compelled, on account of the Legate. To the two former (the

* Mary, the Emperor's sister, married in 1521 to Lewis, King of Bohemia and Hungary, and widow since 1526. She was born in 1505, and therefore was only 22 years of age at this time.

† "Pues en la verdad con el casamiento de Escocia gana a este reyno y [a] aquel, y sin el los pierde entramos."

1527.

Duke of Norfolk and the Bishop of London), who reside here, it would be advisable to offer a good pension, because they are reported to be both favourably disposed towards the Emperor, and secretly hostile to the Legate; although things are so far advanced, and the issue is so imminent, that from the result of this English and French embassy [to Spain] the Emperor will be able to judge best what is to be done here.

Has offered the pension to Brian Tuke, who accepted it with a very good grace and many expressions of his sense of the favour done him. He has promised to do all in his power to preserve the ancient friendship between the Emperor and his master, provided it should not involve a breach of trust (*contra su officio*), but as he is one of the Legate's creatures he (Mendoça) does not think much of his promises.

Common report says that the Cardinal is soon going to France with a large embassy; also that he having petitioned to be relieved of some of his many offices, the King intends to make the Bishop of London (Tunstall) chancellor. These are mere reports, more or less worthy of credit, as the case may be. Can only say positively that the Legate is greatly afraid of an outbreak against him, and this leads to his giving the most inconsistent orders (*anda desatinado*); at times threatening war, and causing all ships suspected of lading for Flanders or Spain to be seized, and the next day, from fear of the people's indignation, revoking those orders. The last one is that the English are not to lade for the fair of Vergas (Bergues) until receiving the Legate's answer, which he is to give at the end of thirty days, within which time he expects the Emperor's definitive answer, and, according as that may be, will decide for peace or war. Repeats what he has said above, namely, that the general opinion of this court is that it will be extremely difficult to carry out war, the English in general being unwilling to commit hostile acts against the Emperor or his dominions. Has no doubt, however, that the Legate, were he able to do so, would push war to the uttermost. Suspects that if the terms now offered by the ambassadors be not accepted, the first thing will be his (Mendoça's) dismissal from this court, and the taking up of arms here. It would be well if the Emperor should advise him of his decision before announcing it there (in Spain), that he (Mendoça) may give Madame warning to attend to the defence of Flanders.

Hears on reliable authority that the Legate, as the finishing stroke to all his iniquities,* has been scheming to bring about the Queen's divorce. She is so full of apprehension on this account that she has not ventured to speak with him (Mendoça). It is added that the King is so bent on this divorce that

* "He sabido por cierto que este bueno del Legado por hechar el sello á todas sus maldades trabaja por descasar á la Reyna, y ella está tan medrosa que no ha osado hablar conmigo. Han me certificado que está el Rey tan adelante en ello que a juntado algunos obispos y letrados secretamente," &c.

1527.

he has secretly assembled certain bishops and lawyers that they may sign a declaration to the effect that his marriage with the Queen is null and void on account of her having been his brother's wife. It is therefore to be feared that either the Pope will be induced by some false statement to side against the Queen, or that the Cardinal, in virtue of his legatine powers, may take some step fatal to the said marriage. He (Mendoça) is perfectly aware, though the Queen herself has not ventured and does not venture to speak to him on the subject, that all her hope rests, after God, on the Emperor. Is convinced that the principal cause of all that she is made to suffer is that she identifies herself entirely with the Emperor's interests. The cause is in itself so just that, independently even of the near relationship existing, the Emperor might well espouse it. It would be very advisable if, with all possible secrecy, the Pope were to be put on his guard in case any application should be made to Rome against this marriage; also that His Holiness should tie the Legate's hands, and by having the cause referred entirely to himself, should prevent him from taking part in it, or appointing judges in this kingdom. Cannot learn what answer these bishops and lawyers have given the King on the subject of the divorce; and therefore thinks it advisable that, before the result of these consultations and meetings becomes public, the Emperor should secretly inform his ambassador at Rome of the whole affair, that he may be on his guard. Believes that if the affair should be proceeded with, it will soon be made public. Should the King see that he cannot succeed, he will not run the risk of any of the preliminary steps being known; but should he insist on pursuing the course he has begun, some great popular disturbance must ensue, for the Queen is much beloved in this kingdom, and the people are also greatly excited at the rumours of war. The Queen desires perfect secrecy to be kept in this matter, at least for the present, so much so that the above wish of hers has been communicated by a third person, who pretended not to come from her, though he (Mendoça) suspects that he came with her consent.

(*Common writing* :) Wrote by the English ambassador's servant, who went [to Spain] by post. The letter was under cover to Dr. Lee for greater security. Wrote afterwards two more letters by Maistre Poyntz, one addressed to the said Doctor [Lee], and the other to the Secretary, Maistre Jean Lallemand. This courier would have started before had not Madame detained him in Flanders.* May he meet with fair winds at sea, that the Emperor may know the exact position of affairs here before replying to the ambassadors. Though the greater part of this present letter is only

* "Este correo se uviera partido antes si Madama le uviera despachado; quiera Dios que haya buen viento."

1527.

duplicate* of the other sent by land, yet it should be entirely deciphered, as many things have been added since.—London, the 18th of May 1527.

Signed: “Don Iñygo de Mendoza.”

Indorsed: “To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty the Emperor and King, our Lord.”

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. pp. 19.

18 May.

70.

FRANCISCO DE SALAZAR to the HIGH CHANCELLOR
MERCURINO DI GATTINARA.

S. E. L. 847,

f. 180.

B. M. Add. 28,576,

f. 224.

Wrote on the 1st inst., enclosing the Papal brief *si in evidente*, and other deeds (*escrituras*) no longer wanted at Rome; also advising the death of Dr. Juan Fernandez and other occurrences, as may be seen by his said letter, of which a duplicate is enclosed. Since then, most wonderful events have taken place, which he considers himself bound to narrate in their minutest details for the Chancellor's information.

On Saturday, the 4th inst., the Imperial army, which seemed to have taken the road to Florence, appeared suddenly in the campagna of Rome. A few horsemen sent out to reconnoitre surprised some of our light cavalry who were in the vanguard, and brought in some eight or ten prisoners, at which the Romans were greatly rejoiced.

The Imperial army, however, went on advancing with such fury that, though they had no artillery with them, on Monday, the 6th, part of the Spaniards escalated the walls and entered the city at the strongest point, between the Belvedere and the gate of Saint Pancras. The Borgho was soon gained, and whilst the Pope was flying to the castle, close to the city walls, the Spaniards fired their hackbuts at him, and at those of his suite. So narrow was the Pope's escape that had he tarried for three “creeds” more (*por espacio de en quanto se dixeron tres credos*) he would have been taken prisoner within his own palace. For one hour after this time the Spaniards went on slaying every man they came across in the Borgho, except a few who were fortunate enough to fly to the castle. Between six and eight thousand men were thus slaughtered on the occasion, whilst the Imperialists lost only about 100, most of them by cannon shots [from the walls]. A most wonderful feat of arms indeed, and one well worthy of record, that a handful of men should have stormed a city like Rome, with such stout and lofty walls, defended by artillery! Such was, however, the cruelty of the soldiers after victory, that their achievement can no longer be ascribed to a miracle, unless it be that God permitted such a destruction as a punishment for the sins of these people (the

* His letter of the 9th was, as before stated, entirely reproduced with a few additions.

1527.

Romans); for, as I said before, and will repeat hereafter, no person of whatever nationality, profession, rank, or condition was spared or respected on the occasion.

On the said Monday, before the Spaniards stormed the city, Mons. de Bourbon, perceiving what small notice had been taken of his presence by the Pope and by the Romans, sent a trumpeter requesting that some person or persons should be sent to his camp in order to treat for the peaceable entrance of his troops into Rome, as he wished to spare the city the misery of a sack; but Signor Renzo da Ceri Vrsyno (*sic*), whom the Pope had appointed captain-general of all his forces, dismissed the trumpeter with very angry words (*palabras descompuestas*), at which Mons. de Bourbon grew exceedingly indignant, and decided to storm the place. The more to encourage his men to the assault, he placed himself at their head, but was soon slain by a hackbut shot from the walls. This was, no doubt, the cause of three fourths of the barbarities and cruelties committed by our men on this occasion; because, even if Rome had been given up to the Germans and Spaniards to sack, this could fairly have been accomplished in one day, whereas the plundering lasted nine or ten, during which the atrocities perpetrated by our soldiers have been unexampled, people of all nationalities being indiscriminately put to the sword or subjected to the most atrocious tortures to make them confess where their money and valuables, if they had any, were concealed.

After the taking of the Borgho, and the slaughter of its defenders and inhabitants, as related, the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon) and other Imperial captains sent in another trumpeter with an officer, requesting that some one should come from Rome to treat about the men being paid their arrears and quartered within the city, as otherwise they could not be responsible for the excesses that might be committed by the troops. This second message was received by Renzo da Ceri as insolently as the former; he told the officer to go away, and not to return [to Rome], as otherwise he would have him hanged, both him and the trumpeter; and though the Romans themselves, foreseeing what would happen, proposed sending ambassadors to Mons. de Bourbon, neither the Pope nor Renzo da Ceri would ever allow it. Upon which the Imperial soldiers, seeing their offers rejected, took Rome by storm, as before stated, and sacked the city for nine or ten consecutive days, committing such atrocities that the pen actually refuses to write them down, and that there is no memory capable of recording them, for whoever has been able to save his life, among the Spaniards, Germans, and Italians here residing, considers himself lucky to have escaped such a catastrophe, and cares little to inquire into the fate and miseries of others. If any two houses have fared well, it is his (Salazar's) and that of Secretary Perez. He (Salazar) had taken Perez in when the

1527.

Duke of Sessa left Rome, but some time before the entrance of the Imperialists in Rome Perez had removed to the embassy. He has to pay 2,400 ducats for his and Salazar's ransom; but their lives have been spared, and they have not been put to the torture as many others, and therefore have to thank God most gratefully. Some Spaniards who took refuge in the embassy are now contributing towards the payment of the aforesaid ransom, but still Perez's share will be at least 600, which he is now trying to procure on bills, as he has no money and is very poor.

The cardinals who were at Rome, after having had once to pay ransom (*tallado*) for their persons and property, have been plundered a second time and taken to prison most ignominiously through the streets of this capital, on foot, with their heads uncovered, and led by the soldiers as so many criminals.* I can assure your Lordship that when I saw the Holy Cardinal of Sena (Sienna) between some 10 lansquenets, being dragged through the streets of this capital, on foot, without girdle (*cinta*), and with a tabard or short jacket (*ropilla*) on, I nearly sank to the ground, for all this was done after the said lansquenets had actually rifled his house and those of other rich people of all their contents. The houses of this and other cardinals having been made the refuge of many rich Romans, who fled thither with their jewels and valuables, their owners were of course subjected to worse treatment. Your Lordship cannot well conceive the treasures amassed by the soldiers on this occasion, since besides plundering all money and valuables in each house, and subjecting its dwellers, whether men, women, or children, to the payment of heavy ransoms according to their rank, quality, or wealth, many were tortured, and some even slain with unheard-of cruelty.

The Portuguese ambassador [D. Martin de Portugal] occupied one of the strongest and best built palaces in Rome, owing to which circumstance, and to his being so generally respected, many people flocked thither with their money, jewels, and other valuables. Every one within the precincts of his palace has been compelled to pay a ransom, which is said to amount in the aggregate to upwards of one million of gold. The ambassador himself was left without coat (*sayo*) or shirt, and only with his breeches and jacket on. In short, no one has been respected, whether Spaniard or Imperialist; all have been treated as enemies, and Rome will not recover from this blow for 500 years to come. The cries of the women and children, as they were conducted through the streets to prison, were really heartrending; and so many were the dead bodies that in some places they actually obstructed the way, and as they have not yet been removed and buried, the stench is so intolerable that plague is sure to ensue.

* "Saqueados y presos y traydos á pie y abiltadamente por las calles solos entre los soldados, y descabellados?"

1527.

Neither have monasteries and other religious houses been spared; all have been plundered, and in many instances friars, monks, and nuns, and all kinds of ecclesiastics put to death or tortured that they might declare what money or jewels they had concealed. To see the poor nuns being led to prison between soldiers, crying and raising their hands to Heaven, would have been enough to melt a heart of iron.

The church of St. Peter was completely sacked, the silver shrines and caskets containing the relics of saints taken away, and the relics themselves strewed on the floors. Many dead bodies lay about, so much disfigured that it was impossible to recognize them; and in the chapel itself, close to the altar of St. Peter, were great pools of blood, dead horses, &c.

The Papal Palace completely gutted, and in many places burnt; its beautiful rooms turned into stables (*establos*) owing to the great number of horsemen now quartered in it.

Many are the houses at Rome that have been consumed by fire, some owing to their owners having deserted them, others from various causes. Churches, in general, after being plundered of their ornaments and silver vessels (*custodias*), have been desecrated. In some of them the Host could never be found. In short, the atrocities committed surpass all bounds and cannot be described.* It seems all like a dream. Some people through fear have stated what money, jewels, and clothes are hidden in the country [out of Rome]; graves have been opened in search of hidden treasures, so that no one can now visit a church or go about Rome, such is the stench of the dead. Mass is nowhere said; not a bell or clock has sounded since the Imperialists entered Rome, and indeed no one heeds such things, in the midst of such a dire calamity and persecution as that which has befallen this city.†

The amount of money, jewels, and other property taken by the soldiers is estimated by some at 15 millions of gold, though others make it amount to 20. In fact it is almost incalculable, for at the palace of the Portuguese ambassador alone the plunder taken, and the money received as ransom, are known to amount to one million. The houses of Cardinals Vala (Valle), Sena (Sienna), Cesarino, Tortosa, and Jacobatiis, and of the Marquesana of Mantua, have been rated at 150,000 each; many there are at 10, 20, and 30 thousand, and others almost innumerable at no less than 2,000 each, whilst those of the common people and artisans (*las del pueblo y oficiales*) have all been taxed at 1,000.

Many cardinals, some of them wounded or otherwise ill-treated by the soldiery, are inside the castle with the Pope; also a number of rich courtiers and merchants who fled thither

* "Y tomadas las custodias no se hallar el Sacramento, y otras infinitas crueldades que como [h]e dicho, Señor, no bastaria tiempo ni juyzio ny papel ny tinta para escrevirse."

† "Ny hay ombre que se acuerde dello, segund estamos turbados y espantados de ver tan grandissima persecucion."

1527.

for refuge with all their gold and jewels. Negotiations have been set on foot, and are already very far advanced, for the surrender of Sanct Angelo, and the delivery of the Pope on the payment of a heavy ransom. Indeed an agreement would already have been signed, had it not been for the lansquenets, who demand eight or ten months' pay immediately, or else that the castle should be delivered to them to be sacked. Such are the conditions which they (the lansquenets) impose. The Pope is willing to give them two months' pay now, another one in 10 days, and the remainder in 30 days' time, but the Germans are not contented with this, and want 500,000 ducats at once, and also that the Pope's own person and that of his cardinals should remain at the disposal of the Emperor. They demand also that this castle and all others in the lands of the Church should be surrendered to them, and are actually making preparations to attack Sanct Angelo, opening trenches all round it, and keeping good guard, so that it may not be succoured from the outside. It is said that no less than 3,000 have taken refuge in it, and as most of them are useless people, unable to fight, it cannot hold out many days.

The Pope tried to maintain the courage of his Romans by telling them that the armies of the League were close upon us, and that victory was at hand. But everything has ended in smoke; for although some of the confederates are not far from Rome, it is to be presumed that the moment they hear of its having been taken, each man will run home to defend his native country as best he can.

The Cardinals of Sienna (Petrucci), La Minerva (Vio Caetano), and Araceli (Numali) were ignominiously treated, and taken to prison through the streets, after having their palaces plundered in such a way that they had scarcely a shirt left to put on. Those who could, fled for refuge to the palace of Cardinal Colonna, who came to Rome with his brothers, Vespasiano and Ascanio, five or six days after the sack. Had they come before, Rome would never have been sacked, for the people supported by them might have sent a message of peace to Mons. de Bourbon, and everything would have been settled. They say that the Council of Naples refused the Colonnese permission to come to Rome as they wished to do, owing to the truce existing between the Pope and the Viceroy, which truce has been, after all, the cause of all this evil, as Mons. de Bourbon was not informed of it in time.

No certain news of the Viceroy. Some say he is still at Sena (Sienna). If he comes to Rome he is not likely to be well received [by this army], with whom he is not in favour; and yet a commander-in-chief is more wanted than ever, because without a head the indomitable spirit of the men, and especially of the lansquenets, cannot be easily subdued.

Don Ugo de Moncada is soon expected from Naples. May he bring some remedy to our present sufferings, for although this must be said [of him and of the rest of the Imperial

1527.

generals], that they have made the Emperor absolute master of Italy, as we all wished him to be, yet the thing might have been accomplished without so much cruelty and shedding of blood.

All the Spaniards here are desirous of going to Naples, and will do so as soon as the roads are open and they can travel with safety, for at present there is no journeying except with an escort of 100 horsemen or so, such are the depredations of the country people. I say more; I believe that most, if not all, will go back to Spain, for there will be no business done at Rome for a long time, and the city itself is so destroyed and ruined that, until 200 years hence, it will not be Rome again. I myself intend soon taking that route, and going to Spain by way of Naples. There is nothing to be done at Rome just now. Should Johannes de Averasturi remain, I will leave in his hands the title-deeds and bulls, though I see not much use for it, as the notarial register books and those of the Apostolic Chamber have all been burnt.

We are all waiting to see how this affair of the castle will end, because if it surrenders unconditionally, it is believed that the Pope will be taken prisoner to Naples or to Spain. My future plans will be based upon that.

Friday evening, the 3rd instant, and only three days before the Imperialists took Rome, the Pope created three new cardinals, from whom he received, as it is said, 200,000 ducats towards the expenses of this war. Of what little use has this money been to him! The cardinals are the Archbishop of Cremona, a nephew of Cardinal Ancona, and the Bishop of Perosa (Perugia), nephew of the late Cardinal of San Giorgio, besides a Florentine, the Bishop [of] Gadi.

Since writing the above I hear that the Pope has made the following agreement:—Himself and all the cardinals who are with him to surrender to the Emperor and depart for Naples or for Gaeta, as at the former place many are dying of the plague. They are to remain there until His Imperial Majesty decides otherwise. All other persons inside the castle, and the cardinals who are at Rome, to be set free and allowed to go wherever they please. The Pope to give 400,000 for the pay of the Imperial forces; 100,000 down, 50,000 in 12 or 15 days, and the remainder at specified dates. On these conditions the money, jewels, clothes, and other valuables inside the castle will be redeemed. The Pope to give besides, as security for the payment, Civitta Vecchia, Ostia, and Porto, three seaports in the estate of the Church; also Parma, Piacenza, and Modena. He likewise engages to restore to Cardinal Colonna and his family and adherents all the property confiscated from them. Such are in substance the articles of the agreement.

Musiur de la Mota (La Mothe), lieutenant of the late Mons. de Bourbon, has been appointed governor of Rome. All other offices will be conferred upon suitable persons.

1527.

It is rumoured that, this being done, the Imperial army is to go to Florence. If so, I will take that route myself with many other courtiers, and embark at Genoa for Spain.—Rome, 18th May 1527.

Signed: "Francisco de Salazar."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 9.

18 May. **71.** SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 442.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 204.

Wrote on the 26th, 29th, and 30th of April, and 3rd inst.,* by Bernaldino de Alarcon, and by the general [of the Franciscans], and again on the 3rd. Three days after, on the 6th, the Imperial army arrived before this city, and accomplished what His Majesty must already have learnt by the letters of Najera, Gattinara,† the Regent, and others, which is that the Imperialists took possession of Rome and of the Borgho, and besieged the castle of St. Angelo, wherein the Pope and certain cardinals are now shut up. As the said Najera and Gattinara must have informed the Emperor more fully than he (Perez) can do of all the circumstances of the case, he will not further allude to it. Both were eye-witnesses; he (Perez) was not, for the sack of the city was so suddenly conceived, and so wantonly executed, that even the Emperor's servants had enough to do to save their own lives and property. He (Perez) was fortunate to save both, by giving 2,000 ducats to two Spanish soldiers, who undertook to guard his house, wherein upwards of 200 persons of all ranks took refuge, thinking they might escape thereby from paying ransom. Beggars for the settlement of his arrears of salary, as likewise for some indemnity for his losses, as the money he had to hand over to his guards was borrowed from his friends. Wishes also to know how he is now to dispose of himself, whether he is to remain at Rome, or go elsewhere.

Of the negotiations now going on with the Pope, Perez can only say what he hears. The Abbot [of Najera] and the Regent [Gattinara] will, no doubt, write fully about them, for it is they who go backwards and forwards to the Pope. In one of his visits to Sanct Angelo, Gattinara was wounded by a hackbut shot, but the wound fortunately is not dangerous. Cardinal Vespasiano Colonna and his brother, Ascanio, arrived on the 10th. Had they come one day before the Imperialists all this violence and spilling of blood might have been spared, because the Romans would certainly have done what the Colonnese wanted, and been encouraged to resist the orders of the Pope, which they had not before dared to do; for if any contradiction was offered, the citizens were forthwith arrested and taken to Sant Angelo. This fear of the citizens was the sole

* See Nos. 53, 58, and 61.

† Bartholomeo, the nephew of the Grand Chancellor. - His letter is not in the collection of the Academy, but has been published by Baron Trasmundo Frangipani; Geneva, 1871. 12mo.

1527.

cause of Rome being sacked by the Imperial soldiers, which was done with as much cruelty and wantonness as if it had been plundered by Turks, for neither the churches nor the monasteries were spared, the soldiers taking away the silver ornaments, the relics of the saints, and the very consecrated vessels (*custodias*) containing the host. Many houses of cardinals and other rich men were plundered twice and even three times, and their inmates imprisoned besides. Cardinals Sienna (Petrucci?), Minerva (Vio Cajetano), and Ara Cœli (Numali) were thus arrested, and had not La Valla (Andrea), Cesarino (Alessandro), Incheftort (Enckenwœert), and Jacobacis (Domenico) taken refuge at the palace of the Colonna, they would have met with the same fate. Ultimately all the cardinals above mentioned, except the two friars,* met together at the Colonna's, where innumerable people of all ranks fled also for refuge. So great was the press, that although the palace is very spacious, it could not contain them all. As it is, it must be owned that the arrival at Rome of Cardinal Colonna and his relatives (*deudos*) has been a godsend under present circumstances. Had he come before, much blood and violence might have been spared, for His Majesty must know for certain that nobody escaped either death or imprisonment, unless he paid on the spot the exorbitant ransom demanded by the soldiers, for the payment of which the Cardinal [Colonna] has enough to do if he is to stand security.

All the Imperialists and those who wish for His Majesty's prosperity are delighted to see him master of Rome, and of the rest (*y el resto*), but would have preferred that this had been achieved without so much destruction of property and life, for it is really frightful to see the survivors irretrievably ruined for ever. The soldiers were not satisfied with gutting the houses, they imprisoned the inmates, and imposed heavy ransoms (*tallas*) upon them. Those who could not pay were immediately dragged to prison, where they were put to the most cruel and strange forms of torture to make them declare what money they had, and where it was hid. In this way the soldiers were enabled to discover whatever money there was in the city. Gives so many details because it is just that the Emperor should be informed of the atrocities committed by his soldiers, and that he should write to these cardinals, friends to the Empire, now congregated in the Colonna Palace, offering them some sort of consolation for their troubles. He (Perez) can positively assert that all are very ill-contented, not only on account of their losses, which have been very great, but because they are really ashamed (*corridos*) of having been treated as His Majesty's enemies when they are really his friends. Such is the case also with the Portu-

* The two friars must be Enckenwœert and Cristoforo Numali, Cardinal of Ara Cœli, who is said to have suffered most horrible treatment at the hands of the Germans. See *Memorie Storiche sulla Chiesa d'Ara Cœli*, by Patre Casimiro de Roma, p. 350.

1527.

guese ambassador, who was taken in his shirt sleeves (*en calças y jubon*), and led to prison through the Borgho, though he has since returned.

Mons. de la Mothe has been appointed governor of Rome, and some measures are being taken for the internal administration (*buen regimiento*), &c. of the city. It is generally believed that had not Mons. de Bourbon been slain [in the assault], most of the disorderly acts committed by the Imperial soldiers might have been prevented. The Colonnese complain bitterly of the councillors at Naples, who, they say, would never give them permission to come to Rome, or allow the Neapolitan army to help [in the undertaking]. When they came it was as Roman citizens (*como varones de Roma*), not as vassals of the Emperor, because Bourbon wrote to them to come as such, and they did so [*so esta color*]. Certainly their coming at this juncture has been very beneficial. He (Perez) frequently wrote to Don Ugo, and to Alarcon and the others, what he and the rest of the Emperor's servants thought about the Neapolitan army coming to Rome; the Colonnese saw his letters, and pressed the councillors to come to a final decision, but other parties [at Rome] wrote differently, and therefore the scheme was abandoned. Would to God it had not been so; His Imperial Majesty would have been better obeyed and more dreaded [by his enemies], and not so many lives would have been lost, for His Majesty has gained nothing by this havoc and ruin; the lansquenets, now that they are rich, mutiny every hour for the arrears of their pay, and the Spaniards will do the same before long.—Rome, 17th May 1527.

Post datum.—An agreement has been made with the Pope, as His Majesty will no doubt be informed by the letters of Najera and others.

Miçer Augustin Folleta (Foglieta), who certainly is very much attached to the Emperor's service, and many others with him, are of opinion that in the interests of this city, and to enable it the sooner to recover from its past sufferings, it would be advisable that, in the event of the Pope going to Gaeta or Naples—as no doubt he will—the court should still reside here, a Legate being appointed by His Holiness, and another principal person by the Emperor, to conduct the government of this city until the Emperor's arrival in Italy, a thing desired by all his servants and well-wishers, who think that, as there can be no possible obstacle now, His Majesty might come as soon as convenient and hold a council, and therein ordain what is best for God's and the Imperial service. The Emperor cannot allow the Church to lose any of its authority, but ought, on the contrary, to maintain and favour it, that he may the better rule over Italy, and remove the many causes for war that there might otherwise be. (*Cipher*.) Should the Emperor accomplish his journey, the Venetians might easily be deprived of all their possessions

1527.

on the mainland, as they have now nobody to come to their assistance. A good war contribution (*talla*) might be imposed on the Florentines, besides taking away from them Liorna (Leghorn) and Pisa, and demolishing the fortifications of Florence as security for the future, for that city is French by affection, and will never remain quiet unless compelled by necessity. But on no account ought Florence to be sacked, for experience has shown that this sacking of towns and cities is by no means beneficial to the Emperor's cause, since the soldiers, after such plundering and destruction, still go on clamouring for their arrears of pay.

(*Common writing* :) The Emperor once in Italy, permission might easily be obtained from the Pope to alienate the tenth part of the ecclesiastic property throughout his dominions, whence a sum of at least three millions might be obtained for a war against the Turk and the preservation of Hungary. It is generally believed that the Pope would not refuse his consent to the measure, for he himself had begun to do the same at Florence. 500,000 might easily be taken from that city for the purpose, whilst Milan could easily yield 800,000.

(*Cipher* :) Cardinal Colonna is of opinion that on no account ought the Emperor to trust the Pope, whatever may be his promises or the securities he offers. He knows his disposition to be so fickle and changeable that no reliance whatever can be placed on him.

(*Common writing* :) Miçer Augustino [Foglieta] has been very ill-treated by the Spaniards during this sack. This he feels not so much on account of his own personal losses, which have been very considerable, as on the reflection that so devoted a servant of His Imperial Majesty as he is could have been treated in so disgraceful a manner. He, nevertheless, remains still faithful to the Emperor, and is at present in Colonna's palace, doing what he can for the Imperial service.—Closed on the 18th of May 1527.

Signed : "Perez."

Addressed : "Sacrmæ. Cesæ. Cathocæ. Mati."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 6.

22 May. 72. The EMPEROR to LOPE DE SORIA, his Ambassador at Genoa.
 M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. Advises the birth of a son.*—Valladolid, 22nd May 1572.
Muñoz, A. 83, f. 56.
 B. M. Add. 28,576, *Latin. Original draft. p. 1.*
 f. 209.

* Philip, born at Valladolid on the 21st. A note at the end of this original minute, drawn in Secretary Soria's hand, has "Similer fuerunt expeditæ ad Prothonot. Caracciolo, Abbatem de Najara, Secretarium Perez, et Alfonsum Sanchez."

1527.

22 May.

73.

DON MARTIN DE SALINAS to FERDINAND, KING OF BOHEMIA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 172 v°.

Had written by Longobal, enclosing all the papers that were wanted for the Diet, but the vessel in which he and Mons. de Prat (Praet) went was twice assailed by a most terrific storm, and they were obliged to return to the port whence they had set sail. Mons. de Praet started on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Monserrat, and determined not to go by sea again. In the meantime Longobal received orders to sail again, which he did, but the weather was so bad and the wind so contrary, that he was obliged, not far from the English coast, to return to Laredo, whence he wrote in date of the 6th inst., stating that he would do all he could for His Highness' service. He (Salinas) is afraid that this despatch will reach before Longobal, who took the other. As to Mons. de Praet, after returning from his pilgrimage, such was his desire to go home and serve His Highness, that although he made a vow not to embark again, seeing the impossibility of a journey through France, he has again gone to Laredo to wait for an opportunity.

The Chancellor has written to inform His Highness of the real cause of his departure. Wherever he halts, he says that he is on leave, and intends to return to Court. This Salinas does not believe, and fancies that it is said on purpose to deceive people, and regain, if possible, the Emperor's favour, for all his prayers and requests, as well as those of the courtiers who interest themselves for him, have been rejected, and it is not likely that the Emperor will change his determination. Has reason to believe that the Chancellor is sorry for what he has done.

A son of the late Francisco Çequin has lately arrived here, claiming large sums of money from His Highness, which he pretends were owing to his father from the time of Archduke Philip, and were not settled by the Imperial Ban. As he enjoys some favour at this Court, the Emperor has had his accounts looked into, as well as the contracts made at the time, and it would appear that His Highness is thereby bound to pay all debts contracted by his father, Philip, on the Duchy of Viertanbergue (Wurtemberg), amounting, as it is said, to about 25,000 florins. He (Salinas) has remonstrated, as it was his duty to do, and shown how the said Francisco Çequin had been condemned by the Imperial Ban, and that His Highness was not bound to pay any part of that sum.

Birth of Prince Philip on the 21st of May.—Valladolid, 22nd May 1527.

Addressed: "To the King [of Bohemia] my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 173 v°.

1527.

22 May.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Muñoz, A. 83,
 f. 314.
 B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
 f. 209.

74. The EMPEROR to LOPE DE SORIA, his Ambassador in Genoa.

The Empress, his most beloved wife, was delivered on the 21st inst. of a son and heir to his kingdoms. The ambassador, therefore, is to acquaint the Doge and the Signory with that happy event.—Valladolid, 22nd May 1527.

Addressed: "To Lope de Soria, our Ambassador in Genoa."

Indorsed: "The King. 1527. From Valladolid. To the Ambassador, 22nd May.

Spanish. Original draft, docketed by Gattinara, with the following note: "*Nacimiento del Serenissimo principe don Felipe.*" p. 1.

Similar letters were written to Prothonotary Caracciolo at Venice, Abbot of Najera, Secretary Perez, and Alfonso Sanchez.

25 May.

K. u. K. Haus-
 Hof-u. Staats Arch.
 Vienna *Rep.* P. C.
Fasc. 227, No. 19.

75. DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the EMPEROR.

Has written by Dr. Lee's servant (Bluemantle), who went post, also by Master Pains (Sir Francis Poyntz), one of the King of England's gentlemen, and lastly by one of the Imperial couriers besides. Having in all his letters made a full statement of all that is passing here, will only give now a brief summary of their contents.

(*Cipher*.) Since the departure of Master Poyntz and of the king-at-arms for Spain, it has been affirmed here more positively than before that their commission is to declare to the Emperor, should he not accept the terms brought by them, that the King of England will support the King of France. Wrote also to say that should these terms not be such as the Emperor could accept, it might be advisable, instead of refusing them altogether, and thus giving the King of England a pretence for declaring war, to have the negotiations referred here (to London), where they had already commenced. Mentioned also the fact of an order having been issued, forbidding all merchants to lade for the fair of Vergas (Bergues), and also that some arms (though in very small quantity) had been bought, and that some French galleys had plundered two Spanish ships that were quietly entering English ports. From which facts some confidently anticipate war, and others hold that they are merely threatening measures adopted in the belief that more favourable terms will thereby be gained for the French, of which the King and Cardinal might make their profit. Those who expect war, ground their conjectures on the aforesaid warlike demonstrations, however insignificant, and also on the great friendship now existing between the Legate and the King of France; those who take a contrary view maintain that war with

1527.

Spain would create great disturbances throughout England, and therefore that the Legate will not dare push matters to extremity, from fear of embroiling himself (*de miedo de poner la guerra en casa*), for it is quite certain that besides the commercial men, whose interests are so largely at stake, all in this kingdom are well disposed towards the Emperor, and hate the Cardinal so intensely that he (Mendoza) should not be surprised at anything that might happen.*

Has been informed that the Legate, by way of exciting the people to war [with Spain], has been complaining of the non-payment by the Emperor of the moneys owing to the King of England, upon which the merchants said that in order to prevent war they were quite willing to take the Emperor's debt in payment of the late loan made by the King. This was, of course, no welcome offer to the Legate, who immediately proceeded to mention all the privileges which should be granted them (the merchants) if they would trade with Calais or elsewhere, instead of with Flanders or Brabant, to which all at once replied, that if they were not to be allowed to send their goods to the accustomed markets, they would prefer keeping them at home. There is some hope, though a very distant one, that this prohibition of trade with Flanders and Brabant, having caused so much irritation throughout the country, will, for fear of further disaffection, be removed.

Wrote also to advise that the King, the Legate, and certain prelates were discussing the matter of the divorce between the King and Queen. Does not think this can be accomplished for the present; the Queen is so beloved throughout the country, that at any time so iniquitous a transaction† would have caused general excitement, and now, coupled with the disaffection caused by these reports of war, would give a double motive for rebellion. Suggests that the Imperial ambassador at Rome should be secretly informed of the doings of these people, and instructed to defeat and frustrate any action that might be brought there against the said marriage.

(*Common writing* :) The Legate, it is asserted, will soon go to France with all the ambassadors now residing here, from the Pope as well as from the League. The common people say that he goes because he would be afraid of being here [in London] when war is proclaimed; others aver that he is going about certain important articles which in the late treaty were referred for settlement to him and to the King of France, whilst others again maintain that he goes for the purpose of receiving Boulogne, which is to be given over to England. The Legate no doubt thinks that by this

* "Y el odio que tienen al Cardenal es tan grande que no me maravillaria de qualquiera cosa que succediesse."

† "Creese que no lo pondran en effecto, porque es tan bien quista la reyna que en qualquier tiempo echaria gran alboroto en el reyno tan gran maldad."

1527.

accession of territory, if obtained, he will regain his popularity, and that is perhaps the principal reason for his journey.

Thinks that this giving up of Boulogne to the English will be a more difficult matter than people imagine, for, situated as that port is, its importance to England or France is equally paramount. However this may be, unless the rumour of the Cardinal's intended journey to France has been spread purposely to intimidate the Emperor, it must be some mighty interest of his master that takes the Legate thither, for this King is very fond of extreme measures, and likely, just now, if it suits his views, to form the strictest confederacy with France.

(*Cipher* :) Since the above was written, the Bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) has returned post from Paris, bringing with him, as they say, the draft of a new treaty, by which the Pope binds himself to enter again the [Italian] League.* That ambassador is now trying all he can to induce the King to join it without waiting for the Emperor's answer. Does not know what will be settled between them, but as the Englishman† who accompanied the bishop to France is waiting in Paris for his return, he (Mendoça) concludes that these people still adhere to their original plan of sending an embassy to Spain. It is possible that they may still change some of the conditions, raising or lowering their demands according to this last Italian news, which, coming as it does through France, can only be trusted in as far as it is favourable to the Emperor, for were it otherwise they (the French) would not fail to exaggerate and boast of their success.

(*Common writing* :) The news is that on the 12th inst. the Imperial army was within Rome, and that the Duke of Bourbon was killed in the previous battle. As the Emperor will no doubt receive full information from sources much more reliable than those he (Mendoça) has at his command, he will no longer dwell on the subject, but say that some people think this news will precipitate the King of England's declaration for France and the League; others say that he will still wait to see what happens in Italy. Judging from present appearances, thinks it far more likely that the King of England will declare against the Emperor than that he will adopt a temporizing policy.

Has obtained possession of the articles of this new [Italian] League [with France];‡ does not enclose them because the Imperial ambassador [in France] writes to say that he has

* A copy of this capitulation, signed at Rome on the 25th of April, was sent to the French ambassadors the 10th of May 1527, to be shown to the King and Legate, and hear their opinion about it. On the preceding day Mons. de Quarty or De Warty, who also formed part of the French embassy, arrived in Paris, sent by his colleagues. See Brewer, Letters and State Papers, vol. iv. p. 1420.

† Sir Francis Poyntz.

‡ For a summary of it see Brewer, p. 1375.

1527.

already forwarded copies [to Spain] by two different routes, and, besides that, they must also have been sent from Rome.

(*Cipher*;) The suit against the Queen of England goes on secretly, but he (Mendoza) has been told that if the legal terms are to be kept, it will last some time, and that the Queen will neither be notified of it nor indicted for two or more months.* Thinks there will be many more voices in her favour than against her, both because she is much beloved here, as because the Legate, who is suspected to be at the bottom of all this, is universally hated.—London, the 25th of May 1527.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 4.

25 May.

76. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.

Salazar, A. 40,

f. 446.

B. M. Add. 28,576,

f. 210.

Wrote last by Bernaldino de Albornoz, who sailed on the 18th inst., and before that by Captain Ribadeneyra, who left on the 11th. Since then he (Soria) has positive news of the entrance of the Imperialists into Rome on the 6th, the death of Mons. de Bourbon from a hackbut shot, and the subsequent events, of all of which His Imperial Majesty must already be well informed. Girald Raset,† his secretary, who will be the bearer of this, will inform His Imperial Majesty of all that has occurred since, both at Rome and here (Genoa). Begs for his speedy return, as he is much wanted.

The sack of Rome must be looked upon as a visitation from God. He permitted that the Emperor—who is his most devoted servant and true Catholic Prince—should become the instrument of his vengeance, to teach his Vicar on Earth and the rest of the Christian Princes that their wicked purposes shall be defeated, the unjust wars they have raised against the Emperor cease, and peace be restored to Christendom, so that the exaltation of Faith and the extirpation of heresy may be accomplished. This being the greatest service that could be rendered to His Divine Majesty, the Emperor ought now to try and make his peace with the Pope and with the rest of the Christian Princes, who, perceiving their inability to carry out their wicked purposes (*dañadas intenciones*), and how favourable Fortune shows itself to the Imperial arms, will certainly not refuse his terms. Should the Emperor think that the Church of God

* "En lo que toca al negocio de la Reyna de Inglaterra el processo se haze secretamente, y anme dicho que a causa de guardar los terminos del durará que no se declare ni se denuncie á la dicha Reyna rien por dos meses y mas."

† Thus in the original, but I am rather inclined to believe that *Bassett* is meant.

1527.

is not what it ought to be, and that the Pope's temporal power emboldens him to promote rebellion (*solevar pueblos*) and incite the Christian Princes to make war on each other, then in that case he (Soria) cannot help reminding His Imperial Majesty that it will not be a sin, but on the contrary a meritorious action to reform the Church in such a manner that the Pope's authority may be confined exclusively to his own spiritual duties, and temporal affairs left to be decided upon by the Cæsar, since by right what is God's belongs to God, and what is Cæsar's belongs to him. Has now resided 28 years in Italy, and has observed that of all the wars and misfortunes he has witnessed during that time, the Popes have been the sole cause; the Popes, who, fearing lest the secular Princes, being at peace and in agreement with each other, should procure the reformation of the Church, are always trying to promote dissension; and since the fear the Popes have of such reformation, which would be very suitable just now, has been the principal cause of so many evils, it seems as if His Imperial Majesty, as supreme Lord on the Earth, was bound to remedy to that evil and its bad consequences.*

Begs to be forgiven if he has been too bold in the expression of his sentiments.—Genoa, 25th May 1527.

Addressed: "A la Scra. Cesa. y Cata. Mad."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

25 May. 77.
S. E. L. 2,016,
f. 29 v^o.
B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
f. 245.

Summarium pacis initæ inter Sanctissimum D. N. CLEMENTEM VII. et exercitum Cæsareum, anno 1527.

That His Holiness and the most Reverend Cardinals and others, who are now inside the castle of Sanct Angelo, put themselves in the hands of the Imperial generals with security to their persons and property. Safe-conducts to be given to them to go wherever they please, those cardinals excepted whom His Holiness is to leave behind as hostages.

The castle of Sanct Angelo with all its ammunition of war to be surrendered to the said generals. His Holiness to pay for the ransom (*riscatto*) of the persons inside the castle 150,000 "scudi del sole."

His Holiness further engages to lay on the estates of the Church a tax equal to 200,000 cr. (*scudi*) for the pay of the Imperial army, and to give as hostages two archbishops, Sipontino† and Pisano;‡ two bishops, Pistoya and Verona; Micer Giacomo Salviati, Micer Lorenzo Ridolfi, and Simon de' Ricasoli.

* "Y pues temiendose de esto, que seria bien, son [los Pontifes] causa de tantos males parece que V. Md. sea obligado, como soberano señor en la tierra, de quitar la causa para que cesen tan malos effectos."

† Antonio Ciochi di Monte, Archbishop of Manfredonia (Sipontinus), Cardinal of San Vitale and Sancta Praxedes.

‡ Francesco Pisani, Archbishop of Padua, Cardinal *in Porticu*.

1527.

The fortresses of Ostia and Civitta Vecchia, with its port (*col porto*), Modena, Parma, and Piacenza to be consigned to His Imperial Majesty.

All the lands and property taken from the Colonnese to be restored to them, and Cardinal Colonna to be reinstated in all his honours and dignities.

His Holiness begs the Imperial generals to exert themselves (*che vogliano oprassi*) for the release of the cardinals, now prisoners in Rome. On his part the Pope promises to absolve them and the soldiers from any ecclesiastical censures which they may have incurred. The Prince [of Orange] to be present when the garrison, citizens, women, &c., make their egress from the castle, that they may go in safety. Three "bande" of Germans and five of Spaniards to accompany and escort them for a space of four or five miles, besides 100 light horse for 2 f. out of Rome.

Safe-conducts (*patenti*) to be issued to those who may choose to remain at Rome, or go elsewhere. The Imperial soldiers not to enter the castle until the garrison has entirely evacuated it.

His Holiness engages to communicate this capitulation to the warders of Ostia and Civitta Vecchia within a period of 24 hours, that they may evacuate the same (*disgombrare*), sending them the required watchword (*contrasegni*) and briefs to deliver the said fortresses into the hands of the Imperial captains.

As soon as the stipulated money be paid, the surrender of Ostia and Civitta Vecchia accomplished, as well as the delivery of the hostages, and appointment of the commissioners who are to levy the war tax, and give up Parma, Piacenza, and Modena, His Holiness, the cardinals, and all other persons now within the castle of Sanct Angelo, shall be permitted to go freely to the kingdom of Naples.*

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 1½.

27 May. 78. The ABBOT OF NAJERA to the EMPEROR.

M. D. Pasc. de G.
Pa. r. a. l. Hist.
d'Esp.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 212.

After the Duke of Bourbon with this very prosperous army (*con este felicissimo exercito*) had decided not to undertake Florence—the enterprise having been considered both long and difficult—but rather to strike a blow here at head-quarters (*venir á dar en la cabeza*), he marched two days through the valley of Corno (*por el val de Corno*) till he came to about 30 miles from Florence, whence perceiving that the whole army of the confederates was more than ten miles ahead of him,

* To this summary of Clement's capitulation, which appears to be the same as that alluded to in the following despatch of the 27th May from the Abbot, no date is affixed. As the Pope refused to sign it unless a term of six days was allowed him to wait for the army of the League, which was said to be close to Rome, and ready to accomplish his deliverance, I have not hesitated to place it here. It was afterwards modified in some of its articles, and ultimately signed on the 6th of June.

1527.

intending to defend the place, he suddenly turned round, and, passing through the land of the Siennese, reached in two days' march the Roman causeway (*strada Romea*). Having left behind the eight pieces of ordnance which he had with him, that he might march with greater speed, and making every day 18 or 20 Italian miles, he reached Rome, and on the 5th inst. encamped with the whole of his force opposite the Borgho of Sanct Pietro, between the gates of Sancti Spiritus and Sant Pancrazio. On the ensuing Monday, the 6th, at break of day, the escalade was attempted, and a most severe battle fought, which lasted two hours and a half. There was much hard fighting, so much so that the Duke, having determined to conquer or die in the attempt, came close to the city walls, and tried to mount one of the ladders, when, as his and our misfortune would have it, he was wounded by a hackbut shot in the thigh, and died one quarter of an hour after. God nevertheless was pleased to grant a most signal victory to the Imperial arms, for the Papal Palace and the Borgho of Sanct Pietro were soon occupied by our soldiers, with a loss to the enemy of upwards of 2,000 men. The Pope, confident in Renzo da Ceri's promises, had remained at the Palace, that captain having made him believe that he could, with only the 3,000 men that he had under his orders, successfully defend Rome against an army, very superior in numbers, it is true, but without artillery, and so weakened by hunger and long marching that it was stated that the men fell exhausted on the fields, and could not, had they tried, get over the walls. His Holiness, however, saw the danger of his remaining longer at his Palace, and hastily retired to Sanct Angelo, where he is at present with 13 of his cardinals, old and new, and with Renzo da Ceri, himself, and Alberto del Carpio (Carpi), Jacopo Salviatis, the Datary (Gianmatheo Giberti), and several others, though the supply of provisions is said to be very scanty.

After the taking of the Borgho, the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon) and Juan de Urbina remained there some time collecting (*recogiendo*) the men, and preventing their spreading about and sacking the city before it was fairly conquered. I myself was directed to reconnoitre that part of Transteveri, where there are three bridges leading to Rome, and accordingly sent a trumpeter to the inhabitants of those quarters bidding them send parliamentaries, with whom Knight Commander Urrias* and myself might treat of the surrender, and stipulate for the payment of as large a sum as possible to save Rome from sack. The trumpeter went, but returned with so unsatisfactory an answer from the guards at the gates, that it was necessary to take the remainder of the city by force. Accordingly one gun and three small pieces of ordnance were procured, and

* Don Pedro de Urries, about whom see part I., p. 148.

1527.

pointed towards the gate of Transteveri and the rest of Rome, when the whole of the city was sacked, irrespective of cardinals, ambassadors, Spanish or German, churches, hospitals, &c. The sack has lasted until to-day, the total loss amounting to an incredible sum. Such are the mysterious decrees of Providence, for it may be said that the destruction and misery sustained by Rome on this occasion are unparalleled in history. Within the precincts of St. Peter and on the very altar, upwards of 30 men who had taken refuge there, met with their death, and the rich and gorgeous apartments (*estancias*) of the sacred palace were turned into stables for horses. It was the sentence of God; may those who executed it be counted not unworthy before Him.

The day after (the 17th inst.), the Archbishop of Capua (Fr. Nicolao Schomberg) wrote in His Holiness' name requesting that Bartholomeo di Gattinara and myself (the Abbot), or either of us two, accompanied by one officer of the Imperial army, should go to Sanct Angelo to treat of the best means for the Pope and his cardinals going out of the castle unmolested, and throwing themselves on the Emperor's mercy [in Spain]. Gattinara went up several times and concluded the capitulation, of which a copy is enclosed,* but when the Germans saw the articles they refused to let the Pope and his cardinals leave Rome before they were paid in full the 290,000 ducats, which they calculate are owing to them, stating at the same time that the Pope and the persons and property of those who were with him in Sanct Angelo were the only security for the payment. Owing to this reason the capitulation made with the Pope took no effect at the time, until the Germans, perceiving that there was no other way of getting their money, consented to accept only 100,000 down, which was the sum stipulated with the Pope, on condition that the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon) should promise to pay them the remainder within a month. With this resolution, on the 20th inst.† Vespasiano Colonna, Bartholomeo Gattinara, and myself (the Abbot) went up to the castle to have the capitulation signed by His Holiness, and agree on the manner and form of its execution. In this, and in obtaining certain securities from the bankers who were to pay down the money, four more days passed, during which the said Capua,‡ Gattinara, and myself again went to see the Pope. The capitulation drawn, and everything arranged, so that there was nothing to do but to sign and execute

* See above, No. 77.

† The original has on the 30th, which must be a slip of the pen, since the Abbot's letter is dated the 27th. This last interview with the Pope took place on the 20th, as appears from Gattinara's letter to the Emperor, already mentioned, p. 54.

‡ Evidently a mistake for Colonna.

1527.

it, the Pope, who from the very first had been trying to gain time for the arrival of the expected succour, having that day received intelligence that the army of the League was at Viterbo, retired to consult with the cardinals and others of his Council, who were in the castle with him, as to the expediency of signing it. Most were of opinion that the capitulation ought only to be signed on the condition that if within six days' time succour came to His Holiness he should not be bound to fulfil it. Cardinals Campeggio, Ancona (Pietro degli Accolti), Cesis, and Rangone (Hercole) were of the contrary opinion, begging and exhorting His Holiness not to place his hope in the arms of the confederates, as that might be the cause of much effusion of blood, besides setting a bad example to the Christian world, and perhaps too involving the total ruin of the Apostolic See, with many evils and scandals, &c. After which consultation His Holiness sent for Vespasiano Colonna, for Gattinara, and for myself (the Abbot), who were in an adjoining chamber, and asked us whether a six days' term would be granted.* We told him that had the request been made at first, there would have been no difficulty, but that now we considered it impossible, as 12 days had been spent in negotiation. The soldiers suspected that His Holiness did not intend fulfilling his promises, and therefore without consulting them first, specially the Germans, we (the commissioners) could not take so great a responsibility on ourselves. Were we to make such a proposal to the Germans they would no doubt turn round upon the Prince of Orange, and exact the fulfilment of what had been promised in the first instance. The whole of the Imperial army, Spaniards as well as Germans, would thus be confirmed in their opinion of His Holiness, which might be the cause of still greater evils, and of the ruin of Rome and of the Apostolic See,† the Germans having often threatened to set fire to the city if their demands were not complied with.

Hearing our answer the Pope went in again to consult the cardinals, and came out determined, as he said, to

* "Alla fine sollicitato da noi che si resolvesse perche noi non volevamo più aspettare, disse : Io voglio parlare libero. Io tengo avviso come l' essercito della Liga e quà vicino per soccorrermi ; per tanto desidero che datte alcun termino nel quale possa aspettare detto soccorso ; è venendo il termine farò tutto quello che è stato trattato nelle capitalazione, e non è cosa grande quella che vi demando, perche mi contentaria del termino di sei giorni, e sempre che alcuna fortezza si abbia da rendere non se sogliano negare simili condizione." Gattinara's *Relazione*, &c., p. 50.

† "Io replicai a Sua Santità, e a detti Cardinali che l' essercito di Vostra Maestà poco timeva di simili soccorsi, perche era sempre vittorioso, e che Sua Santità pensasse che portando tal risposta alli capitani, teneriano per certo che in Sua Santità e Cardinali fosse stato sempre inganno nel trattare per guadagnar tempo ; che io teneva per certo, che havendo tal risposta la pigliariano per una vera rottura, e si metteriano subito all' espugnacione del castello e l' espugnariano, e trattariano tanto male, che volendo poi accettare le trattate conditioni e offerendo forsi migliori non sariano udite, e non saria luogo al pentire, e saria la perpetua perditione della Sede Apostolica." Gattinara's *Relazione*, p. 50.

1527.

sign the capitulation and to give up next day the keys of Sanct Angelo. But whilst he (the Pope) was of this mind Alberto di Carpi came into the room, and disconcerted all his plans, so much so that after a whole day spent in these negotiations (*tratos*) Colonna, Gattinara, and myself (the Abbot) returned to Rome at the 23rd hour, without having accomplished anything, and taking away in our company the Cardinal of Capua (Schomberg), who said he did not consider himself safe within Sanct Angelo, as he had so many enemies there. His Holiness, however, desired us to propose to the Prince of Orange, to Juan de Urbina, and to the rest of the captains, the six days' term which he had demanded. Should it be granted (he said) we could easily let him know that very night, either through the Archbishop of Capua, who would return to the castle for that purpose, or by means of a letter, because at the last extremity, if the term was refused, he (the Pope) would sign the capitulation if left with him at Sanct Angelo.

I (the Abbot) answered in the name of my colleagues that he was not to expect either; the capitulation we could not leave behind in his hands, neither could he (the Pope) receive an answer respecting the prorogation of the term proposed, since it was not in the power of the Prince [of Orange] nor of the other captains to grant a longer one. It was the soldiers, who in disobedience to His Imperial Majesty's express commands, in breach of the armistice concluded with the Viceroy, and against the will of the Duke of Bourbon and of the rest of the Imperial generals and ministers, had marched as far as Rome, and done what we all knew and could not help.

And so it was, for the Prince of Orange and Juan de Urbina, after consulting the other captains and members of Your Majesty's Council, decided that no answer to the Pope's message should be returned, nor further steps taken in the negotiation, but every preparation made to invest the castle and meet the enemy, news having arrived that very day that the Duke of Urbino, the Marquis of Saluzzo, and Guicciardini, the Counts Guido Rangone, and Gayago, Frederico di Bozzolo, &c. were concentrating all their forces on this side of Viterbo, with the intention, as they proclaimed, of relieving the Pope if they could. On the receipt of which intelligence a messenger was sent to the Council of Naples, for Don Ugo [de Moncada], the Marquis del Guasto, and Alarcon to come here with the forces under their command, bringing with them provisions, and six guns with which to batter the castle. Juan de Urbina* in the meantime took charge of the siege with his

* In the absence of the Marquis del Guasto, Juan de Urbina commanded the Spaniards. In Gattinara's *Relazione* to the Emperor, which, as I have stated elsewhere, was written in Italian, he is called *Giovanni d'Urbino* instead of *Urbina*, thus leading its editor, Baron Trasmondo Frangipani, into a most singular error, such as that of mistaking the Spanish captain *Urbina* for the Duke of *Urbino* (Francesco Maria della Rovere, general of the League). Note 11, p. 77.

1527.

Spaniards, there being no engineers in the Imperial camp, nor money to hire them. The Spaniards, however, assisted by a few pioneers (*gastadores*) whom the Colonnese provided, have since worked so hard, opening trenches and raising parapets, that after three days and nights' labour the castle is now completely invested on all sides, and the Pope and those who are with him may give up all hope of being relieved; for should the army of the League come as far as Sanct Angelo, it will meet with our trenches, and a general battle will most probably ensue, since our men are more desirous than ever of measuring their forces with those of the enemy, and already count upon a victory as signal as that of Pavia.

The Council of Naples, on the representations of Don Ugo and Alarcon, as well as of Secretary Seron, who went thither for the purpose, have decided that all the troops on the frontier shall come here under the command of Guasto, Moncada, and Alarcon. We expect them here in two or three days. It may be that on their arrival we shall make up our minds to undertake something more than merely waiting for the enemy behind the trenches. The said Council has ordered besides 3,000 tons of wheat to come from Gaeta to Terracina, as well as some artillery which the Colonnese will undertake to bring from the latter place.

Cardinal [Pompeo] Colonna, Ascanio, and Vespasiano arrived here on the 10th inst. They have ever since been doing their utmost in Your Majesty's service, and have undertaken with entire good-will and much zeal to guard with the excellent troops under their command that part of the castle of Sanct Angelo which faces the bridge, besides the adjacent quarter of the city and Ponte Molle. Transteveri is guarded by Fabricio, Marramaldo, and Luigi Gonzaga, with their Italian bands. All the rest of the Imperial forces is either encamped on the Borgo di Sant Pietro, or at the trenches round the castle.

The army of the League, on the 23rd inst., was at La Ytla (Itola), eight miles from this city. As the day after their arrival they passed muster, we all thought that on the 25th they would be here close to Rome. Since that day, however, they have made no advance. I believe they will remain for the present where they are, for the fortifications we have erected and the reinforcements coming from Naples, of which they must be aware, will stop their progress. They are dreadfully in want of provisions, as I am assured, in consequence of which many of the Neapolitan emigrants (*foraxidos*) are deserting their camp, and coming over to us. Artillery they have none, except a few small pieces of ordnance (*esmeriles*), both the guns and carriage of which are carried by beasts of burden (*acemilas*).

Had the capitulation with the Pope taken effect, our plan was to send him with his cardinals to Naples, whilst this Imperial army under the Viceroy or Don Ugo, or whomsoever

1527.

Your Majesty was pleased to appoint, went to Florence and got money wherewith to pay the men the remainder of their arrears; Don Ugo, or some other Imperial captain, to remain at Rome as Your Majesty's lieutenant, commanding in his name here, as well as in the rest of the cities to be delivered up by the Pope. Meanwhile Your Majesty must decide what was to be done respecting the Pope's contemplated journey, for he says that he intends going to Spain and throwing himself on Your Majesty's mercy (*echarse en sus brazos*), besides offering large sums, as some say, for the restitution of the Apostolic See to Rome, and his confirmation in the chair of St. Peter. Your Majesty will order in this matter what is best for his service, and inform us of his resolution, as we all hope through battle or otherwise to come out victorious, and trust that His Holiness and the cardinals shall remain under the power and will of Your Majesty. We should also be glad to hear what is to be done with this army when no longer wanted at Rome.

The Viceroy has remained at Sienna until now, being unable to come here or go to Naples either by sea or land, owing to the forces of the League having interposed and being now in occupation of the roads. The Pope, wishing to treat with him as the person of most authority among the Imperialists, and having full powers from the Emperor, I suggested that if a safe-conduct was obtained from the generals of the League, I had no doubt he would come. Accordingly, on the 18th the Pope sent one of his chamberlains, named Saposito, with three briefs, one for each of the generals of the League, the Duke of Urbino, the Marquis of Saluzzo, and Guicciardini, requesting them to furnish the Viceroy with a safe-conduct to come hither, he being the only one of the Imperial ministers with whom he could hope to arrange matters, &c. Saposito, who was accompanied by a servant of mine, was the bearer of another letter to the Viceroy, in which the Pope requested and exhorted him to come without delay. We are expecting him from hour to hour, as we believe that the generals of the League must have granted him the safe-conduct required.

(*Cipher* :) The Prince of Orange will not consent to the Viceroy coming to Rome and taking charge of the Imperial army.* He has taken his oath before us that the moment the Viceroy makes his appearance he (the Prince) shall quit Rome, as he cannot consent that the army now under his orders should be disgraced through any negotiations of his. Whether the Prince says this out of a wish to retain the command, and be

* Gattinara in his letter to the Emperor says: "Rispose il principe d'Oranges che lui haveva riconosciuto Monsignor di Borbone per quella persona che era, ma che non staria sotto il vice-re, & dicendo alcuni che il Duca di Ferrara veniva al carico di capitano generale di Vostra Maestà rispose il detto, che quando venisse detto duca, che lo riconosceria, e per allora non essendo altro deputato da Vostra Maestà non voleva esso tenersi per capitano; nè tam poco voleva che altri lo fosse, convertendo tali parole verso Giovanni d'Urbina," p. 51.



1527.

appointed general-in-chief, as Bourbon was, or from other motives, Your Majesty will best be able to judge on the arrival of a gentleman of his suite, named Tentevilla, whom the Prince despatched [to Spain] on the 18th inst. with a safe-conduct from the Pope. It is doubtful whether Andrea Doria, now in command of the Papal galleys, seeing that the Pope is shut up and besieged in Sanct Angelo, will attend to his orders, and let the messenger pass; if he does, it will only be out of fear that the Prince in revenge may arrest those who went to the Viceroy. However this may be, neither Juan de Urbina nor myself gave (the Prince) notice of our sending a messenger to the Viceroy, and therefore ever since he heard of it he has been complaining bitterly of me especially, saying that I ought not to have done such a thing without letting him know first. I offered the Prince my excuses, and told him the truth of the whole matter, protesting that I was not moved by interest or affection in this affair, but merely by duty and zeal for Your Majesty's best service, and for the preservation of the Imperial army, whose general-in-chief the Duke of Ferrara was. Should the Duke choose to take the command, nobody could take it away from him, and if it were to be given to another, there was in Italy, besides the Viceroy of Naples, a general of great experience in military matters, credit and authority,* very capable of taking charge of the Imperial army. The fact is that the Prince is a very chivalrous and brave officer, but very young, and has neither the experience, nor the patience required at times to treat the affairs of this army. The Duke of Bourbon, whom may God forgive, gave him the command of all the light cavalry, and also of the men-at-arms of the vanguard, charges to a certain extent incompatible, since each of them requires the presence of a superior officer on the day of battle (*en un dia de jornada*), when the fortune of an army is at stake. I have frankly stated my opinion, which is also that of Juan de Urbina, and, generally speaking, of all the Imperial army.† It is now for Your Majesty to decide what is best for his service.

Meanwhile, and until the Viceroy, Don Ugo, the Marquis del Guasto, and Alarcon come, and until the capitulation with the Pope is fairly concluded and signed, and the person appointed who is to govern Rome [during the Pope's absence], the Prince has named Mons. de la Tour to administer justice and look to the safety, &c.

Recommends to the Emperor's charity the servants of the late Duke of Bourbon, who are so poor that to see them moves one to pity. The body of the Duke is to be taken to Milan when the army goes there, unless His Majesty decides otherwise.

Ferrando Gonzaga was present at the assault with his men-

* Probably Antonio de Leyva, or Don Ugo de Moncada.

† See also Gattinara in his letter to the Emperor, p. 52.

1527.

at-arms. He has done his duty admirably, and is well worthy of the Emperor's favours.

The enemy's loss amounts to 3,000, among them a poor bishop of Potença, a good Imperialist, and Paolo da Rezzo (d'Arezzo), the Pope's chamberlain, who happened to be close to the spot where the battle between the Imperialists and the Pope's troops took place. As Cardinal Sancti Quatuor was flying from the Palace to the castle of Sanct Angelo, the mule he was riding stumbled and fell, when all the soldiers, courtiers, and citizens who were hastening to Rome passed over his body. He was taken, senseless and very much wounded, within the castle, and might have met with his death, for in less than three minutes (*en dos pater noster*) five companies of Spaniards crossed the bridge and made their appearance on the spot. As they did not number 50 men in all, they returned to the Borgho by the same bridge, and it is really wonderful that the artillery of the castle left one of them alive.

On our side we lost, besides the Duke of Bourbon, two captains of Spanish infantry and about 50 men. The wounded were in considerable number, and several died daily.

Juan de Urbina fought bravely, as usual, and was wounded by a pike's thrust in the face.

On the 24th inst. the news came from Sienna that the Florentines had expelled the partisans of the Medici family, and proclaimed independence under Your Imperial Majesty's patronage and protection. This, however, was not accomplished without loss on both sides, from the people as well as from the Medici. The news is held as certain, though no letters have come from Florence in confirmation.

I beg Your Majesty to supply Leyva with money, and give him the command of the army of Lombardy, just as Bourbon had it, that he may look to the duchy of Milan and preserve the same for Your Majesty; nobody can do this better. The investiture of the Duchy ought not to be granted until Your Majesty comes to Italy. It will be seen then what a fine estate it is, and how important its possession if the Emperor is to be Lord of Italy, as seems ordained by God. To accomplish this, many of Your Majesty's servants in these parts think that it would be advisable to enter into an agreement with France, because after that the Venetians will be compelled to submit to and accept any conditions Your Majesty may be pleased to impose.—Rome, 27th May 1527.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Spanish. Holograph. pp, 23.

28 May.

79. DON MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING OF BOHEMIA AND HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
c. 71, f. 173.

Wrote last on the 22nd, announcing the Empress's confinement. Could not then tell the Prince's name, but hears that he is to be called *Philip*, as his grandfather was. The

1527.

baptism is to take place on Sunday next, the 2nd of June, the sponsors to be the Constable of Castile (Don Iñigo Fernandez de Velasco) and the Duke of Bejar (D. Alvaro Zuñiga); godmother the Queen of France (Eleonor). Count Benavente (D. Alonso Pimentel) will carry the child in his arms, the Duke of Alba* the salt, and the Archbishop of Toledo (Fonseca) will officiate. The ceremony will take place at San Pablo [de Valladolid], in one of the chapels, and the font will be a very large basin of solid silver. There are to be jousts and tournaments of no less than 200 knights.†

There is consequently a great lull in politics, and the courtiers think of nothing save the rejoicings that are in preparation. It is true that the Emperor wonders why he has not heard from His Highness ever since the 15th of February last from Prague.

Good news from Italy; the army in fine condition, and anxious to come to close quarters with the enemy.

An ambassador from England is expected and another from France.‡ They come, it is said, to make certain proposals for the cessation of hostilities, but there is no believing their words, and though His Imperial Majesty is as desirous as ever of peace, he is not likely to trust them.—Valladolid, 28th May 1527.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1½.

29 May. 80. ALONSO SANCHEZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 450.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 233.

Since he wrote on the 15th§ news has come that the Florentines, without taking the command entirely out of the hands of the Medici, have nevertheless so increased the number of the delegates or governors of their city that the former, considering themselves in a minority, are fast abandoning Florence and repairing to a place called Massa, which belongs to a brother of Cardinal Cibo. Some ladies, among them the sister of the late Pope Leo X., and the widow of Giovannino de' Medici, have taken shelter here [in Venice] in consequence. Has been told that since the last revolution the Florentines have drawn together more closely their relations with the confederates, and empowered their ambassador here to have the league renewed.

The Signory has appointed one Piero Lando proveditor-general for the sea.

* Don Fadrique Alvarez de Toledo, second duke, father of Don Fernando, the celebrated governor of the Low Countries.

† A detailed account of the festivals and entertainments given on this occasion may be seen in Sandoval, *Hist. del Emperador Carlos V.*, lib. xvi., 15. See also Florez, *Reynas Catholicas de España*, tom. i., p. 855.

‡ The Bishop of Tarbes and Sir Francis Poyntz.

§ No letter of Sanchez has been found under this date.

1527.

(*Cipher* :) Since his last, nine [Venetian] captains have left for their respective destinations to raise troops, &c. Cannot ascertain the object of these levies. Some say they are intended for Naples; others that they are to go to Milan. Has informed Leyva of these rumours.

(*Common writing* :) The enclosed copies of letters from the Bishop of Trent will inform His Majesty of the state of negotiations between the King of Bohemia and the Swiss.

(*Cipher* :) Has reasons to suspect that in the event of the Pope becoming the Emperor's prisoner,* this Signory will take possession of Ravenna, for they have quite lately sent to Pesaro much wheat and flour, besides 150 casks (*barriles*) of gunpowder. These stores cannot be intended for Rome, which is too far off on that side; they must be for Ravenna, where they say a gentleman of this Signory is at present with a small force on pretence of guarding it against the enemy.

(*Common writing* :) When the King of Bohemia and Hungary wrote last to him (Sanchez), the news of the sack of Rome had not reached [Vienna]. The enclosed letter from his Secretary [Castillejo] and that from the Bishop of Trent will inform His Majesty better than he (Sanchez) can of the news in those parts. The latter is a wise and experienced man, extremely zealous for the Imperial service, &c.

(*Cipher* :) Said in his last that this Signory, hearing of the entrance of the Imperial army into Rome, and that the Pope was about to come to terms, had secretly sent to the Turk, inviting him to Italy. It appears that they have again sent an embassy [to Constantinople], advising the Turk to invade Puglia with a considerable force, whilst they themselves with their galleys will attack some other point. Whatever they decide to do ultimately, the season is too far advanced for any undertaking of the kind this year. Has, however, written both to Sicily and to the Marquis de la Tripalda, the governor of Puglia, warning them to be on their guard.

(*Common writing* :) Hears that the Pasha of Anatolia has revolted against the Turk. The news has come from a Venetian gentleman living in those parts.

(*Cipher* :) The statement above made respecting 150 casks of gunpowder turns out to be exaggerated; only 30 were sent of the ammunition generally used for arquebuses and hand-guns (*scopetas*); but that words have passed about Ravenna between the Pope and this Signory seems quite certain.

(*Common writing* :) Has been told that on the 24th the generals of the League granted a safe-conduct to the Viceroy to go to Rome. What has been done there His Majesty will know best.—Venice, 29th May 1527.

Addressed : " Sacre Cæse. Cathce. Miti."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. p. 5.

* "Que si el Papa venia en manos del exercito de Vfa Magestad."

1527.

30 May.

81.

The EMPEROR to DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA, his Ambassador in England.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 227, No. 20.

The King, &c.—We have duly received your letter of the 9th of May,* brought by the courier of the English ambassadors (Lee and Ghinucci), who have since requested us to send safe-conducts for the Bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) and for Master Poyntz to come hither. We have accordingly sent them a pass (*carta de passo*) in due form, stating in it that Master Poyntz, being an Englishman, required no safe-conduct for entering or leaving our dominions, it being well known that all subjects and vassals of the King of England are by our desire regarded and treated [in Spain] as if they were our own, and as becomes the ancient friendship and alliance existing between the houses of Castile, England, and Burgundy. We hope that the said Bishop and Master Poyntz will soon be here, when we shall gladly listen to the terms they bring, and accept the same should they be of just and reasonable nature, acting thus in accordance with our constant desire for the peace of Christendom, and in such a manner that the King of England and the Legate and the whole world may recognize the sincerity of our professions.

After such like representations made in our name, you (Don Iñigo) shall take the earliest opportunity to inform both the King and Legate (with all possible courtesy) that various reports have been made to us, such as that of their having lately concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with France for the purpose of making war upon us and invading our dominions [in Flanders] with a considerable force, of which 10,000 men are to be furnished by England, should we decline joining the said alliance, in which it is said an honourable place has been reserved for us; and moreover that the said Bishop of Tarbes and Master Poyntz are coming here with a king-at arms for the purpose of declaring war against us, should we refuse their conditions of peace; also that the Legate is soon to cross the water to meet the King of France, and that the King of England himself will soon do the same, with many other similar reports concerning the various articles said to have been agreed upon with the French ambassadors in England.

You shall state in our name that we attach no faith whatever to such reports, confident as we are that the King and Legate [of England] will never consent to the adoption of such measures if they only bear in mind the ancient friendship and alliance between our houses and subjects, our personal mutual affection, the many kind acts of the King of England towards us, and the total absence at the present moment of any cause of disagreement or quarrel. It is true that we are in debt to the King of England, but as we have never refused to

* See above, No. 66, p. 178.

1527.

acknowledge our engagements, and have always shown great desire of peace with all the Princes of Christendom, to ensure which we are ready to give up a portion of our rights and even of our patrimonial dominions,—as, moreover, out of pure love and affection for the said King and Legate we have entirely placed in their hands, as they seemed to desire, the settlement and conclusion of this peace,—we are at a loss to understand what could have prompted them, if the reports be true, to forsake their old alliances and take part with our natural enemy.

On this point you shall say whatever you think most fit and conducive to the preservation of our mutual friendship, trying above all things to calm and propitiate the King and Legate by telling them that when we make these professions and statements it is not from fear, but only from the wish we have of proving to the World our constant desire of peace, as well as our regard for all Christian Princes, the King of France even not excluded. You must represent to the King and Legate how strange* it would appear in the eyes of all impassionate men if, after the King of France has so flagrantly broken faith with us, and so badly requited us for all our kindness to him, His most Serene Highness the King of England should now, as the most Christian Prince that he is, favour and support him of France in his unjust cause, showing him the singular honour of crossing the sea to visit him. Indeed, should the King of England act thus, knowing, as he does, from experience the artful designs of the French, nothing else could ensue but renewed wars and dissensions, and the kindling of a fiercer flame than ever there was throughout Christendom, to the great offence of God. That we therefore beg them [the King and Legate] to continue to work for the common weal of Christendom, as they have always had the reputation of doing, and as we doubt not that they will do hereafter. For our part you may assure them that they shall always meet with confidence and affection, and that should they be willing to undertake the labour of settling this peace, we will willingly place it in their hands, trusting, as the English ambassadors have assured us, that they will take as much care of our interests as of their own.

In order to frustrate their bad designs (*malas obras*), if any should be contemplated, you are to speak and act in virtue of the letters of credence now sent to you, carrying out our instructions as may appear best for our service, so that should peace not be attainable you may use all diligence

* “Que pareceria muy mal á todos hombres sin passion que, aviendo el dicho Rey de Francia faltado á su fee de tan mala manera como él ha fecho, y aviendo recibido de nos tanta gratitud, y por recompensa nos ha fecho, y haze tan malas obras, que su Serenidad, como Christianissimo principe lo quieresse favorecer y adherir en tan ynjusta querella ny hazerle tanto favor ny darle tanta honra y reputacion.”

1527.

and discretion in gaining time, that being the principal object which you must have in view, never departing from the most gentle words and means, and above all continually assuring both the King and Legate that we attach no faith whatever to the report of new treaties being made to our prejudice, and have not been moved to suspicion on that account.

Of the answer which the King and Legate will no doubt make to our representations; respecting the warlike preparations made in that country, as well as concerning our negotiations with the French, you shall advise us both by return of this courier coming by land, as well as by another whom you shall despatch by sea. But let those couriers come with all possible speed that we may have time to treat with the Bishop of Tarbes and Master Poyntz to our advantage, or at least give such answer to their offers as shall oblige them to refer to their respective courts, and afford us an opportunity for obtaining further information on the subject and purpose of this new alliance, defensive and offensive, between the Kings of England and France.

We shall not fail to inform you in the meantime of whatever is being done here with regard to the French and English ambassadors and their commission. We shall likewise apprise Madame, our aunt; but as the cipher which you possess is safer than hers, we will use yours, for the purpose of transmitting our orders and wishes thereupon. It would not do that such important matters as these should fall into the hands of our enemies, so that by deciphering the contents of the despatches they might gain any advantage. Meanwhile you will write to Madame in our name, that without appearing to distrust the English in any way, she may, as of her own accord, immediately provide for the defence of the frontiers both by sea and land, in Flanders as well as in Holland and Zealand, and remember what His Reverence the Legate of England said on a previous occasion, that once the Flemish frontier being broken in upon, the conquest of the land would be an easy matter.* Should Madame require our assistance for the protection of our dominions in those parts, you will tell her in our name that we shall do our utmost to provide her with money and troops for the emergency, and that she is to inform us, as soon as possible, of the military preparations she intends making; in doing which Madame is to use your own cipher, of which a copy shall be sent to her immediately, that she herself may write to us, if she so prefers.

* Owing to several holes in the original letter, which seems to have been damaged by damp, the sense of this paragraph is not so clear as might be desired. It stands thus: "Y que se acuerde que ya otra vez el Reverendissimo Legado dezia que sabia que rompiendo las [fronteras] se ganarian dichas tierras."

1527.

You will neglect no opportunity of speaking on this subject to the Queen [of England], to the Duke of Norfolk, or to any other persons whom you know to be well disposed towards us, and in short use your wonted diligence and discretion in these affairs.—Valladolid, 30th May 1527.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 4.

30 May.

82. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 445.

B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 236.

When his letter of the 18th inst.* was closed a capitulation had been concluded with His Holiness to the effect that he would give up the castle and place himself in the Emperor's hands, Regent Gattinara and the Abbot of Najera having gone to Sanct Angelo for that purpose. That very evening, however, the two commissioners returned much annoyed, for when His Holiness was asked to sign he refused to do it unless it was stipulated that, if the army of the League came to his relief, he (the Pope) should not be bound to fulfil his engagements. The generals in command of this Imperial army, considering that all the Pope's proposals, past and present, were only made with a view to gaining time, gave immediate orders for the investment of the castle, causing trenches to be opened all round, &c. The reason assigned for the Pope's refusal is said to be that when he was about to sign the capitulation he received tidings of the arrival of the confederates; and so it was, for they are now seven miles from this city, and daily skirmishes are already taking place between their outposts and ours. The report is that the enemy will soon be here, at which our men are highly rejoiced, because they say that will be the means of putting an end to the Italian wars at once.

A messenger was taken prisoner the other day as he was trying to escape from the castle. He was the bearer of certain letters to the generals of the League, urging them to hasten to the Pope's assistance. As the letters were written in cipher they could not be read, but in a note which Cardinal [Francisco] Pisani wrote to his father, the Venetian proveditor (*comisario general*), and which was also found on the messenger, it was stated that the Pope placed all his confidence on him (Pisani) as his saviour and as one destined to protect Faith [against the infidels]. It is therefore to be presumed that the ciphered letters to the Duke of Urbino and Guicciardini contained similar requests. Other spies have since been discovered at the [Imperial] camp and hung.

The Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg), who came out of the castle with the Pope's refusal, has not returned thither; he is staying at the Palace, in the apartments of the Abbot [of Najera]. He is very sorry that the capitulation, for which he has worked so much, did not take effect, but it is generally believed that no resolution the Pope takes will be

* See above, No. 71, p. 201.

1527.

permanent, whilst he has by his side such men as Alberto di Carpi and others, who are the sworn enemies of His Imperial Majesty.

They say that the castle is provisioned for the whole month of June, and that Swiss troops are coming in numbers. On the other hand we expect soon Don Ugo, the Marquis del Guasto, and Alarcon with the army of Naples; on their arrival the castle will be more closely invested, and we shall thus be enabled to attend to the enemy outside.

The Pope's chamberlain, who went to Sienna in quest of the Viceroy, has not yet returned; neither is it known what answer he will bring. As the message was sent by the advice of the Abbot, and without the knowledge of the Prince [of Orange], it is said that some angry words passed between them two on that score.

(*Cipher* :) There is great need for the Emperor to appoint a fit commander for this army. The Prince of Orange, as a German, shows a decided leaning towards his own country men, thinking, as they are the more numerous, to subjugate the rest of the army through them and keep it devoted to himself. The Spaniards, on the other hand, are fully aware of his intentions, and are likely to oppose his plans, whence serious dissensions might arise between the men, and be perhaps the cause of our losing whatever advantage has been gained [by the taking of Rome]. Sees no better remedy for the impending danger than the Emperor's visit to Italy.

(*Common writing* :) Revolution in Florence. The Medici and those who took side with the Pope expelled from that city, &c.

Four deputies have been appointed to represent the different classes of people in Sanct Angelo: the Datary for the prelates, Alberto di Carpi for the ambassadors, and the English ambassador, Cavalier Casal by name and a Roman by birth, for the citizens; Julian Lelio is to represent the merchants and artisans; so that in reality the Pope cannot do anything without consulting these four deputies, though it is to be presumed that they will not act against his will.

Cardinal [Pompeo] Colonna and his brothers Vespasiano and Ascanio are indefatigable in watching over the defence of the city, visiting the guards at the gates, &c. In a late engagement with the enemy, 40 of their cavalry and 30 hackbutiers were taken prisoners. The horse belonged to the company of Paolo Chasco (Ciasco), whose lieutenant was captured also. Since then upwards of 300 hackbutiers have come over from the enemy, and more are expected daily. They say that provisions are so scarce at the camp of the League that the men are actually starving, and that the Swiss refuse to advance on Rome. It is true that we have now such strong positions, within and without this city, that 60,000 men would not be enough to make us lose one foot of ground. Recommends Miçer Agostino Foglieta and his petition for the

1527.

grant of the "post or ferry-boat of Piacenza," which is supposed to be worth 600 ducats annually.

On the 28th the Viceroy arrived, but, without stopping or speaking to any one, went out [of Rome] again. The only person who saw him was the Abbot, who, being informed of his passage through Rome, mounted his horse and galloped after him. At about two miles from this city the Viceroy met the Marquis del Guasto, Don Ugo, and Alarcon coming from Naples, who persuaded him to return to Rome, where he now is, lodging at the Colonna's. The rest of the travellers went to the Palace, but will shortly remove to Cardinal Salviati's house in the Borgho, though every day they come to Rome to hold counsel with the Viceroy and the Colonnese.

The Pope's chamberlain, who came back with the Viceroy, wishing to re-enter Sanct Angelo, was forbidden to do so by the generals of this army, though they consented to write a letter acquainting His Holiness with his return, as well as with the arrival of the Viceroy and the rest with the Neapolitan forces. The chamberlain wrote, and the Pope's answer was that he knew it already, and was much pleased with the intelligence, and particularly with the Viceroy's arrival, but that he (the Pope) wondered that his chamberlain was not allowed to return to the castle, since the generals had given him a safe-conduct to go in and out freely. No offers from him have come to the Imperial camp, and therefore his chamberlain will not be allowed to go back. He is now with the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) at the Palace. Meanwhile batteries are being erected round the castle, and the men kept ready to march against the enemy, if need be, so that either by defeating them in the open field, or by storming Sanct Angelo, the war may be finished at once.

It seems as if the Viceroy did not counsel or act in these affairs as general, but as a private individual, and out of love for the Emperor's service. All look to the Prince of Orange as their head. He no doubt shows much zeal for the service, but is too young, and has not the experience required for such a charge. His Imperial Majesty should appoint a general who would be obeyed and feared by the men, and especially by the Germans, who just now, under the excuse of looking for wine, of which there is a scarcity in Rome, are again sacking houses, &c. He himself was twice in peril of his life from some unruly lansquenets, who attempted to break into his lodgings in search of wine, as they said, but no doubt to plunder it of everything else, as they have done in other people's houses. And in truth he (Perez) does not know how it is possible to stop them, for such is the dearth of provisions just now that if the army remains longer at Rome thousands will die of hunger. Wheat is so scarce that a measure—something less than a load (*carga*) of Castille—sells for 50 ducats and upwards, and even then an armed force is

1527.

required to obtain and secure it at that price. Meanwhile the Romans quit the city by thousands, and if this state of things lasts there will be none but the Imperialists left in Rome. Orders have been sent to Naples for wheat and other provisions. May they come in time!

Cardinal Colonna has been suffering from fever for four or five days. He is better now.—Rome, 30th May 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 6.

4 June.

83. DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-
hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 227, No. 21.

As his letters sent by the ambassador's servant (Blue-mantle) and by Master Poynings (Poyntz), and also by the Spanish courier, Juan Viscayno, must already have been received, and contained full report of affairs in England, he (Mendoça) shall herewith be brief.

(*Cipher* :) As soon as the King of France heard that the Pope had returned to the League, he sent back the Bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont), travelling post, to see whether he could induce this King to take up arms even before the embassy started for Spain. Has been assured that the King adheres to his original plan of first offering the conditions of peace to the Emperor, and then, should he refuse, acting as has been settled by their mutual treaty.

By letters from Venice of the 12th of May, the tidings came to this Court of the taking of Rome by the Imperialists. The King and Legate were sadly put out by the intelligence, having, as is well known, given money to assist in the war. Some think that this event will make the King suspend his declaration in favour of the League; others, on the contrary, maintain that it will hasten it; for besides the malevolence (*la ruyñ voluntad*) with which the King regards the Emperor, he is much afraid of his growing power, and of the prosperity of his arms, and thinks that now, under the sanction of the Church, he may better carry out his design.*

It is confidently expected that the Cardinal will very soon set out for France. It is said also that the King of that country will come to meet him at Abbeville, and that they will there settle certain articles which were omitted in the treaty here, and also confirm other articles previously agreed upon. Suspects also that the Cardinal is the bearer of certain moneys for the King of France, in compensation for which Boulogne is to be given up to England, and that the Legate hopes by this acquisition of territory on the continent to

* "Y con voz de la Iglesia parecele que tiene mas ocasion para precipitar su proposito."

1527.

remove the dislike borne him by the English. It is also thought that this giving up of Boulogne may possibly take place, because the most strenuous efforts have been made to obtain it, and because also the state of things in Italy places the King of France in daily-increasing difficulty. The Legate moreover has been frequently heard to say that a great extension of the kingdom of England was soon about to take place. Cannot, however, arrive at the real nature of the articles lately stipulated between England and France, as the very persons who swore to the treaty assure him that they do not know its contents.

(*Common writing:*) The prohibition for English ships to lade for Flanders or Spain still continues, but is not extended to foreigners, not even to the Flemings or Spaniards. The English murmur loudly against this prohibition, as well as against the prospect of war with the Emperor; they have publicly rejoiced at the news of our successes in Italy as if they were their own. It is asserted that the reason why the Legate has not yet declared war against Flanders is that no contribution of money towards such war can possibly be obtained, and that even if a levy of troops should be decreed, the very captains who raised them could have no confidence in them. No great reliance can be placed on popular opinion, but there are many who think that, should this King declare war, it might perchance with the Emperor's help break out here, especially if this business of the Queen should be proceeded with; for as she is much beloved, and the Cardinal most intensely hated, should the matter become public some disturbances must necessarily follow. In order, however, to maintain this friendly disposition of the people of this country towards (the Emperor), Mendoza has written to Madame to say that until she actually sees preparations for taking the field she should not make any change in her treatment of the English merchants, but, on the contrary, show them even greater favour than before; for should this King push matters to extremity, it is evidently with these very English, his subjects, that he will have to contend.

For the last few days active preparations have been going on, repairing and fitting up certain vessels that were lying almost forgotten in the dockyards of this kingdom, and drawing besides into the royal service two large ships that were intended for the spice trade. There has also been a great inspection of the artillery of those vessels, and of their supply of ammunition. The French galleons are still in the English ports, and it is said that they are soon to join the ships which this King has ordered to be fitted out for sea. Of other signs of war, such as raising subsidies or levies, there are none as yet. The general belief is nevertheless that should the Emperor reject the proffered terms, this King will at once place either his money or his troops, perhaps both, at the disposal of France.

Hears whilst writing this that the ships now being fitted

1527.

out for sea do not amount to more than six or seven, and are merely intended to escort the Legate in his passage to France, and that the two ships which he (Mendoça) has mentioned as having been pressed into the service, whilst fitting out for the spice trade, are now allowed to follow their former destination. There is no sign at present of any movement of artillery, only that that which is in the Tower of London has been inspected, to be ready in case of need.

The death of the Duke of Bourbon is considered as quite certain at this Court, and seems to have somewhat consoled the King and Legate for the taking of Rome. Most awful accounts are circulated here, with a view to exciting the people, of the unheard-of cruelties said to have been perpetrated by the Imperial soldiers; the King himself stooping to speak of the Duke of Bourbon and of the whole Imperial army in terms very unworthy of so great a Prince.

Has little news by way of Germany, though it would be a great advantage if he could have some just now. Thinks the supply of couriers from that quarter is very insufficient. The Bohemian ambassador,* being quite in his interests, gives him (Mendoça) all the information he can, and he does the same in return, for the interests of both countries [Spain and Germany] being now at stake, the same information might do for both ambassadors.

Is also informed that the King of France has sent a message to the commander of those galleons who lately plundered the Spanish ships to give up immediately all the goods and property taken on board of them. The merchants and masters of the vessels have received orders to that effect from the said commander. Does not know whether they will recover anything.

The letter which brought the news of the taking of Rome was written at Venice on the 12th of May. It stated that on the 6th of that month Rome was taken, and the Duke of Bourbon killed by a cannon ball. Has heard nothing direct from Rome, but confirmation of this news has since come from Venice. The death of the Duke of Bourbon has not yet been officially confirmed, though it is said that he is dangerously wounded. The Emperor will no doubt have more reliable information about these matters than can be sent from hence, where the news so change with the times, that hardly anything can be believed.—London, the 4th of June 1527.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoça."

Addressed: "To His Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. Mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

* Though the deciphering of this passage bears, "El embaxador de Francia me avisa, como buen servidor de Vuestra Magestad todo lo que puede, con el qual yo hago lo mismo en lo que de aqui se ofrece, porque al presente toda es una materia y el un cargo sirve al otro," I have translated *Bohemia* instead of *France*, because the ambassador of Ferdinand is no doubt meant. Evidently the deciphering clerk mistook one for the other.

1527.

5 June.

84. The CAPITULATION OF ROME.

M. B. N. E. 50,
f. 162.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 246.

Al nome di Dio à di 5 di Giugno 1527. Poi che il felicissimo exercito Cesareo e intrato in Roma, et il Smo. N. S. Papa Clemente Settimo con multi Rmi. Cardinali, Prelati cortigiani, servitori, et anco capitani et gente de guerra, alcuni mercanti et cittadini Romani et altri, si sono retirati, in Castello Sanct Angelo, persudendosi SSta. che la Cesa. Mta. non sia per mancare di conservare et proteggere di ogni violentia Sua Beatitudine, Cardinali et altri antediti et la Sede Apostolica, si come essa SSta. ha havuto et ha animo di stare et perseverare in amicitia et quiete et tranquillità con sua Mta., ha fatto chiamare il magco. Miçer Gio. Bartmeo. Gatinaria, Regente nel Regno di Napoli, acciò che in nome di SSta. offerirse al l' Illri. et Magei et molto strenui Sigri. Capitani di detto felicissimo essercito, et detto essercito le subsequenti conditioni da essere oservate inviolabilmente de ambe le parti :

1. The Pope, the cardinals, prelates, captains, soldiers, and all other persons now residing with the Pope [in the castle] promise to surrender themselves to the captains of the Imperial army, who on their part promise to respect their persons and their property. They will be conducted to the kingdom of Naples, or further still, wherever there may be convenience for them to go freely to His Imperial Majesty without violence or hindrance of any sort. They will be treated as befits His Holiness' dignity and their own. Should His Holiness, however, or any of the undersigned cardinals and hostages wish to remain at Rome, or go elsewhere, they may do so in perfect liberty.

2. The Pope is to surrender Castel Santangelo "per tutto el di de domani" with all its ammunition &c.

3. The Pope promises to give 100,000 "scudi d' oro' del Sole" for the pay of the army; that is to say, 40,000 on signing this present capitulation; gold and silver [plate] worth 40,000 more "scudi"; the remaining 20,000 "scudi" to be paid within six days.

The Pope is further to pay within 20 days 50,000 "scudi" in each of these places, Genoa, Sienna, or Naples, into the hands of the Abbot of Najera or of his proxies; these 150,000 "scudi" being considered as the ransom (*riscatto*) of the persons inside the castle and of their property.

The Pope will lay a tax on the subjects of his estates to the amount of 250,000 "scudi." He is to collect it as soon as possible, in order that the hostages may be the earlier set at liberty.

The Imperial army will, if necessary, render aid to the Papal tax gatherers.

The following persons to be hostages for the 50,000 and for the 250,000 "scudi" as above said:—

The Archbishops of Siponto and Pisa.

1527.

The Bishops of Pistoia and Verona.

Micer Giacomo Salviati, Lorenzo Ridolfi, and Simon de' Ricasoli.

The territories which the Pope is to consign to the Emperor, besides further Latio and the Campagna, to be exempted from the above tax, and no burden of any kind to be imposed on them.

4. That the Imperial army may soon leave Rome and the estates of the Church, the Pope promises to consign into the Emperor's hands or those of his ministers Ostia and Civittà Vecchia, together with Il Porto,* Modena, Parma, and Piacenza.

Should these cities offer any resistance the Emperor is at liberty to take them by force.

It is to be hoped that the Emperor "per sua benigna natura" will defend the Pope and the Apostolic See.

5. The Colonnese to be reinstated in all their property and rights.

Cardinal [Pompeo] Colonna to have back all his ecclesiastical honours, dignities, and property.

6. The Pope begs the [Imperial] captains to do their best to liberate the cardinals who are now [prisoners] in Rome.

7. The Pope promises to revoke all censures, excommunications, &c. in which the Imperial army may be implicated.

8. The Prince [of Orange?] will be present when the soldiers of the Pope, other persons, and women leave the castle, and see that they are not injured or dishonoured.

9. Three bands of Germans and Spaniards, besides 100 light horse, to accompany the same four or five leagues from Rome.

10. Safe-conducts to be given.

11. Soldiers not to go up into the Pope's apartments.†

12. Ostia and Civittà Vecchia to be surrendered to-morrow

—Rome, *ut supra*.‡

Follow the Signatures:—

"Philibert de Chalon, Prince of Orange."

"Ferrando Gonzaga."

"Ludovico, conte di Lodrone."

"Jo. Bartimeo. di Gattinara."

"Fr. [Hernando] Marin, called the Abbot of Najera."

"Hyeronimo Morone."

"Luys Gonzaga."

"P^o. (Pietro?) Ramias?"

* Called also Città Portuense.

† Another copy of this capitulation, L. 2016, f. 57, has, "Item, che nell'atto del partire di detti genti dal Castello entrino le genti della Mta. Cesa. che ordinara il prefato Signor Principe, quali tengano la fortezza in sigurtà, et non di meno non havranno d'ascendere nelle parti superiori senon le persone degli capitani con quattro o sei compagni per uno per fare la guardia conveniente."

‡ Though drawn on the 5th, the capitulation was not signed until the 6th, appears from the despatches of Perez and the Abbot.

1527.

"Andreas de Herrera."

"Alonso de Gayaco."

"Andrea Mendoza."

"Co. de Valas (Velasco?)."

"Hieronymo de Montoya."

"Migell (Miguel) D' Artieda."

"Co. de Almansa?"

"Rodrigo de Tripalda (Ripalda?)."

"Joan de la Pen. (la Peña)."

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

11 June. 85. The ABBOT OF NAJERA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 479.

B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 249.

Wrote on the 27th ult^o,* announcing the taking and sack of Rome, the death of Bourbon, &c. Since then, on the 28th, the Viceroy of Naples, with a safe-conduct obtained from the Pope arrived here, having passed close to the camp of the League. But as the men were rather angry with him (*estaban algo mal con el*), owing to the [former] capitulation made with the Pope, he would not stay, and determined to go to Naples, against the vote and advice of most of the Imperial servants here. As he was on his road thither he met coming out of the gate of San Giovanne the Marquis del Guasto, Don Ugo, and Alarcon, besides the Duke of Malfa (Amalfi), Ferramosca, and others, who persuaded him to return. Here he remained until the 6th inst., when part of the Spanish infantry having risen in mutiny against him, and the rest of the officers above named, he with most of his men left Rome that very night, and took up their quarters at a place in the Colonnese territory, called Cevittà Labina (Città Lavinia), 18 miles from this city. There has been since much writing and negotiating, both Don Ugo and Alarcon as well as himself (the Abbot) insisting upon the Viceroy coming back to Rome, as he is the only man of sufficient credit and authority to keep the soldiers in order. This, however, the Viceroy obstinately refuses to do, on the plea that the Prince of Orange, without any special mandate from the Emperor, is acting as commander-in-chief. Humbly requests His Imperial Majesty, in case of the Duke of Ferrara not accepting the command of this army, to give it to the Viceroy as Bourbon had it, since all the Spanish and Italian captains are willing to serve under him, whereas it is not likely they will do so under the Prince.

On the 31st of May, about noon, as the latter was inspecting the trenches he was wounded, &c.

On the 1st inst. the Spanish infantry from Naples made their entrance into Rome. The Germans remained at Terracina. There they will be until they are wanted here, as the plague has broken out most fiercely, and there is besides great scarcity of provisions.

* See No. 78, p. 211.

1527.

The very same day, the Pope having shown a desire to reopen negotiations, Bartholomé di Gattinara, and himself (the Abbot), accompanied by two captains of the Germans (*tudescos*), went up to Sanct Angelo, and a capitulation was arranged, of which a copy is enclosed, the same which the Pope and the cardinals who are with him signed on the 5th. Immediately after the Marquis Don Hernando de Alarcon entered Sanct Angelo with a force of 300 infantry, half Spaniards and half Germans.

His Holiness is very much troubled (*está harto afflicto*) in consequence of his having to procure within a very short period of time the 150,000 ducats now wanted for the pay of the Spaniards and Germans. He is very desirous of going to Naples, or wherever there may be less danger of the plague than there is here at present, and talks of sending one of his cardinals, most likely Campeggio, to Spain.

On the 8th the fortress of Ostia was delivered according to stipulation into the hands of a captain of Spanish infantry called Rodrigo de Ripalda. Civittà Vecchia is still occupied by Andrea Doria, who writes to say that as soon as the Pope has paid or given security for 14,000 ducats, which he says are owing to him for his services, he will surrender that force, and as there can be no difficulty about this, we hope that the city and port will be given up in three or four days, when we shall be able to obtain provisions in abundance from that quarter.

Some overtures have been made to the said Andrea Doria with a view of attaching him to the Emperor's service, and we are in hopes that he will accept our offers. He and other naval captains of the same stamp are much wanted to secure to the Emperor the supremacy of the sea, as he has already that of the land.

Modena, Parma, and Piacenza, which are to be delivered to us in virtue of the capitulation, shall be cared for, and proper persons appointed to take charge of them.

On the 2nd the confederates raised their camp at Insola, and retreated 13 miles. They are now close to Viterbo, at a place called Betrala? It is believed that when they hear of the capitulation that has been signed by the Pope they will disband and go home.

The Count of San Segundo, a native of Lombardy and nephew of Giovanni de' Medici, and one Alessandro Vitello came over this day to the Imperial camp with 200 horse and 500 foot. Upwards of 2,000 more have deserted in a similar manner, and would be followed by many more if we chose to admit them.

Milan is in danger unless Antonio de Leyva be speedily supplied with money.

Florence expelled the other day the party of the Medici, and is now entirely free, more devoted to the Emperor than

1527.

to the Pope.* The Florentines are mightily afraid of this army.—Rome, 11th June 1527.

Signed: "El Abbad de Najera."

Postscriptum.—News has just come that the camp of the League left Betrala yesterday, the 10th, and was marching towards Montefiascone. Also that the Venetian fleet of galleys was observed to pass in front of Terracina, bound for Venice; they were disarmed and had the plague on board.†

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

11 June. 86. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. .
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 240b.

On the 31st of May, as the Prince of Orange was inspecting the works at the trenches before Sanct Angelo, he was wounded in the cheek by a hackbut ball. All the men, and especially the Germans, felt this very much. Fortunately the wound seems not to be dangerous. The better to attend to its cure, he has been brought from the Pope's Palace, where he had taken up his quarters, to Cardinal Sancti Quatuor (Pucci) at Rome.

On Saturday, the 1st inst., ten companies (*banderas*) of Spanish infantry arrived from Naples. As they passed before Palazzo Colonna, where the Viceroy was staying, they fired their hackbuts and matchlocks (*escopetas*) as a salvo in his honour. Micer Agostino Foglieta went to a window to see them pass, and was so unfortunate that one of the balls struck his right arm, and he died the day after. His Majesty loses in him an affectionate servant, for certainly, though he, like many others, had sustained heavy losses by the sack of this city, no one showed so much joy as he at seeing the Emperor master of Rome. He was a native of Genoa, where he leaves a brother and several nephews, to one of whom he had transferred the pension of 1,000 ducats, which he enjoyed on the bishoprics of Mazzara and Granada, besides another of 500 on the abbacy of Santa Marta, in the diocese of Astorga.

Begs for himself the rent-dues, known as "Porto di Piacenza," which the deceased formerly enjoyed, that he may repay with them the money borrowed from his friends at the time of the sack.

The army of the League went back to Viterbo on Sunday last. It is not known what direction it will take. Some say that it will be divided into three; one division to remain there [at Viterbo], the other to go to Corneto, and the third to Perugia. Others say that the whole of it will march on Sienna.

* "Florençia hechó la parte de Medicis y está en su libertad á la devocion de Vñ a Mt. mas que á la del Papa."

† This postscriptum is holograph.

1527.

No sooner did the Pope hear of the retreat of the army of the League than he resumed negotiations. The captains of the lansquenets, owing to the Prince being disabled and unfit to take the command just now, will no longer agree to the former terms, and demand, besides, seven or eight hostages from among the most influential people in the castle, that they may be sure of being paid.

They are now negotiating to that effect, and although neither the Viceroy, nor Guasto, nor Alarcon interferes at all, except by occasional advise, it is to be hoped that an agreement will soon be made, as the Pope wishes very much to get out of his present position. The game is now entirely in the hands of the lansquenets, who, not contented with having sacked the houses of the Roman citizens, are plundering those of the Spanish and Italian captains under the excuse of looking for wheat, flour, and wine, which they carry away whenever they find it. Many, and he (Perez) among the rest, will have to be content with water in future.

Wheat has begun to arrive from Naples, and yet famine and pestilence prevail at Rome. Unless an agreement of some sort be soon made and the Imperialists leave for some other place, great calamities are in store for this devoted city.

The army is so strong, and the soldiers animated by such a spirit, that, wherever it may go, the enemy will be overpowered, and Italy subjected to the Imperial rule. Upwards of 300 infantry and 300 horse have lately come over to our camp under Counts Anguilara and Sanct Segundo. The latter is from Parma; the former, who belongs to the family of the Orsini, from a place close to Rome.

Had written thus far when intelligence was brought to him (Perez) that on the 6th inst. a capitulation was concluded and signed, and that on the ensuing day (the 7th) the garrison of the castle began to come out with their arms and colours flying, led by Oracio Ballon (Baglione), by the English ambassador (Gregorio Casale), and by a son of Cardinal Farnese. They were escorted by four companies (*banderas*) of Spaniards and Germans till within three miles out of Rome, and took the road to Perugia. Those who remained behind are to choose their place of destination. Renzo da Ceri, Langes (Langeay), and Alberto de Carpi intend going to France.

On the 7th Alarcon* entered Sanct Angelo with one company of Spaniards and another of Germans. Don Ugo also went thither twice, at the Pope's request, and had a long conference with him. What passed between them Perez cannot say, but he earnestly prays God that the upshot of all this may be that,

* In Gattinara's *Relazione, Il Sacco di Roma*, &c. (Genevra, 1866), p. 59, Alarcon is called *Marcone* by mistake, and at p. 57 Don Ugo di Alarcone, thus making of Moncada and him one person.

1527.

peace being made throughout Christendom, the Emperor may turn his victorious arms against the Infidel, and conquer their country until he reaches the holy shrine of Jerusalem, as is said in the prophecies.

For the sudden departure of the Viceroy, Guasto, and Cesaro Ferramosca for Naples, he (Perez) can in no manner account. Has no doubt that Alarcon and Don Ugo, who saw them go and spoke with them, have sufficiently informed the Emperor of their motive in doing so.

The hostages demanded by the Germans were six in number; the Datary (Gianmatheo Giberti), Giacompo Salviati, the Archbishop of Manfredonia (*Sipontinus*), nephew of Cardinal Monti, the Bishop of Pistoia, nephew of Cardinal Sancti Quatuor (Pucci), the Archbishop of Pisa, and a Florentine called Simon de Ricasoli. Cannot say whether any change will be made, their number diminished or increased.

The Prince of Orange is much better, which, as far as the Germans under him are concerned, is a great blessing, for he may perhaps be able to keep them in order.

Don Ugo went to the Viceroy's to try and persuade him to come to Rome. He was unsuccessful, and has come back without him. It is rumoured that he, himself, wishes to go away, and if he does, this Imperial army will be without a commander, and the city without a governor, for though Alarcon is a reliable person, and can do much, he is the only one, and has to keep guard over Sanct Angelo and the Pope, which is no sinecure, considering the many importunities by which he is continually assailed, one way or the other, without counting the responsibility of his charge.

Yesterday, the 10th, the second day of Easter, there was a great brawl (*rumor*) between the Germans on one side and the Spaniards and Italians on the other. The Germans ran to arms and entrenched themselves in Campo di Fiore. God permitted, however, that their officers should succeed in quieting them down; had it not been so, many lives would have been lost, such is the animosity of both Spaniards and Italians against them, for their late behaviour, and for their having again sacked, not only the houses of Roman citizens, but those also of many of the Emperor's subjects. As the Prince was not well enough to leave his room, the outbreak might have assumed formidable proportions; as it is, several Germans were killed. As Bauberi, the Prince's gentleman in waiting, is now going [to Spain] with the news of this late occurrence and of the insubordination prevailing in the army, he (Perez) need not dwell on this subject further than to say that the men-at-arms were yesterday on the point of leaving for Naples, owing to their arrears not having been paid, and no notice taken of them in the Pope's last capitulation.

The councillors here* excused themselves as well as they

* That is, the members of the War Council formed after the death Bourbon.

1527.

could, and advised them to write a letter to the Viceroy, stating their complaints, which they have done since, deputing two of their number to be the bearers of a message to the Viceroy. Cannot say what they will do to-morrow, for they are very discontented indeed. Yesterday all went out and formed in Campo Hagon, which is a large square (*plaza*), the finest in the world before the sack. They say that the Germans are greatly afraid of the men-at-arms and cavalry in general.

The Pope has given permission for the celebration of mass in four churches of this capital during these Easter days. After this the cleansing and reconsecrating (*desenviolar*) of the churches will take place, and general absolution will be granted according to one of the articles of the capitulation.

Every effort is being made to procure money with which to pay the men, that they may march out against the enemy still encamped at Viterbo, but very much reduced in number by desertion and other causes.

Venice, they say, has ordered a levy of 8,000 infantry to reinforce their army, and from France a large body of Swiss are expected, with which forces the League intends to invade Lombardy, whilst the Imperialists remain at Rome. Similar armaments are being made by sea, the Venetians fitting out no less than 50 galleys under a proveditor-general. After joining the fleet which they and the French have on this coast, they are to invade Naples.—Rome, 11th June 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 8.

11 June.

87.

FRANCISCO DE SALAZAR to CHANCELLOR GATTINARA.

S. E. L. 847,
f. 181.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 224.

By the last paragraphs of his letter dated the 18th May* the Emperor has no doubt been informed of the agreement made with His Holiness. He was pen in hand, ready to sign the same, when an informer (*espia*) came to tell him that the army of the League was 40 miles from Rome, and would arrive in three or four days to relieve the city; upon which the Pope believing that the confederates were really coming in great force, and that the Imperial army was almost broken up owing to the death of its commander-in-chief, Mons. de Bourbon, that the men, having become rich through the sack, would no longer serve, decided not to sign the agreement, and again asked for a delay. If within six days the army of the League came to his assistance, he (the Pope) should not be bound to fulfil any of the stipulated conditions. This produced so much indignation and discon-

* See above, No. 70.

1527.

tent among the Imperialists, that when the Archbishop of Capua (Fr. Nicolas Schomberg), who had been treating in the Pope's name, came to announce this decision, our people gave him no answer, and would not allow him to return to the castle. Indeed, had not the Archbishop been considered, as he rightly is, a good servant of the Emperor, he might have fared much worse, for the men suspected that he had purposely delayed the negotiation that the Pope might gain time, &c. There was another circumstance to increase suspicion. The Pope had frequently granted safe-conducts for the Abbot of Najera to go backwards and forwards to the castle, that he might treat about the Viceroy coming from Sienna [to Rome], without being stopped by the army of the League, for which end a messenger was despatched with one of the Pope's chamberlains. This made the Imperialists so angry with the Abbot, that some of the commanders, and particularly the Prince of Orange, told him in a great passion, "Had it not been for you, Abbot, we should be masters of the castle, having already been inside Rome 12 days."

Things, however, are getting more quiet. New trenches are being opened round the castle, not only to besiege it in due form, but to be ready for the enemy in case he should attack us. We are expecting some artillery from Paliano (Pagliano) in the land of the Colonnese, &c.

The camp of the League has arrived at Ynsola (Isola), eight miles from this city. Their light cavalry, which is the best and most efficient force they have, has begun to overrun the neighbouring districts. Every day they skirmish with our light horse, and are generally worsted in the engagements, for although now and then some of our men are taken prisoners by the enemy, owing to their being, as it were, disbanded (*desmandados*), their numbers are very few when compared with those brought in by our men.

The enemy's forces are said to amount to 30,000 men, but he (Salazar) has reason to believe that number exaggerated, and that it does not exceed 25,000 in all. Of these nearly 1,000 hackbutiers and a whole company of light horse have lately deserted, and come over to our camp. Many more would follow their example if they were sure of being admitted. Most of these deserters are outlaws (*foraxidos*) from Naples, who have come over on the promise of having their crimes and offences pardoned. Were we to open our hands many more would come to us, as they are actually starving, but the generals are not much inclined to favour the application, as they are suspicious people.

The camp of the League, as I have said, is without provisions. At Rome they have become so scarce and dear that I do not exaggerate when I say that the *russo* of wheat sell for 30 or even 40 ducats. Had it not been for the grass, the green corn, and other herbs which men give their horses,

1527.

barley would be at the same price as wheat, or little less. Fowls are not to be had even for sick people, and when procured cost two ducats; one pair of eggs six *julii*, and sometimes one *carlino* and one *julio*. Indeed it may be asserted that, as far as articles of food and dress are concerned, the sack of Rome still continues, especially on the part of the lansquenets, who plunder everything they find, and will not listen to reason on this score. Your Lordship cannot imagine the atrocities that are committed daily, and the number of people who are either slain, tortured, or otherwise illtreated without any regard to rank, profession, or nationality. Every-one of us is utterly ruined, for besides being plundered of our money, our clothes, and other valuables, we have been taxed (*tallado*) at sums which it is impossible for us to pay. Those who cannot pay are imprisoned, and then taken to the public market to be sold as so many slaves. The other day the Bishop of Terrachina (Terracina), a German (*tudesco*) by birth, who is clerk of the Apostolic Chamber (*clerigo de Camara*) and abbreviator, and was on the eve of being appointed Cardinal, was sold in this way to the best bidder, as he has the reputation of being a rich man. If the parties themselves cannot procure the money for their ransom, or find purchasers to bid for them, in that case the prisoners, whether they be Spaniards, Germans, or Italians, and whatever their rank or profession, are played for at dice.

Such was, Sir, the state of affairs on the 29th May when this present letter was begun. On the previous day, the 28th, in the afternoon, the Viceroy of Naples arrived from Sienna with a very slight escort (*casi solo*). He passed through the city without speaking to anyone, not even to the Prince of Orange, only to those he happened to meet in the streets, whom he could not help addressing. At Transteveri he halted at the house of the lieutenant of his own company, merely to change post-horses. He left Rome for Naples, but he had scarcely ridden one mile when he met Don Ugo de Moncada, the Marquis del Guasto, Alarcon, and other barons and gentlemen of Naples, by whom he was stopped, and persuaded to return to Rome, where they all are at present.

When our men heard of the approach of the enemy they went out of Rome to meet him. Until now the confederates have not dared to attack us, nor is it likely that they will, for our soldiers are so elated with their last success, and so anxious to fight, that they are capable of conquering the whole world (*el mundo todo*). They loved Mons. de Bourbon on account of his bravery; they greatly regret his loss, and it does not seem as if the appointment of any other commander, whoever he may be, in his place could give them satisfaction. It was through his courage and by his means that the Roman expedition was undertaken, attended with so much trouble, and so much personal suffering from hunger and thirst, without artillery of any sort, for they had left behind at Sienna all

1527.

their field pieces that they might march more expeditiously so that it may well be said that this conquest of Rome has been achieved in a most wonderful and unexpected manner.*

After the above was written, on the 30th of May, the Prince of Orange was wounded in the face by a hackbut shot, as he was inspecting the trenches and the works now being made round the castle. The ball entered the cheek, and came out behind the ear, as it was travelling obliquely. It is to be hoped that the wound will not be fatal. It is a great blow for the men, who like him exceedingly.

The enemy, without having approached nearer than Insola, on Monday, the 2nd inst., began to retreat to Viterbo, and although nothing certain can be said about their intentions, it is presumed that they are going to defend their own territory, not so much because they dare not attack us, but because they see our forces increasing daily, so much so that in a very short time all the armies of the world put together will not be strong enough to resist us. Besides the 8,000 infantry lately come from Naples, besides many men-at-arms and light cavalry, it is really wonderful to witness the masses of armed people, Spaniards, as well as Germans and Italians, who have joined us since the taking of Rome, so that the Imperial army musters at present upwards of 50,000 men.

Seeing that no help was to be expected from the army of the League, the Pope wrote on the 1st inst. a letter to these generals requesting they would send him a person to speak to, or else be pleased to hear what he had to say, that they might together seek a remedy for his (the Pope's) present tribulations. The generals, after holding counsel together, refused to send an envoy to the castle as requested, but said they should be glad to receive any message His Holiness might send them. He, therefore, sent on the same day his chief steward (*maestro de casa*), a bishop, begging for the former convention to be ratified, as he was now quite willing and ready to sign it. After much discussion on this point, the Imperialists being very angry, not only at the Pope's first refusal, but because the Prince of Orange had been wounded in the interval, it was decided to offer the Pope the same terms as before, the Spaniards and the lansquenets having been previously consulted thereupon, as without their consent and approval no one would have dared to conclude anything in the matter. Two captains of this nation and two more of the Spaniards have therefore taken part in the deliberations of the Council, and the result has been that the articles of the first convention have been slightly modified in the following manner: "The Pope is to deliver as hostages eight or nine persons of rank as security for the 250,000 ducats which he engages to pay within two months, as complement of the

* Literally "with cloak and sword" (*á capa y espada*), which expression was afterwards used to designate certain plays on the national stage of Spain.

1527.

stipulated 400,000. Among the hostages there is the Pope's Datary, Renzo da Ceri, general of the Pope's army, Alberto di Carpi, with other persons of high rank, and as the three above named are the Pope's principal ministers and advisers, and those who have brought things to the state in which they are, it is generally believed that should the above condition be accepted, it will prove that they are reduced to the last extremity and cannot do otherwise."

My house, where Secretary Perez is also residing, was again visited on the 2nd inst. by a party of soldiers, who took among other things six butts of wine and some few trifles. Very hard that after paying 2,500 ducats for our ransom we should be subjected to such ignominious treatment as to have our rooms searched at every moment. The scarcity of provisions at Rome may be an excuse for this, but the fact is that the soldiers are not contented with getting hold of provisions wherever they can find them; they seize clothes and other valuables, so that we may rightly say that the sack still lasts. Since the death of Bourbon the soldiers are complete masters of the city; they disobey their officers, and have no respect for anyone. Even the Emperor's best servants may any day be deprived of bread (*pan*) and clothes (*ropa*), and starved to death. The very day that the confederates began their retreat Count Anguilara and Count San Segundo, besides one Baron Vitelo, all of whom may be considered vassals of the Church, came over to us with 300 horse and 300 hackbutiers.

On the 6th inst. the treaty was finally concluded and signed. The terms are, 150,000 ducats to be paid down immediately, the remaining 250,000 [in two months]. Securities for the payment, the Datary (Gianmatheo Giberti), Jacopo Salviati, the Bishop of Pistoya, a nephew of [Cardinal] Sanctiquatuor, and three more bishops, all men of substance and wealth, besides a rich Florentine merchant, in all seven persons, who are to remain as hostages. Renzo da Ceri and Alberto di Carpi, and the rest of those who took refuge in the castle, to get their persons and property scot-free, though the cardinals and the Pope himself are to remain here or at Gaeta, at the Emperor's disposal. The army besides has made the Viceroy promise that on no account shall the Pope leave Gaeta, even if the Emperor should allow it, until the whole of the 250,000 ducats be paid, or a larger sum still, should that not be sufficient for the settlement of all arrears.*

On the night of the same day, when the articles were signed, and all people allowed to go in and out of the castle freely, the Spaniards began to mutiny (*alterarse*), saying that the Viceroy of Naples had deceived them, and that they

* "Ecepto los Cardenales que juntamente con el Papa aqui ó en Gaeta los ternan á disposicion del Emperador, y tambien, señor, todo el exercito quiso que el Visorrey prometiese de no sacar el Papa de Gaeta, aunque el Emperador lo mandase, sin que primero fuesen pagados," &c.

1527.

desired to be paid immediately [at Rome]. The Pope was to deliver himself up into the hands of the Prince of Orange and of Juan de Urbina, not into those of the Viceroy or any other person, as they, not he, had taken Rome, owing to which the said Viceroy and the Marquis del Guasto left secretly that very night at 2 o'clock, and took the road to Naples, not wishing to stay and hear the clamouring of the soldiers.

In truth, the army is very discontented with the Viceroy, and especially with the Marquis del Guasto, who is colonel of the infantry, because they say he came from Lombardy at the bidding of his superior, as soon as the Pope made the first agreement (*concierto*). They are also very angry with the councillors of Naples, for their not allowing the nobility of Naples and the Colonnese to come to their assistance with artillery at the taking of Rome. And in truth had the Colonnese come the sack of this city and its atrocities might have been spared, for with the arrival of such powerful auxiliaries the people (*populo*) of Rome would have taken courage, and headed by them capitulated with Mons. de Bourbon, even against the wish of the Pope; whereas they dared not do it from fear of the Pope and of the Orsini faction. This has been the real cause of the ruin of Rome, as it might also have been that of the Emperor's dominions [in Italy] if the enemy had had the uppermost. For although it might appear to the councillors that Bourbon had outstripped his instructions in marching on Rome contrary to the agreement made between the Pope and the Viceroy, yet seeing the Imperial army advance with such determination, and that a defeat might endanger the Emperor's dominions, [in Italy], seeing the soldiers march without artillery, they (the councillors) ought to have sent reinforcements, and allowed these Colonnese to come. Rome then would have surrendered without the Imperialists losing one single man, and there would have been no excuse for a sack; the victory would have been won with glory, and without the shade (*escrupulo*) of infamy with which future generations are likely to brand Spain, since neither the Holy Sacrament, nor the relics of saints, nor the images themselves have been respected by the soldiery. So that it may be said that bad counsel causes much evil (*un mal consejo causa muchos males*). In short, Your Lordship may believe me, the Council of Naples to which I allude is a corrupt body, incapable of governing that kingdom. If they exercise justice it is only to rob and plunder the whole kingdom. The thing is so public that I do not hesitate to make this statement.

On the 7th the whole garrison (*gente de guerra*) evacuated the castle, and Alarcon went in with two companies (*capitanias*) of infantry, one of Spaniards, the other of Germans, for the Pope's guard. The former are commanded by

1527.

Felipe Cervellon, who, it is said, is to remain as governor, having been named for that post by Mons. de Bourbon, before the Imperial army reached Rome.

The garrison of Sanct Angelo mustered about 300 men, who went out with their arms and furled banners (*cogidas*), escorted by two companies of Spanish infantry, until they were two miles out of Rome.

The very same day (the 7th) Civittà Vecchia and Ostia were surrendered. The lieutenancy of the former is to be given to Don Alonso de Cordova, and that of Ostia to another Spanish captain. The general impression is that, as soon as the men are paid, the Pope and the Cardinals will be sent to Gaeta, but if the Imperial generals do not speedily take this army out of Rome, there will inevitably be a plague, as the poor are dying by hundreds in the streets, principally from want of food. I can assure Your Lordship wheat is now so scarce at Rome that a loaf of bread, as brown as pitch, costs at the rate of sixty gold ducats the "ruso."

Money is being coined in great haste to pay the men and take them out of Rome as soon as possible. Unless this is done quickly, we shall all die of hunger and plague. It is presumed that they will go to Florence, or to Urbino, which duchy, they say, is to be given to Ascanio Colonna, who has a claim upon it; it is indeed generally asserted that the Emperor has already granted it to him in compensation of the losses he has sustained. But wherever this Imperial army goes, it is quite clear that they will meet with no resistance, for besides being so powerful, that of the confederates has vanished completely, most of the men having gone home in quest of food (*á buscar de comer*).

The cardinals in general are so reduced by poverty that they are sending away their household servants, as they cannot feed them.

On Monday, the 10th, went to the castle to see the old Datary and the new one, who is a friend. Was very well received by them. Obtained through their influence part of the benefices of Siguença, vacant by the death of Doctor Juan Fernandez, the last incumbent; no small chance, as they were greatly desired by other parties. Was so moved to pity by seeing the Pope and the cardinals that he could not refrain from tears, but wept profusely in their presence; for although it must be said of them, that they have brought this misfortune on themselves, it is heartrending to see the head of the Christian Church so fallen and crushed (*abatido y destruyda*). But if this trouble should lead, as is much to be hoped, to the future reform of the Church, which is now entirely in the hands of the Emperor and of the Spanish prelates, all our sufferings will soon be forgotten.

1527.

May God enlighten the minds of the said prelates, so that, putting aside all private interests and passions, they may work together for the good of the Church.*

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

17 June. 88. The EMPEROR to SECRETARY PEREZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Muñoz 56, f. 315.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 252.

Your letters of the 20th of May, 7, 16, 29, and 30th of April have been duly received.

The message you sent to Don Ugo urging him to succour Sicily, threatened by the brother of the Duke of Lorraine (Vaudemont), was very opportune, and we thank you for it.

Bulls of Zamora and Oviedo. Is to prevent as much as possible their being expedited by way of supplication, as the Pope and the cardinals wish them to be, but only by presentation and nomination, as has been hitherto the custom of Spain.—Valladolid, 17th June 1527.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1½.

17 June. 89. The SAME to the ABBOT OF NAJERA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Muñoz 56, f. 316.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 253.

Hears that Antonio de Leyva has borrowed on his own word and responsibility certain sums towards the keeping of the troops under his orders, and that the creditors press him for payment. He is to ascertain what amount of money that captain has borrowed, that he (the Emperor) may pay the debts contracted.—Valladolid, 17th June 1527.

Addressed: "To the Abbot of Najera."

Indorsed: "From the King. 1527."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

17 June. 90. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Muñoz 36, f. 317.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 254.

His letters of the 18th February, 3rd and 28th March, and 13th of April have been duly received. The Emperor was awaiting them with impatience and anxiety, not having heard from his army for a long time. No answer to them is needed, except to request him to forward news as soon and as frequently as possible.—Valladolid, 17th June 1527.

Addressed: "To the Abbot of Najera. From the King. 1527."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

* "Y si dello se ha de conseguir algun buen efecto, como se deve esperar en la reformation de la yglesia, todo se terná por bueno, lo qual principalmente está en manos del Emperador y de los perlados de esos Reynos, y asy plega á Dios que para ello les alumbre los entendimientos de manera que pospuesto todo interese y pasiones particulares, solamente, atiendan a lo sobre dicho pues tanto con" The last sheet of this private letter, addressed to Mercurino di Gattinara by his agent at Rome, Francisco de Salazar, is missing, therefore its exact date can only be fixed by approximation. It appears to have been begun on the 29th of May, and not finished until after the 10th of June.

1527.

17 June.

91. DON MARTIN DE SALINAS.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 174, v^o.

Plus ultra, the King's herald (*eraute*) arrived on the 8th inst., and brought letters from Prague of the 15th March, in answer to those taken by Don Antonio de Mendoga. Those of the 15th of February have also come to hand; not so those of the 12th.

Delivered to the members of the Privy Council (*Consejo Secreto*) the letters and messages that came for them. The councillors are, the Count of Nasaot (Nassau), the Bishop of Osma (Loaysa), Don Juan Manuel, Laxao (La Chaulx), Mons. de Prat (Praet), and Secretary Juan Aleman (Lallemand). These, one and all, show the best disposition for His Highness' service, principally the Secretary (Lallemand), who is the pivot on which the whole affair turns, but it would be advisable to keep them all in good heart by occasional grants of favour, holograph letters of thanks, and so forth. Though the Secretary is a very worthy and deserving man, and very disinterested, yet he should be encouraged in his work. He (Salinas) has pointed out in his despatch [of the 22nd of May] that went by Longoval the way to reward that functionary for his services. May the answer come as soon as possible, and bring facts, not words.

The Emperor was glad to hear of His Highness' coronation as King of Bohemia. He and the Empress inquired after the health of the Queen and the Princess Isabella.

News has come from Genoa, announcing that Mons. de Bourbon had taken Rome on the 7th of May, and besieged the Pope in the castle of Sant Angelo. It is reported that the Imperial army, after much fighting and considerable slaughter, penetrated into the city, and that Bourbon himself was among the dead. Of this last intelligence no official confirmation has reached us yet, but all letters from Italy and France report his death as certain. If so, it will be a great loss under present circumstances. At any rate His Highness had better write a letter to his brother the Emperor, reminding him of the offer he once made him of the Duchy of Milan.—Valladolid, 17th June 1527.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

20 June.

92. PROTHONOTARY CARACCILOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,

f. 486.

B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
f. 255.

Has received an answer to several of his letters written in April, and as late as the 22nd of May. In the meantime the Emperor must have been informed through Captain Rivadeneyra, not only of the truce made with the Pope (*le cose de la tregua*) and its consequences, but also of the taking of Rome and the death of Bourbon. Has nothing new to report except that all the Imperialists in Italy are anxiously expecting the Emperor's commands. The sooner these come the better, for after such success as the Imperial arms have lately

1527.

had, and after the Pope's capitulation, no time should be lost in having these Italian matters advantageously settled. Money is wanting for the support of these troops under the command of Leyva, if he is to defend the Duchy against the French and the rest of the confederates. As the bills of exchange lately remitted to [Soria] in Genoa came too late for Bourbon to make use of them, they ought to be cashed, and a portion at least of the sum destined to this Milanese army.

Needs not describe the state of insubordination and wants of the soldiers. As long as they remain unpaid no reliance can be placed on their services. If Leyva attempts taking them out of Milan for any military expedition he may have planned, they are sure to disobey him and refuse to move. The rumour is that the Venetians are arming, and that the French are to send considerable forces here under Mons. de Lautrech, to which a good number of Swiss infantry is to be added. This last intelligence may be considered almost certain, for no later than last week a gentleman of the name of Morletto (Morelte?) and other agents of France went to the Cantons with money for the purpose of making levies. Should the storm that is gathering over our heads, and will certainly be discharged on the Duchy, take us unawares, with an exhausted treasury, and an army weakened by famine and distress of all sorts, the harm done may be incalculable. —Milan, 20th June 1527.

Signed: "El Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacre. Cathce. et Cese. Mti."

Italian. Original. pp. 4.

23 June. 93. The ABBOT of NAJERA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. .
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 227.

Wrote in his last of the 11th* that the Viceroy had gone to Civittà Lavina, whence he proceeded to Gaeta to attend to the affairs of Naples. Whilst there Don Ugo, Alarcon, and other Spanish captains sent him a message by Knight Commander Figueroa, requesting him to return to Rome and take the command of the Imperial forces. The Spanish infantry, whose mutiny had been the principal cause of the Viceroy's hasty departure, sent also two of their captains, Alonso de Gayoso and Rodrigo de Ripalda, besides a gentleman (*gentil hombre*) from each company to beg he would pardon them, and not allow a few mutineers, whose names they did not know, as the riot took place at night, to put the whole army in jeopardy.

The Viceroy's answer was that he would not hesitate under such circumstances to return to Rome and assume the command of the Imperial army, but that he must needs go to Naples first, to procure the 50,000 ducats which the Pope had promised to the Spanish infantry, and also funds with

* No. 83, p. 232.

1527.

which to pay the men-at-arms, (*cipher*) who at this moment are at Velitri, on the road to Naples, with the firm purpose, as they say, of retiring to that kingdom unless they are paid within a week. This object being accomplished, the Viceroy will return [to Rome], as he himself writes both to Don Ugo and Alarcon. May it be so, for unless the men-at-arms are paid forthwith, and prevented from carrying out their threats, the Spaniards and the Italians are sure to follow them, and this Imperial army will inevitably fall to pieces.

The plague is so bad at Rome that the number of deaths per day is seldom under 200. To avoid it, the Prince of Orange with his Germans, Don Ugo, Alarcon, and Juan de Urbina, with the Spaniards lately come from Lombardy, have decided to pitch their tents without the city, and would already have done so, had not the Germans and Spaniards refused to stir unless they are first paid their due. Of the money consigned to the Germans, 80,000 ducats have already been received, and the Pope is making every effort to pay the remaining 20,000 in silver coined for the purpose (*en contante y argento que se batte*). For the payment of the 50,000 owing to the Spaniards, the Pope has sent the Archbishop [of Capua?] to Naples to induce the Viceroy and the barons and prelates of that kingdom to get that sum from the bankers on his (the Pope's) security, as well as the 20,000 still owing to the Germans. Similar requests have been made by His Holiness in other quarters, but he (the Abbot) imagines that unless the money is sent from Naples all other applications will prove unsuccessful, and the remedy perhaps come too late, obliging us to stay here longer than necessary, to the great risk of our own lives. Indeed, had it not been for the Pope's sake, and to prevent any disorderly acts on the part of the Germans and Spaniards, Don Ugo and Alarcon would already have left Rome, and the Prince and all of us would have done the same. The Spaniards who lately came from Naples, the whole of the Italian infantry, and the light horse have already left the city, and are encamped on the right hand of the road leading to Viterbo. In short, no time is being lost, either by the Pope or the Viceroy, in procuring the entire payment of the Germans, Spaniards, and men-at-arms, to enable them to quit Rome and march to the assistance of Antonio de Leyva, (*cipher*) who writes from Milan, in date of the 10th inst., that 15,000 Swiss are expected to cross the frontier in about a week, and join the Venetians in an attack upon that city.

(*Common writing* :) Again entreats the Emperor to appoint a commander-in-chief, in case of the Duke of Ferrara refusing. Meanwhile Don Ugo is of opinion, and so are the rest, that the Viceroy ought to place himself at the head of the men and march as far as Florence, or wherever the Duke [of Ferrara] may be at present. Alarcon, Juan de Urbina, and the other captains are sure to follow him with their men,

1527.

whereas they will not do so under the Prince of Orange or any other general not having special mandate from the Emperor.

Should the Viceroy make up his mind to take the lead of the Imperial army, it will be necessary that Don Ugo and Alarcon remain behind, the former having to attend to the administration of Naples during the Viceroy's absence; the latter to the custody of the Pope. We have, therefore, humbly requested His Holiness to appoint Cardinal Colonna his Legate in spiritual matters, since he and the rest of the Colonnese will be most likely elected to exercise the temporal power in this city, until His Majesty decides otherwise. The Pope's answer to our request has been that the Imperial army can do as they please, since they are the masters; he himself will neither authorise nor consent to such an arrangement, but in the end His Holiness is sure to grant whatever is just and reasonable.

The army of the League left Orbiato for Perugia. It was thought at first that they meant to attack Sienna, but we hear that they have taken the direction of the Romagna, with the intention, as we presume, of effecting their junction with the Swiss, about whom Leyva writes, or else to cover the frontiers of the Venetians, unless it be for the purpose of preventing the Duke of Ferrara from taking possession of Parma, as he has lately done of Modena, and Leyva of Piacenza. However this may be, it is important for us to evacuate Rome, for by doing so we shall be able to defend the Duchy of Milan, which is in danger, attend to other parts and conquer the rest of Italy (*lo que queda de Italia*), thereby extracting enough money from the vanquished to pay and keep this army.

These considerations have prevented Don Ugo from quitting Rome, though he has lost within the last week no less than four or five servants of his household, among them a page.

The Duke of Ferrara, with upwards of 2,000 of his own vassals and efficient artillery, went the other day to Modena, where were a governor for the Pope, and Count Lodovico Rangone, the brother of Count Guido, with 800 men. Some show of defence was at first made, but the Duke having sent a message that unless immediately evacuated by the Papal troops he would employ force and sack the place, the citizens expelled the garrison, and opened their gates to him.

(*Cipher* :) To-day, or to-morrow at the latest, the Pope's commissioner is to leave with orders to the people of Parma and Piacenza to deliver those cities to Antonio de Leyva, or whomsoever he chooses to delegate.

(*Common writing* :) The Florentines are now trying to come to some arrangement with us through the Duke of Ferrara. We have written to him that on no account is he to accept

1527.

less than 300,000 ducats, one half down, and the other in thirty days, besides 20,000 ducats every month as long as this present war lasts. Don Hercules (Ercole), the eldest son of the Duke, to command the troops of the Signory, as the Duke himself has requested. If the Florentines are wise, they will accept these terms, which are far preferable to having their city sacked. They have already snatched Pisa and Leghorn out of the hands of the Medici, as Your Majesty will see by the enclosed instructions which we have sent to the Duke thereupon.

Cardinal Farnesis (Farnese) is going as Papal Legate to Spain. Andrea Doria, who is now at Porto Ercole, not far from Civittà Vecchia, has been written to, to inquire whether he will give two of his galleys to convey the former and the ambassador of Portugal to Spain. As soon as the answer comes they will start. Has already sent a copy of what Andrea Doria asks as a remuneration for his services, and of the reply that has been made to him. We are anxiously waiting for his answer, and hope it will be favourable, for certainly he is a captain of great importance, and one who can do much for the Emperor's cause.

The Prince of Orange is quite well of his wound, and begins to ride. A few days ago he sent to ask the Pope by the bailliff of Mont to make his brother, the Bishop of Geneva, cardinal;* but the Pope has refused, alleging that there is no need of new cardinals, and that without His Imperial Majesty's knowledge and personal application (*sin que V. M. lo sepa y lo pida*) he does not intend proceeding in the matter.

The Viceroy is sending to Spain Knight Commander Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, from whom and from Mossior de Babri (Bauberi?), as well as from Mons. de la Mothe and Mons. de Pelu, who, it would seem, are going to Spain on private affairs of the late Mons. de Bourbon, Your Imperial Majesty will no doubt learn how matters stand in these parts.

Arrival on the 20th inst. of Maffeo de Thasis with the news of the birth of Prince Philip. Mass of thanksgiving in "Santiago de los Españoles," great rejoicings throughout the city, salvos of artillery from the castle of Sanct Angelo, and volleys of arquebuses from the infantry.

Landing at Monaco of the High Chancellor, Mercurino di Gattinara. His nephew, Bartholomeo, with a commissary from the Pope, gone to take possession of Parma and Piacenza, of which cities the Prince of Orange has appointed him governor, in accordance with the advice of the Council of War, as a compensation for the hackbut shot he received on the day the capitulation was discussed with the Pope.†—Rome, 23rd June 1527.

* "Ha supplicado estos dias al Papa por ruego del Balli de Mont, que hiziesse á su hermano el obispo de Geneva cardenal."

† The fact is not mentioned in the Abbot's letter of the 11th of June, but recorded in Secretary Perez's despatch of the 18th (No. 71, p. 201).

1527.

P.S.—Don Ugo has just received a letter from Andrea Doria, saying that he will not take service under the Emperor as long as Genoa does not change its present form of government, and recover its former freedom. This shows that the said Doria intends renewing his contract with France, or offering his services to the Venetians, and that he wants to sell himself dearer (*encarescer*) by acquainting the opposite party with the conditions which he proposes to the Emperor. To the Pope's message respecting his Legate, he has answered that he will with pleasure take him (Farnese) as far as Marseilles, but that he cannot go further. He will then give him two or three brigantines to continue his journey. So that if the Legate really wishes for a prosperous and short voyage [to Spain], he must needs go to Gaeta to embark.

Signed: "El Abad de Najara."

Addressed: "A la Sacma., Cesa., Cathoca. Mt., &c."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

26 June.

94. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.

Salazar, A. 40,
f. 505.

B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 263.

Wrote on the 11th inst. by way of Genoa, the bearer being Bauberi,* who went to embark there [for Spain]. Since then the most glorious and welcome news that could come from Spain, namely, the birth of a Prince, has been received in this city, to the great contentment and joy of all the Emperor's subjects and ministers. Many rejoicings have taken place on the occasion, and the Pope has shown so much pleasure at the news, that it is believed he will make a good present to him who brought the intelligence first, as conveyed in a letter of His Imperial Majesty to the Marquis del Guasto, which Mafeo de Tarsis,† the Postmaster-General, brought himself.

Has nothing particular to advise besides what Don Ugo, Alarcon, and the Abbot must already have stated in their despatches. The Pope is making great efforts to raise the 70,000 ducats still owing to the army, out of the 150,000, as agreed by the capitulation. He is now selling the fief of Benevento, and offering the tithes (*decimas*) of Naples to any banker who will lend that sum. If he succeeds, and the money is obtained to pay these troops, not a moment should be lost in taking them out of this city and making them march against the enemy, or to the assistance of Leyva,

* See above, No. 84, p. 237.

† Also written *Tassis*, and more frequently *Taxis*, which appears to have been the name of Francis, the founder of the family. The Spanish genealogists, and among them Lopez de Haro (*Nobiliario*, &c., Madrid, 1622.), invariably call them Tarsis. Francis was appointed by Maximilian I. Postmaster-General to the Empire. Three of his nephews, Jean Baptiste, Simon, and Maffeo, inherited that charge, and divided it between them, the former taking Flanders, the second Milan, and the latter Spain. From Jean Baptiste the counts of Oñate and Villamediana in Castille are descended.

1527.

who sends word that the French and Swiss are threatening Lombardy and the Duchy.

The men themselves are desirous of quitting Rome, owing principally to the scarcity of provisions, almost amounting to a famine, and also because the plague has so much spread of late that hundreds die every day.

A message has been sent to the Viceroy to come to Rome in all haste. Cannot say what the result will be, (*cipher*) but feels quite certain that if he does not come this Imperial army will fall to pieces.

(*Common writing.*) The men-at-arms still at Veletri. If to-morrow, the 23rd, no money is sent to them, they will go to Naples, and, once there, it will be difficult to bring them out of that kingdom again.

An ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara has come to announce to the members of the Council of War of this Imperial army that he is about to attack Modena, if not delivered to him according to the last capitulation. He has been referred to Antonio de Leyva, to whom the commission was first entrusted of occupying that city, as well as Parma and Piacenza. The Regent Gattinara, accompanied by one of the Pope's chamberlains, started yesterday with briefs for that purpose. It is not supposed that he will meet with any difficulty. He [Gattinara] is to remain as governor of those cities until further orders. Civittà Vecchia was given up on the 20th, and Don Alonso de Cordova appointed to the command. Doria was not there, as he had gone to Porto Ercole, leaving behind him one of his nephews called Filipin (Filippino). Ostia was given up some days before.

It is reported that the army of the League is on this side of Orvieto, on the road to Perugia, and that they no longer intend attacking Sienna, as was thought at first, and as the Siennese themselves dreaded. In consequence of which rumours, the Marquis of Astorga (Don Pedro Alvarez Osorio), who was at Lucca, hastened to the threatened city to do his duty as a soldier and vassal of His Imperial Majesty, and wrote besides to the Council of War sitting here at Rome, to inform them of the movements of the League. No provision, however, will be needed, as the enemy appears to have abandoned for the present all design of attacking that Signory.

The Council has sent for provisions to all parts of Italy, principally to Sicily and the kingdom of Naples. Although some have already come by sea, owing to Andrea Doria having granted the required safe-conducts, yet they are not in such abundance as to meet the wants of this army and of the Romans. It is to be hoped that when the Neapolitans hear of such permission, provisions will be more plentiful and cheaper, especially if some abatement is made in the import duties, which are now very high.

Cardinal [Pompeo] Colonna and all the others who were staying with him have left Rome from fear of the plague.

1527.

Cardinal Jacobacio is the only one who remains; he is living at his own house without seeing any one or stirring out of doors. Geronimo Moron is gone to Anguilara.

Great watch is, on account of the plague, kept over Sanct Angelo, nobody being allowed to go in or out of it. The Pope, they say, is very much afraid of the plague, and greatly wants to go to Naples. There is no certainty yet as to whom he (the Pope) will appoint as his Legate during his absence. We all wish that Cardinal Colonna may be the person named, but, if so, it will be rather against the Pope's will.

Cardinal Frenesio (Farnese) has been appointed Papal Legate in Spain. He is expected to leave very soon, but, however rapid his journey, he will be tardy enough in the delivery of his embassy, being so slow and irresolute in coming to the point, though a wise and eloquent ecclesiastic.* Most people here wished Campeggio to go in his place, because he is a better friend to the Emperor, and more active in transacting business.

The Pope wishes that the hostages who are to be delivered to the Germans as security for his payment should be placed in the hands of some neutral personage, but this the Germans refuse, insisting upon taking them in any event wherever they go. Negotiations are being carried on respecting this point, but it is doubtful whether the Germans will give in, for they are very obstinate (*rezios*) on these points.

Had written thus far when a Spanish courier arrived with the Emperor's letters of the 21st of April,† 13th and 22nd of May.‡ The bills of exchange for 100,000 ducats come in very good time, as with them, and with what the Pope has already given and will give hereafter, we shall be able to pay the troops and prevent their dispersion, which was imminent; for, as before stated, had it not been for this remittance of funds the men-at-arms would have gone to Naples, and part of the infantry and all the light horse would have followed their example. We shall thus be enabled to march on Lombardy and help Leyva, though it is not likely that the French or Swiss will dare to invade the Duchy when our army is there.

Has greatly rejoiced, as all the Emperor's servants in Italy have, at the news that a powerful fleet of galleys is being fitted out both at Genoa and in the ports of Catalonia for the purpose of waging war on the Turk and attacking him in his own dominions. Will take the very first opportunity to inform His Holiness of this, as well as of the deliberations of the Spanish Cortes and the subsidy they intend to grant for that purpose.

The Pope refuses to sign any papers or take any resolution whatever in ecclesiastical affairs, as long as he remains at

* "Por que es el mas largo hombre que jamas se vió en platicas, y menos resoluto, aunque es sabio y bien hablado."

† No. 50, p. 148.

‡ Nos. 66 and 69.

1527.

Sanct Angelo, for which reason he (Perez) has not yet spoken to him, according to orders, respecting the commutation of the sentence passed on Cobos and the Alcalde Ronquillo. Will, however, do so the first time that the opportunity of making the application with any chance of success occurs.

News has come that the Grand Chancellor (Mercurino di Gattinara) has landed at Monaco.

The Viceroy is trying to persuade Don Ugo [de Moncada] to take the command of the Imperial forces until His Majesty be pleased to appoint a general-in-chief. Don Ugo excuses himself by saying that the command devolves naturally upon the Viceroy from his having been at other times at the head of the Imperial forces. But precious time is lost in these messages, backwards and forwards, and there is urgent need to decide who is to take the lead of this army to prevent its utter ruin and dissolution.

Commander Figueroa* arrived this morning with the Emperor's letter to the Pope approving of the armistice. He came straight from the Viceroy, who gave him a verbal message for the Pope. What the result of the conference was Perez cannot tell, but as the commander is to return to Spain immediately, His Imperial Majesty will be minutely informed thereof. The interview, however, was agreeable to both parties, and the Pope was glad to hear the message from the Viceroy. Considering the opportunity a favourable one Perez spoke to the Pope about the commutation of sentence against Cobos, and the complete absolution of Ronquillo. He found him rather unwilling, as he said that Secretary Cobos had been the first to advise the execution of the Bishop [of Zamora]. Still hopes that His Holiness will yield.

Also begged for a brief addressed to the Archbishop of Seville that he might impose silence on those who contradicted the opinions of Erasmus. The Chancellor before his departure from Spain wrote to him (Perez) to apply for it, and when obtained remit it to the hands of Alfonso Valdes, the secretary. Has done so and the Pope has referred him to Cardinal Sancti Quatuor.—Rome, 26th June 1527.

P.S. — Forgot to say that when he mentioned to His Holiness the affair of Secretary Cobos, and the Emperor's request, he said, "At any rate Cobos seems to be a good Christian, since he is doing penance for the offence done to a bishop, whereas those who offended me do none."

Benefice in the diocese of Orense to be solicited in favour of a son of Secretary Pero Garcia.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 10.

* Don Gomez Suarez de Figueroa.

1527.

27 June.

95. The EMPEROR to SECRETARY PEREZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Muñoz, A. 83,
 f. 315.
 B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
 f. 264.

Received his letters of the 20th March, 7th, 26th, 29th, and 30th of April. Thanks him for his zeal, and for his foresight in letting the Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy) know the intrigues and devices of the brother of the Duke of Lorraine (Vaudemont) in that kingdom. Is to see that the bulls for the Bishops of Zamora and Oviedo be not expedited *a supplicatione*, as the Pope and cardinals pretend, but by his own presentation and appointment as King of Spain, in the manner used to this day.—Valladolid, 27th June 1527.

Spanish. Original corrected draft. p. 1.

27 June.

96. ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador at Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
 f. 509.
 B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
 f. 268.

Since his letter of the 22nd inst. the Republic has had letters from the Court of France confirming the news he (Sanchez) gave in his last, viz., that Mons. de Lautrec was about to cross the Alps with 6,000 Germans. Miçer Ambrosio de Florencia, who formerly resided here as ambassador of France, writes in date of the 15th that he was about to start with Lautrec in five days, from which the Venetians naturally conclude that the French forces will soon be in Italy, though most people think that they cannot come before the end of July.

The Bolognese have sent away the Pope's officials and created new ones. It is reported that they intend to have the same form of government as they had before, and to constitute themselves into a sort of Republic. They were about to send ambassadors to this camp and place themselves at the disposal of the generals. We shall see how all these things end.*

Florence is raising 7,000 infantry to engross the army of the League. Many people are deserting the city in consequence. Counts Guido Rangone and Gayatço (Gayao) have sent to ask the Bolognese passage for 4,000 infantry through their territory. The answer was that they would think about it, which is not quite satisfactory. The intention of those captains, as it would seem, is to go to Parma.

(*Cipher* :) A friend tells him that an influential member of this Republic has lately told him in secret that the castellan (*alcayde*) of Milan had sent to offer his services both to this Signory and to the King of France, and that he was only waiting for the arrival of Lautrec to raise banners (*alçar banderas*) for the League. The informer is an old friend very much attached to the Imperial cause, and the person

* "Los de Boloña han echo (*sic*) ciertos officios e dizen que quieren estar al gobierno della como ciertos (antes ?) que estauan en el Palacio que es azerse (*sic*) quasi como Republica, e diz que querian embiar al exercito de V^{ra} M^d. para hazer lo que quisieren. No sé en que parará."

1527.

who told him the news is in a position to know. Whether he has told the truth or not is more than he (Sanchez) can say. Has written to Leyva informing him thereof.

Gregorio da Casale, who was at Rome as English resident ambassador, has arrived here; he held yesterday a conference with the Signory, which lasted upwards of three hours.

The Mantuan ambassador goes on doing all the harm he can, from which I conclude that his master, the Marquis (Federigo Gonzaga), cannot be in our favour.

The Baron del Burgo, a Sicilian, who it seems is going to His Highness the King of Bohemia and Hungary as ambassador, though not as Papal Nuncio, is now here, holding frequent conferences with the ambassadors of the opposite parties, nor has he called upon him (Sanchez).

(*Common writing* :) Relates a long conversation he had with Cardinal Egidio, who received him very courteously.

(*Cipher* :) Has been told, though he does not vouch for the truth, that since the taking and sack of Rome, France and the Signory have concluded a new treaty stipulating that whatever they may gain by this war is to be equally divided between them.—Venice, 27th June 1527.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

27 June.

97. The ABBOT OF NAJERA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.

Salazar, A. 40,
f. 54.

B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 272.

Wrote last on the 13th* by Knight Commander [Gomez] Suarez de Figueroa, who was going to Spain. Has nothing new to add. Begs credence for the bearer of that despatch, and a quick resolution respecting Italian affairs.—Rome, 24th June 1527.

Signed: "El Abad de Najera."

Addressed: "A la Sacrama. Cesa. y Cathca. Mt."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

30 June.

98. The EMPEROR to PROTHONOTARY MARINO CARACCILOLO

S. E. Princ. d. I.

L. 1,454, f. 95.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 273.

Names and appoints him supreme magistrate (*supremum justitie prefectum*) in the Duchy of Milan.—Valladolid, on the last day of June 1527.

Latin. Original minute. p. 1.

30 June.

99. The EMPEROR to ALFONSO D'ESTE, Duke of Ferrara.

S. E. Princ. d. I.

L. 1,454, f. 110.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 274.

Has always been most studious to procure the peace of Christendom, and therefore concluded one with the King of France, then his prisoner.

Did elevate Pope Clement to the Pontificate, trusting in

* No. 83 p. 232, but with the date of the 11th.

1527.

the goodness of his sentiments. This confidence, however, has been betrayed. Has been forced to take up arms, not from any lust of conquest, but in order to protect his own subjects against the tyranny of his enemies. Charles of Bourbon, "multis nominibus invictissimus," was his captain-general in Italy, and under him by letters patent, dated Granada, 5th of October 1526, he (Alfonso d'Este) was appointed his lieutenant (*locum tenens*). Now that Bourbon "nostro et omnium dolore" is dead, the Emperor appoints him (Alfonso d'Este) captain-general of all his armies in Italy, with all the honours, prerogatives, emoluments, &c. belonging to that post.—Valladolid, the last day of June 1527.

Latin. Original minute. p. 1.

30 June. 100. LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the
 M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. EMPEROR.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 516.

The general of the Franciscans sailed on the 11th. The day before he (Soria) received the Emperor's letters of the 23rd May, 6th and 21st of April. Delivered to the Doge and bailiffs (*baylia*) of Genoa the Imperial letters announcing the birth of Prince Philip, which news was received with great joy. Gave them also the letters wherein His Imperial Majesty exhorts them not to seek for change in their form of government, but to continue as hitherto. This precaution has been of good effect, though some of the citizens still persist in the idea of the union, so much so that they are thinking of sending Martin Centurion [to Spain] to beg His Imperial Majesty to accede to their wishes. It is, however, important that the Emperor should know that the said Centurion is a partisan of the union, and speaks in favour of it, saying that when he was last in Spain, and mentioned the subject in the presence of the Emperor and his Council, the scheme was approved of. They have promised him, if he succeeds, the post of chancellor, and therefore he is bound for his own convenience and profit to speak in favour of the projected union. His (Soria's) opinion is that at the present moment nothing can be worse for the Emperor's interests in Italy, and that the application of these people ought to be refused.

Any attempt on Savona at this juncture would be out of the question, because, besides the city being strongly fortified, Count Pedro Navarro has left and gone to Asti, there to join the Switzers and the forces expected from France for the purpose of invading the Duchy of Milan. Until the Imperial army return to Lombardy it is of no use to attack Savona. There is besides no sea force to dispose of, some of our galleys being at Naples, and the rest at Genoa, which is no small inconvenience under present circumstances, as nothing can be effectually done unless this coast is completely cleared. Has often written to the Viceroy, asking that the Naples fleet should be sent back, but hitherto without success. The captains of the galleys no doubt prefer remaining there inactive, and supporting their crews at less expense.

1527.

Has duly received, and presented for acceptance, the bills of exchange for 120,000 ducats which came by the last post; but is in reality very much perplexed as to the employment of the said funds, because his orders are to distribute them according to Bourbon's commands, and that general being dead, he hardly knows what to do. But as Leyva is in such stress, and cannot leave Milan for want of money to pay his troops; as before Bourbon marched on Rome he (Soria) received an order to pay to that general half the money that was to come from Spain; as the Abbot of Najera writes to say that the Milanese army must needs be helped at any cost, he has not hesitated to remit to him one third of the 100,000 ducats. Should the Viceroy and other Imperial officials, whom he (Soria) has consulted thereupon, order him to make further remittances he will do so on his own responsibility, as there is no possibility of receiving fresh instructions from Spain.

As to the remaining 20,000 they shall be employed exclusively in the building of galleys. The Doge and Community have agreed to furnish six, provided he (Soria) builds the other six at the Emperor's expense. They will be ready in September. Count Flisco offers to arm four of them at a cheaper rate than the Community, and contractors will not be wanting for the other two. But as one galley ready for sea costs, exclusively of artillery and arms, 2,200 ducats of gold, the 20,000 appropriated for that service will not suffice, as they are simple *ducats*, not *ducats of gold*. In short, there is only money for eight galleys, and if these are to be properly armed, and four more added to their number, further bills of exchange at very short dates will be required. Of the 30,000 ducats remitted last year, no portion remains in his (Soria's) hands. They were exclusively spent for the building and arming of certain galleys, and for the pay of three companies of Spanish infantry sent by Mons. de Bourbon, which proved to be the saving of Genoa on that occasion.

Has been informed by various friends and relatives of Andrea Doria that there is some probability of that captain now forsaking the service of the King of France, if advantageous terms are offered him, such as the purchase of his galleys by the Emperor, or the payment of the same stipend as the Pope gave him. Has written both to the Viceroy and to the Abbot of Najera on the subject, requesting them to make overtures to this effect.

The Duke of Ferrara has taken possession of Modena and Carpi.

The Florentines have had in their power (*han avido en su poder*) the fortresses of Pisa and Leghorn; notwithstanding which, they have confirmed their alliance with the League. Cardinal Cortona and the two nephews of the Pope have applied for a safe-conduct to come to this city (Genoa). The Doge and he (Soria) are of opinion that the safe-conduct ought to be granted. Most likely the cardinals will come soon, for they are now at a place called Masa. All the others who went out of Rome are thinking of meeting at Venice.

1527.

The jewels which Mons de Bourbon pawned to Ansaldo Grimaldo for 8,000 cr. have been redeemed.

The Grand Chancellor (Mercurino Gattinara) arrived on St. John's day with three Genoese galleys. He is suffering from gout, and intends staying here a few days until his recovery. He and those who accompany him were in great danger of being captured by the French eight leagues from this port; indeed one cannon ball struck the galley in which he was He (Gattinara) having written from Monego that 2,000 ducats should be paid to the Lord of that place, and that the two companies of Spanish infantry now in guard of this city should likewise be paid out of the Emperor's treasury, he (Soria) has done so.

Leyva was to have left Milan yesterday, the 26th inst., to meet the Duke Francesco Sforza, who had left Lodi at the head of 10,000 men for the purpose of laying waste the country about that capital. Count Pedro Navarro had come as far as Alessandria for a similar purpose.

The camp of the League, since its retreat from Rome, is almost broken up. The few forces that remain together are said to have taken the direction of Sienna. This last news is not officially announced, but the truth is that the Siennese are terribly afraid of being invaded by the enemy, and are writing everywhere for succour.

Since the death of Mons de Bourbon the warden of the castle of Milan (La Mothe) has had the draw-bridges raised and the gates shut, not allowing any one to go in or out, and retaining possession of Leyva's silver plate that is inside. Certainly these are no symptoms of fidelity on the part of the said warden, who is a Frenchman, and has under him 80 Spaniards and 100 Germans. The captain of these last is a Grison, and therefore not to be trusted. God forbid that there should be treachery in that quarter.

Andrea Doria passed this morning before this port with seven galleys, on board of which are Alberto di Carpi, Renzo da Ceri, with their respective wives, and several Roman families. Mons. de Langes (Langey), the French ambassador, is also on board one of the galleys. They are bound for France. Doria has in reserve seven more ships laden with alum, taken at Civittà Vecchia and Porto Hercole, as part and portion of the stipend which the Pope owes him for his late services. All his galleys hoisted white colours, indicating that he (Doria) is not now in the service of any Prince whomsoever. He said to some one who spoke to him that Civittà Vecchia had been delivered to the Emperor's captains.—Genoa, 30th June 1527.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. From Lope de Soria, 27th of June. Answered."

Spanish. Original. pp. 8.

1527.

30 June. 101. GABRIEL SANCHEZ, Secretary to the King of Hungary and Bohemia, to [ALONSO SANCHEZ].
 M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 521.

Up to this hour the Vayvod has made no great preparations to invade Hungary. He has certainly collected considerable forces, but his men are worthless (*no es gente de affrenta*).

Joan Negro, the Greek, about whom I wrote [to you] that he was waging war at once on the Vayvod and on the Turk, has lately declared in favour of His Highness. It would appear that in consequence of the said Negro having only under his command volunteers (*aventureros*), who serve without pay, some robberies and other excesses had been committed in the villages and towns which he visited with his bands. The Vayvod hearing of this, and wishing to alienate the affections of the Hungarians, who are to a man in favour of our King, adroitly circulated the rumour that the excesses of Negro's followers were to be solely attributed to King Ferdinand and his orders. To destroy this false impression an ambassador was sent to Negro, requesting him not to allow any injury to be done to people who were the Archduke's natural subjects, since the kingdom of Hungary belonged to him by right. Negro received the Austrian ambassador most honourably, and excused himself by saying that if any excess had been committed by his men, it was entirely without his knowledge or consent, and that he would cause the guilty parties to be arrested and tried. It happened, however, that whilst the said ambassador and a Russian gentleman were at table, dining with Negro, a lady entered the room complaining that the said Russian, who was Negro's maître d'hôtel and the general of his small army, had ravished one of her daughters. Upon which he (Negro), having ascertained the truth, had the Russian beheaded in his very presence, and ordered four more of his courtiers, who were also implicated in the affair, to be immediately arrested and executed. This being done, he said to the ambassador, "You will tell the King, your master, that he will always find me ready to execute his orders, and that he may consider me as his most faithful servant and subject." Negro has since sent an embassy to our King [Ferdinand] to make similar protestations, and yet there are not wanting courtiers who assert that he is in secret communication with the Vayvod, and that whatever he has done and said hitherto is merely for the purpose of gaining our master's confidence, and the better to execute his treacherous designs.

Indorsed: "Copy of paragraph of letter from Gabriel Sanchez, secretary to His most Serene Highness the King of Hungary and Bohemia, dated Vienna, the 31st (*sic*) of June."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 1½.

1527.

30 June. 102.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 522.

PARAGRAPHS extracted from a letter of ARCHDUKE FERDINAND, King of Hungary and Bohemia, [to ALONSO SANCHEZ].

We have seen the copy of the letter which Leyva wrote to you about the plans of the confederates, and the rumour that Francesco Sforza was preparing to march against Milan, and although the news of what has happened at Rome must have rather disconcerted our enemies, we are anxiously waiting to hear that the Imperial army has evacuated that city, and returned to Lombardy. No other provision that we know of can be made now for the defence of the Duchy in case the confederates should attack it, for we cannot detach any of our forces, the Vayvod having in Hungary, and elsewhere, such powerful auxiliaries. It may be true, as you say, that the Turk has sent part of his army against the Pasha of Anatolia, but there can be no doubt that he has considerable forces on the frontiers of Hungary and Servia, and that the Vayvod has secret intelligences with him, though he gives out that he has nothing in common with the Infidel, in order to deceive and take us by surprise.

Our army is not so strong as it ought to be, for in the first place the Vayvod, through his intrigues, has prevented our kingdom of Hungary from paying us the whole of the service money; and, secondly, we have spent so much of late years, owing to the armies we have sent to the frontiers against the Turk, or to Italy to the assistance of our brother the Emperor, that we really cannot raise any more troops.

(*Common writing:*) Orders were sent four days ago to our cousin the Marquis Casimir, our captain-general, to enter Hungary as soon as possible. We ourselves shall follow him as soon as the rest of our forces join us in this capital. Of the result of the campaign and our ulterior plans you shall be advised in time.—Vienna, the last day of June 1527.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

2 July. 103. The EMPEROR to SECRETARY PEREZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 7.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 290.

Has received no letters since the 13th of June, when an answer was sent to all his despatches. Is anxious to hear from Rome and the rest of Italy.

The death of Monsieur de Bourbon at the storming of Rome has caused him (the Emperor) great sorrow, as he may well imagine.—2nd July 1527.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

2 July. 104. The SAME to ALONSO SANCHEZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 7.
B. M. Add. 28,576.
f. 290.

No despatch of his has come by the last messenger. Wonders at it, as the rest of the Imperial agents in Italy have written. Presumes that the roads between Venice and Genoa are occupied by the Leaguers.—2nd July 1527.

Fiat proutin alia Joannis Perez.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

1527.

2 July. 105.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
 B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
 f. 290.

The SAME to PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO.

Hopes that his letter appointing him Lord Chief Justice at Milan has arrived. Is very anxious for news of that locality. —2nd July 1527.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

2 July. 106.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
 f. 7.
 B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
 f. 290.

The SAME to the ABBOT OF NAJERA.

His despatch of the 13th, brought by Knight Commander Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, has come to hand. Is glad to hear that a capitulation has been made with his Holiness. Is expecting further news.—2nd July 1527.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

4 July. 107.

S. E. L. 1454,
 f. 133.
 B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
 f. 275.

The MARQUIS OF ASTORGA'S INSTRUCTIONS to DON FRANCISCO OSORIO.

Begs him to wait on the Emperor and report verbally to him many things he has observed during the last war, and since the sack of Rome by the Imperial troops. Let the Emperor hear the whole truth, that His Majesty may take effective measures. He is so young that he might have been excused from giving advice on such important matters; but his love of the Imperial service prompts him to do so, even were he to suffer thereby, or be in any way hindered from attaining the object for which he has come to Italy.*

The Emperor must already be informed of the events at Rome, after the sack, and of the state in which his Holiness remains. Should more information be required, he (Don Francisco) had better refer to the report taken by Fortuna, his (the Marquis') servant. To wipe out the blot of infamy which must fall on our nation, in consequence of the cruelties and atrocities committed at Rome by the Imperial troops, His Majesty the Emperor is bound to do something in favour of that city, and alleviate the heavy taxation (*pechos y tallas*) to which it is now subjected, appointing such a governor as may follow his (the Emperor's) orders and instructions. The governor must be a Spaniard, a person of rank and authority, free from avarice (*avaricia*), the want of all these qualifications in most of the Imperial ministers having been the cause of all the mishaps (*inconvenientes*) that have arisen.

With respect to the Pope, the Emperor must needs show by his deeds that he has had no other object in view than the reformation, for the benefit and pacification of Christendom at large, of all the abuses (*desordenes*) in the Church, since to no other cause can the schism and heresy of Luther be

* Don Pedro Alvarez de Osorio, Count of Trastamara and fourth Marquis of Astorga, had gone to Italy on some private business of his own, and to obtain from the Pope permission to marry D^a. Luisa de Acuña y Portugal, who became in time Duchess of Najera by her marriage to Dⁿ. Juan Estevan Manrique de Lara, third duke. The Marquis had been first engaged, nay betrothed, to Doña Maria Pimentel y Velasco, daughter of the Count of Benavente.

1527.

ascribed, as well as the wars and dissensions which have disturbed the Christian world, and given the Turk occasion to invade Hungary. For from such abuses have arisen the scanty justice shown, and the bad example given [by the Imperialists] to all Christian nations.*

If the reformation is to be obtained by means of a general Council, no great uniformity can be expected therein, but, on the contrary, much discord and difference of opinion. The meeting together of so many prelates [from various and distant lands] could not be convened in a short space of time. To keep the Pope here (*acá*) so long in suspense would not look well, and besides would have the effect of encouraging the enemies of the Church in their evil passions. It would be far more advisable for His Imperial Majesty to come over to Italy as soon as possible, as his presence would then be the best remedy for these difficulties. Should the Emperor be unable to come, it is worth consideration whether it would not be better to have the Pope and his cardinals conveyed [to Spain]; for although it might be said that they went as prisoners, surely, when once in Spain, they might be treated as if they were perfectly free; for although it stands to reason that whilst His Holiness is in Spain, and before the Emperor has satisfactorily arranged matters with him, he (the Pope) ought not to be left in entire freedom, but the greatest possible care to be taken of his person and life, yet the other expedient seems the wisest. His Imperial Majesty must be well informed of the licentiousness of this army, their little regard for justice or fear of their captains, and the many evils which this relaxation of discipline has hitherto caused, and may cause hereafter if not remedied in time. The principal cause of the soldiers' insubordination is their not being paid, and their being commanded by people who neither understand their language nor their habits, but who in order to keep them together tolerate their excesses, thereby bringing them to the state of lawlessness in which they now are. As the men themselves are maliciously inclined (*tienen espiritu del diablo*) and know all this, they have become quite unmanageable.

So it is that at the sack of Rome the Imperialists suffered most because, being our friends, they trusted to us. People of the opposite party fled, and hid their valuables, whilst most of the cardinals and rich citizens attached to our cause had their houses plundered, or were themselves imprisoned, being unable to pay their ransom. As there has been flagrant injustice and cruelty in these doings, His Imperial Majesty should in his (the Marquis') opinion remove the scandal thus caused, by ordering that all obligations and bills signed by such parties, and now in the hands of soldiers, be considered null and void, or else he should provide sufficient

* "Y de aqui nació la poca justicia y el mal exemplo e consecuencia para todos los Christianos."

1527.

compensation for their losses by means of ecclesiastical endowments in Spain or Naples.

Were it possible to obtain from the Pope by way of composition (*composicion*) his absolution to the Imperial army for the crimes and excesses of the sack, the writer has no doubt that a considerable sum of money might be got out from the soldiers, whilst they are rich, for although the roads are well closed by plague as well as war, yet those who have money are fast going away from the camp.

The Emperor should soon appoint a commander-in-chief for this army, and consider well first who is to be such commander, because among the common soldiers, as well as among the officers, there is already much difference of opinion, no one looking beyond his own particular interest.

Much time has been lost in reaping the fruits of this last victory. If immediately after the surrender of the castle of Sanct Angelo the army had been sent out of Rome, and had marched against the enemy, much good might have been effected. It is to be hoped that it will soon take the field, and begin operations, for to wait for Florence to get in her harvest (*coja pan*), for the Switzers to come down, and the Frenchmen to invade Lombardy, would be out of the question. Some agreement might be made with Florence, and money obtained to pay these Imperial troops, for no very great reliance is to be placed on the Pope's promises, and besides the tax imposed on the lands of the Church will not be easily or quickly collected.

An agreement with Florence under the present circumstances is highly desirable for the Imperial service, that the army may pass on before the enemy finds out its strength. Has reasons to believe that the Florentines wish for it, and that the circumstance of this army being without a commander has hitherto prevented their sending to the camp a fit person to treat. The Duke of Ferrara has lately interfered in this affair; cannot say what he will achieve, but this he knows for certain, that the Florentines would have liked the negotiation in any other hands but the Duke's.

His Imperial Majesty must know what the nature of these Italians is. Though for their own particular ends they may wish for a political change, when this is once accomplished they begin to look out for other masters or protectors; so that, although the fear they have of this Imperial army, and of a repetition of the severity with which they have been treated, together with the increase of the Emperor's power, makes them now appear devout Imperialists, they begin already to give signs of their fickle nature and disposition. His Imperial Majesty knows how selfish they are, and that they never render service except by force, or in the expectation of a reward. Lucca, for instance, has conducted herself lately in entire submission (*con voz sumisa*) to the Imperial commands, but without making any demonstration

1527.

or open service, and, on the contrary, carefully concealing all her acts.

Sienna, from fear of being subjected to the Florentines, has hitherto faithfully maintained her devotion to the Emperor; but this has been done principally to defend herself against the attacks of her enemies. She is very much exhausted, because her revenues are few, and there has been little or no trade of late. In fact she would have been reduced to great distress, had she not seized the property of emigrants (*foraxidos*). This is the reason why that Signory has lately been unable to help us with men or provisions. It is very important that it should be governed in future by people devoted to His Imperial Majesty. So great has been the change that the government does not work well, for evil passions (*muchas pasiones escandalosas*) are rife among them, and they are like most popular communities, very obstinate and adhering doggedly to their own opinion.*

They ought perhaps to be indulged in some of their present claims. One is the county of Petillano (Pitigliano), which adjoins their territory near Rome, and which they say the Count holds unjustly, as it belongs by right to them. This is a sort of thing which, as he (the Marquis) has written to them, they had better place in the Emperor's hands for him to decide who has the best right, rather than press their suit as they are doing at present.

As well for this reason as on account of the designs the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) is known to have entertained [about Sienna], the greatest attention should be paid to secure his friendship, and prevent his taking engagements with our enemies, for it is rumoured that they are now trying to turn his brains (*levantarle el cervello*), and it is always highly imprudent to let time slip (*dar lugar al tiempo*).†

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

6 July. 108. The SAME to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,454.
f. 136,
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 291.

Has not written before because he was not sufficiently informed, and thought besides that the Emperor's agents and ministers might have written home. Came from Flanders when he heard that the Italian League had been concluded, and that the army of the confederated powers was marching on Milan. Reached Savoy with great difficulty, and was obliged to stop, all the roads being occupied by the enemy. Wrote to Mons. de Bourbon, asking for an escort to conduct him to Milan; but this could not be done. Fell ill (in Savoy),

* "E son como villanos recios e tiessos en sus opiniones."

† These instructions are neither signed nor dated, but being placed in the bundle after letters of the 2nd of July, and close to one of the Marquis to the Emperor, in date of the 6th, which will be abstracted hereafter, there can be no doubt that they were drawn at Sienna about that day.

1527.

and, still unwell and much weakened by disease, embarked for Genoa, which he reached with great difficulty. Though the enemy raised the blockade of the port and withdrew, he was still unable to join the army. After this, hearing that the Imperial forces had gone out [of Milan] and taken the offensive, he determined to quit Genoa and join them; when perceiving the difference of opinion between Mons. de Bourbon and the Viceroy, and that the latter recommended that the army should not proceed on its march, but respect the truce he had made with the Pope, he (the Marquis) decided to join the Viceroy at Florence, as he thought he might be of use there. Was detained on the road to that city and obliged to go to Lucca, which he reached with great difficulty. There he heard the news of the sack of Rome. Communicated the intelligence to the Imperial ambassador at Genoa (Lope de Soria), that he might without loss of time inform the Emperor. During this time the army of the League, which had marched upon Rome, retreated, and came to the frontiers of Sienna, with hostile intentions. As the Imperial army could not take the field soon, and it was very important to prevent the attack of the confederates on Sienna; as the Siennese, though brave, are not much experienced in matters of war, and were then badly provided [with troops and ammunition], he (the Marquis) determined to go to that city, and inform the generals of the Imperial army of the enemy's projects. This done, he despatched his uncle, Don Antonio,* though a clergyman, with some forces to make a reconnaissance, and though warmly received by the enemy, was ultimately successful, obliging them to take the road to Perosa (Perugia), instead of coming [to Sienna] as they had intended.

As the Emperor knows, he (the Marquis) came [to Italy] to attend to business of his own, touching his conscience and his honour, as well as to wait for His Imperial Majesty's much-desired visit to this country. Such have always been the services of his ancestors to the Royal Crown of Spain that he was justified in thinking that the Emperor would have rather taken occasion to employ and honour him than to do him injury, as has been the case. But as nothing can make him swerve from what he considers his duty, he will persevere in the course which his honour dictates to him; but cannot nevertheless refrain from uttering his complaints. He hears that at the instigation of a person† who, in such matters at least, ought not to enjoy more favour at Court than himself (the Marquis), an order has come for his leaving Italy, and abandoning the affairs which brought him hither. He feels this the more, because his uncle, the bishop, having accom-

* Don Antonio (Alvaro?) Osorio, Bishop of Astorga, uncle, not brother of the Marquis, as stated at p. 161.

† D. Alonso Pimentel, Count of Benavente, to whose daughter, Da. Maria Pimentel y Velasco, the Marquis had been formerly betrothed.

1527.

panied him at his own request, will naturally be involved in a measure that must be injurious to his reputation. The order has never reached him, but if it had, he could not at the time have complied with it, because the business he had in hand, though private and concerning his own person and family, is of such a nature that His Imperial Majesty could not but rejoice at its issue.* Could not then, for the sake of his conscience and honour, give up his journey [to Rome]. Had the Emperor insisted on it, he (the Marquis) would have sufficient cause to complain of the injury done him. Has delayed the execution of this order, expecting the Emperor's arrival [in Italy], and hoping that, the service of his family and ancestors being taken into account, the Emperor might think of him and give him employment. But since this could not be done, and the Emperor's journey is postponed, he himself is preparing to go [to Spain], there to serve in whatever branch of the administration may be thought fit for him. The better to end this his journey, which has been undertaken for the Emperor's service, he now sends to court his uncle, Don Francisco Osorio, bearer of this present, to whom he has given written instructions about the state of affairs of Italy, that he may answer all questions put to him.—Sienna, 6th July 1527.

Signed: "El Marques de Astorga."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. From the Marquis of Astorga, 6th July."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

11 July. 109.

SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 11.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 295.

Encloses copy of his despatch of the 1st inst.,† sent by Knight Commander Figueroa. Since then the Germans have mutinied against the Prince of Orange, complaining that the time has passed at which he promised they should be paid. They went tumultuously to his quarters, but finding that he was out, destroyed or plundered everything within. The Prince, who had received early intelligence of their intentions, secretly left his lodgings and repaired to Sanct Lorenzo, outside Rome. There he stayed twenty-four hours, and then went to Castil Pandolfo, where Ascanio Colonna is now residing. They say that his intention is to go still further, and that he will go to Rocca Priora, which is as far again (*otro tanto lexos*) from this city.

* "Por que lo que yo tenia que hazer en mis negocios son cosas de calidad que mirandolas bien, V. M. se deve servir dellas, y yo no podia por lo que tocaba á mi conciencia y á mi honra dexar de cumplir mi jornada y romeria y quando V. M. no lo hiciere asi me debria mucho sentir y agraviar de V. M."

† See Perez's letter of the 8th April (No. 47, p. 138), wherein mention is made of certain letters of the Emperor addressed to the Marquis and Bishop, and commanding them to desist from their application to the Pope.

1527.

The day after the mutiny of the Germans the Spaniards rose also, saying that they had not been paid, and insisting upon quitting Rome and retiring to the kingdom of Naples; but as they are more open to reason than the lansquenets, they have been easily quieted and persuaded to stay, under promise that within the present month the 50,000 ducats which the Pope is to pay shall be fully distributed among them. The Germans are to have now 100,000, besides a security for the remainder. Some clerks of Ansaldo Grimaldo, the banker, and of another Spanish merchant called Miguel Gironimo Sanchez, have arrived in Rome, and offer to give in specie 90,000 ducats before the end of the month, besides which the Viceroy has promised to advance part of the sum from the treasury at Naples. The Pope is to give those merchants 50 per cent. profit upon the whole 90,000. With this arrangement both Germans and Spaniards seem to be contented at present. They have returned to their respective quarters, and it is to be hoped that when the payment has been accomplished they will quit Rome and march to whichever part of Italy they are ordered. They themselves desire this, for the plague has much increased of late, the mortality being some days 700 and even 1,000, though mostly among foreigners (*extrangeros*). The castle itself has been attacked, notwithstanding Alarcon's vigilance, and some deaths have occurred, in consequence of which the Pope and the cardinals are, as may be supposed, very desirous to go elsewhere.

Don Ugo [de Moncada], perceiving the mutinous spirit of the men, and that he could be of no use here, went the other day to Albano, four leagues off, close to Marino and Castil Pandolfo, whence he is in constant communication with Alarcon and the Abbot. He is not likely to remain there long, but will go to Naples.

Has been told that the members of the War Council are endeavouring to persuade the Prince of Orange to take the command of the Germans only, whilst the Marquis del Guasto would take that of the Spaniards; both to be under that of the Viceroy until His Imperial Majesty decides who is to be commander-in-chief. The Prince however, does not approve of such an arrangement, and declares that he will not move from the place whereat he is staying, close to Rome, until he hears the Emperor's decision.

Briefs for the bishoprics of Oviedo and Zamora.—Death of Cardinal Jacobacis, a very old man, much attached to the Imperial service.

On the 10th inst. the German and Spanish infantry left Rome. Great has been the joy of the Romans at their departure. Many families are returning, the shops are being re-opened, and the markets getting stocked. Confidence and trade revive. Before departing the Germans sold at very low prices what they could not take away, and the consequence was that what is worth ten sold for two, and that when

1527.

no purchasers were found the things were put out of doors and in the streets for any one to take away.

There is some talk of His Holiness and the cardinals going to Rocca di Papa, but it is not yet decided, because they say there are no proper apartments at the Rocca (castle) for him, and the village itself offers no accommodation for his suite.

Alarcon, the Abbot, and Juan de Urbina are discussing who is to remain as Governor of Rome during the Pope's absence. It is generally believed that the appointment will be given to Cardinal Colonna as Papal Legate, that the guard of the city will be entrusted to the Colonnese, and that of the gates to some Roman citizens known to be attached to the Imperial cause.

The Siennese persist in their idea of getting Petillano (Pitigliano), which, they say, belongs to them, and are making preparations to attack it.

The Marquis of Astorga (D. Pedro Alvarez Osorio) writes from Sienna to say that he is coming here shortly, *en route* for Spain. Should he make his appearance the Secretary will try to ascertain what his real purpose is. If it be only the affair of his marriage, Perez will place in his hands and in those of the Bishop [of Astorga], his uncle, the letters he has for them, and do everything in his power to thwart their application to the Pope.

The hostages whom the Germans were to take with them on their departure have been entrusted to Alarcon's keeping, and are inside Sanct Angelo.—Rome, 11th July 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacrmæ. Cæsæ. Cathocæ.Mati."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 6.

12 July. 110. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
f. 298.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 13.

After his letter of yesterday he (Perez) went up to Sanct Angelo, and heard that Alarcon, the Abbot, and Urbina had decided that the Pope with the cardinals and hostages should go together to Salmoneta, as the Rocca (di Papa) could not afford sufficient accommodation for them. Alarcon had sent thither two captains, one German, the other Spanish, announcing this determination to the Lord of the place, and requesting him to make it ready for the reception of the Pope and suite. As soon as the captains return with an answer the Pope is to leave Sanct Angelo, though it must be said that neither he nor the cardinals are very anxious for change of air, which is often fatal under present circumstances, for although the focus of the prevailing disease is here at Rome, yet it is known to have spread all round, so much so that many Roman families are returning.

Two days since the Abbot was attacked, though very slightly. Hopes that he will soon recover, for were he to die the Emperor would lose in him a most faithful servant.

1527.

The Legate (Farnese) will, they say, start this evening for Porto Ercole, there to embark for Spain. He takes two galleys, and the Portuguese ambassador (Don Martin de Portugal) accompanies him.

The Germans insist upon having an inventory made of everything within the precincts of Sanct Angelo, and will not allow anything to go out except what is absolutely necessary for the person of the Pope and cardinals.—Rome, 12th July 1527.

Signed : "Perez."

Addressed : "Sacramæ. Cæsæ. Cathocæ. Mati."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

12 July. 111. CLEMENT VII. to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 18.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 299.

God, who scrutinizes men's hearts, knows that from the very day that Rome was attacked, taken and sacked by the Imperial soldiers, the citizens subjected to all manner of ill-treatment, and himself made a prisoner in Sanct Angelo—where he is still detained until the entire sum of money agreed with the Emperor's captains be paid—he (the Pope) has been wishing to appoint a Nuncio who should go to Spain and report verbally on his sufferings and "ea quæ Nobis in ipso Urbis excidio miserrime acciderunt." He was confident that the moment the Emperor heard of the state to which the Church had been reduced he could not fail to do his best for the honour and welfare of the Apostolic See. Has hitherto been prevented from communicating with him as he wished.

Sends now Don Martin de Portugal, ambassador of the King of Portugal (Dom João II.), whose probity and wisdom are well known to him, to act as his Nuncio and Legate *a latere*. Begs credence for him.—Datum Romæ, in Arce Sancti Angeli, die XII. Julii 1527.

Signed : "Evangelista."

Addressed : "Charissimo in Christo Filio nostro Carolo Romanorum et Hispaniarum Regi Catholico in Imperatorem electo."

Latin. Original. pp. 1½.

12 July. 112. PROTHONOTARY MARINO CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 16.

Wrote last on the 21st June. Since then, on the 28th, the Venetians and the men of the Duke Francesco [Sforza] occupied Marignano, where Leyva had left two companies of infantry. Hearing of the enemy's approach Leyva went out of Milan to meet them on the 25th, but on his arrival at Marignano found the confederates in possession of the town, and the Imperialists shut up in a church, where they were defending themselves. This notwithstanding, Leyva's vanguard entered the town, expelled the enemy therefrom, and followed

1527.

them to a very strong place (*loco fortissimo*) close by, surrounded by water and trenches, where they are now encamped. Frequent skirmishes take place, and Leyva has already possessed himself of a building in the neighbourhood, which he has provided with artillery, and whence he is doing them all the injury he can.

This movement of the confederates cannot have any other object than that of stopping our supplies, spoiling the corn, which is nearly ripe, and preventing us from attending to other parts of Lombardy, such as the Astesano and Alessandria, where Pedro Navarro now is, and the territory of Novara and others also infested by the enemy. If such was their object they have most singularly failed, for Antonio de Leyva has been enabled to detach against the former 1,800 Germans and several companies of Italian infantry under Count Lodrone, and is also about to send reinforcements to Novara, &c.

As Leyva writes by this post, he (Caracciolo) needs not commend the service that has been done in persuading the Germans to quit Milan and attack the enemy, for they pretended that numberless sums* were owing to them, and obstinately refused to march out unless they were paid.

Letters have been received from France, advising that the most Christian King has determined to send Lautrech at the head of an army composed of 10,000 Switzers, 6,000 French infantry, 500 (others say 800) men-at-arms, and 24 pieces of artillery. It is said even that some of the Switzers have already crossed the Alps.—Milan, 12th July 1527.

Signed : "Il Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed : "Sacre. Cathce. & Cese. Mti."

Indorsed : "Al Rey. 1527. Del. Protonotario Caracciolo, de 22 de Julio."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 4.

13 July. 113. DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 227, No. 22.

Wrote last by Juan Viscayno, the courier, who embarked at the end of May, as well as by Miguel de Guiceta (Goicüeta?), master of the ship (*zabra*) Magdalena, which left this river on the 4th of June. Knowing that both these messengers have arrived at Bilbao, he (Mendoça) will only relate what has happened since those dates.

Perceiving that the plunder of the Imperial subjects at the mouth of this very river was allowed; that orders had been issued forbidding the English to send their manufactures and other goods either to Flanders or to Spain; that the Cardinal was hastening his departure for France, and that all these things put together were very unpromising, he (Mendoça)

* "Che e stato miracolo cacciar di questa terra li alamani [i] quali pretendeno esser creditori d' infinite paghe."

1527.

went to the Cardinal and represented to him with the greatest possible moderation (*y dixe con toda la templança que pude*) that such like measures were not at all calculated to bring about the peace which they (the King and the Cardinal) professed to desire so much, and that having sent to offer this peace to the Emperor, it was only just and reasonable that at least, until the answer should come [from Spain], no changes should be introduced in the amicable relations between the two countries. It might perhaps be thought that these changes (*novedades*) would move the Emperor from his purpose, but whoever made this representation to the King [of England] deceived him, for the Emperor was so anxious for general peace, and so staunch a friend to the King, that he would rather conclude peace through him than through any other Prince in Christendom. The Legate then asked to what changes the ambassador alluded, upon which he (Mendoça) proceeded to mention one by one the above-mentioned measures, and principally the prohibition to trade with Flanders. Said to him that his visit to France was by no means necessary in the interests of peace, the Emperor having always wished out of regard for the King that it should be settled in England, and since he (the Legate) said that this journey was undertaken chiefly for that purpose, he (Mendoça) could not conceive why, to his own great inconvenience and personal fatigue, and at the risk of lessening the King's authority and his own, he should be thinking of seeking peace in another kingdom, when he could very well have it settled in England, especially as he knew the fickleness of the French, and how very far they would be from carrying out in France what their ambassadors had pledged themselves to do when in London.

The Legate blandly replied that no change whatever had taken place in the King's relations with the Emperor. In the matter of the French galleons and the capture of the Spanish merchant ships, no one could ever suppose that the King, his master, was implicated; and he had besides ordered complete restitution of the property taken. The prohibition to trade with Flanders was issued at the request of the merchants themselves, who wished commercial intercourse to be suspended until certain grievances of which they had to complain were satisfactorily redressed. As to his journey to France, he swore upon his priestly word (*a fe de sacerdote*) that it was undertaken solely for the purpose of obtaining by all the weight of the King's and his own personal influence the settlement of general peace. He maintained that his own affection for the Emperor had in no way abated, and began to enumerate the many services he had rendered since the first day that he was in power, taking credit to himself for all the treaties concluded between the King and the Emperor, as well as for those which, out of consideration for him, the King and he had refused to make with the French, adding that should the Emperor now

1527.

desire to restore the Church to its former state, he would find in him (the Legate) a faithful minister and servant, whose conduct would give the lie to any persons who should report otherwise about him. The Legate, however, did not deny that by his journey to France he was thinking of rendering a great service to his King and country by obtaining an extension of territory on the continent.

Finding that the Legate was not to be deterred from his purpose of visiting France by any of his representations, he (Mendoça) determined to try an inducement to which he was almost certain to respond.* Reminded him, first, of all the offers once made him in the Emperor's name, and knowing that the French had lately promised him the archbishopric of Rouen, after giving suitable compensation to the present holder of that see, besides the patriarchate of France and England, and that, therefore, it was necessary to tempt him with a much higher bait, proceeded, without in anywise compromising the Emperor, to point out the way to the Pontificate, dwelling upon his own merits and the opportunity which the Emperor now had of forwarding his elevation, the disposal of the papal chair being entirely in his hands. Should the Emperor see that the Legate's actions deserved it, which at present seemed not to be the case, he would no doubt promote his elevation.† But the Legate seeing that this suggestion was unsupported by any authority, and merely thrown out by the ambassador, rejected it at once, saying that God forbid that he (the Legate) should be influenced by such motives; he served the Emperor from pure affection, which was quite sufficient motive for him, on the supposition that the Emperor really intended to replace the Pope on his chair, and restore the Church to its former splendour. That and no other was the principal object of his journey [to France]. Seeing the way open for a more explicit declaration, he (Mendoça) replied, that the Legate's purpose being such as he stated, and both the spiritual and temporal power being now centred in the Emperor, the King of England and himself being, moreover, the persons through whom he would rather treat of peace than through any other whomsoever, it seemed to him (Mendoça) far the best way of arriving at the much-desired conclusion, settling the affairs of the Church, and deciding upon other points of contention (*otros devates*), that the Legate, as he was going to France in the interests of peace, should proceed afterwards to Spain, and meet the Emperor there before

* "Determiné tentalle por aquello que mejor le sabe."

† "Y tan vien por que se ha dicho que de Francia le han prometido el arcobispado de Roan (Rouen) dando recompensa al que le tiene, y junto con esto le hacian Patriarcha de Francia y de Inglatierra, paresciome que era vien ganalles la chaca (choca?) y asomarle, sin obligar á Vuestra Magestad, camino para el pontificado, poniendole sus meritos y la ocasion que Vña Magestad al presente tenia para poner en aquella silla á quien quisiese; y que viendo que de su parte se[lo] merecia obligaria á Vña Magestad grandemente á tener respecto en esta conjuntura á su acrescentamiento, lo qual no le suponía."

1527.

returning to England; that knowing the Emperor's anxiety for the welfare of the Church, as well as for the settlement of peace with all Christian Princes, the Legate's journey would produce great results, and that a lasting memorial of his labours would remain; also that the people would never again have occasion to accuse him of partiality, seeing that he turned his steps whithersoever he could accomplish any good end, and that it would be an undertaking well worthy of him at the present time to be the minister through whom the Emperor should carry out his never-failing desire for peace.

The Legate's reply to the ambassador's arguments was so shaped as to make him (Mendoça) presume that he is about to despatch secretly a courier about this proposal, for he began to inquire most particularly how many leagues Paris was from Narbonne, and how many there were from the frontier to the place where the Emperor is to hold the Cortes of the three kingdoms, and other things of a similar import, clearly showing that the proposal of a conference (*vistas*) was not altogether disagreeable to him. Should he not write, the Legate's intention in making those inquiries must have been to persuade us that he is entirely free from partiality in this affair, and that, as he is going to see the King of France, he would also go to the Emperor if a hint to that effect came from that court. Such, indeed, is his ambition to be considered the principal maker of this peace, that he would doubtless take any trouble to gain such reputation. Thinks on the whole that the Legate's journey to Spain would have at least one good result; it would rouse the King of France's suspicions and bring him to offer better terms. Will the Legate continue of this mind? That is more than he (Mendoça) can say. Thinks, however, that he will send a courier from France, if he has not already done so.

The Legate set out on Wednesday, the 3rd inst., accompanied by the Pope's Nuncio (Gambara). Having some time before received the news of the Pope and cardinals being prisoners [in Sanct Angelo], he sent for him (Mendoça) the day before starting on his journey, and said he expected, before entering France, to receive the Emperor's answer through Master Poyntz, and had no doubt it would be favourable. Many other fair speeches did the Cardinal make on this occasion, which in his (Mendoça's) opinion must be attributed rather to the fear which he so carefully conceals than to the love which he manifests in public; for knowing, as he now does, that the Pope is completely in the Emperor's power, he greatly fears lest the legatine powers with which he is invested, and which are the strongest part of his armour, should be taken away from him. For, truly, besides that the Legate richly deserves such a sentence, this measure would greatly increase the kindly feeling entertained for the Emperor by this people (the English), for although the Cardinal's French tendencies have hitherto done much harm, it is well for this

1527.

kingdom to know that he does not work for the Emperor's interests. So great is the abhorrence felt for the Legate in this country that it has hitherto proved an actual check upon his wicked designs.* At present, unless the Emperor's answer should work a change in the minds of this King and Cardinal, there is no apparent prospect of war. Believes that, should it be determined upon, the only assistance sent from this country to France will consist in money, either by sending their stipulated contribution to the King, or by keeping a certain number of Swiss in their pay, or else making them a loan on the security of Boulogne, which latter seems, after all, to be the principal object of the Legate's journey to France. As the French fear that, should Boulogne be given up to England, the King and Cardinal may treat and make peace with the Emperor, they are making all the delay they can. Can hardly believe that the King of France will give up a place of such importance to his kingdom, but necessity is a hard master. The Cardinal himself stated the other day, though in general terms, that this was the only cause of his journey, but it might be that he was only trying to deceive the King, his master, with this hope, in order to obtain his permission to undertake this embassy, on which he may possibly have gone for his own personal affairs. Should those of the King not turn out well, the Legate can at any time find sufficient excuses, for he can lead him whichever way he wishes.

The preparations at Calais for the interview between the two Kings are not as active as they were. These and other changes that are likely to occur will be determined by the interview between the Legate and the King of France.

The King of England has been chiefly occupied of late in recounting all the cruelties committed by the Imperial troops at Rome, and declaring that, unless the Emperor shows regret at their excesses and restores the Church to her former position, he (the King of England), as Defender of the Faith, could not but espouse her cause with all those who wish to take part in the quarrel (*querella*). Has made no answer to such complaint, partly because he has not since then seen the King, who just now dislikes to be disturbed with business, and is constantly on the move, and partly because he (Mendoza) has no sufficient ground for seeking an audience just yet.

Has not, however, neglected to speak to the Cardinal on the subject, reminding him of the Emperor's constant obedience to and respect for the Church. Such being the case, it might well be supposed that the Emperor would

* "Que allende de tener lo muy bien merecido, doblaria Vña Magestad en este reyno la voluntad que los del le tienen, de manera que si bien daña esto de ser tan prendado de Francia, aprovecha para el Reyno saver que no es buen obrero en el servicio de Vña Magestad, y a sido tan importante el tedio (odio ?) que a sido arto impedimiento para tener hasta oy en suspenso a la ruyñ voluntad del sobredicho."



1527.

deeply regret any injuries inflicted upon Rome* by his own people. Although the miseries caused by war always lay at the door of those who originated the war, still the Emperor would be very sorry for what had taken place. The Cardinal could feel sure that the restoration of the whole universal Church once accomplished, such remedy should be applied as to leave no regret for the past.† To which statement the Legate replied as one who fully hoped that all this would be accomplished, adding that, as far as he was concerned, he would spare no trouble towards it.

Wrote by the last post how the King and his ministers were trying to dissolve the marriage between the Queen and himself, alleging that the Pope had no power to grant a dispensation for her marrying two brothers as she had done, and therefore that there had been between them no marriage at all. No intimation or summons had up to that date been made to the Queen, but since then, on the 22nd of last month (June), the King has virtually separated himself from the Queen, telling her that they had been in mortal sin during all the years they had lived together, and that this being the opinion of many canonists and theologians whom he had consulted on the subject, he had come to the resolution, as his conscience was much troubled thereby, to separate himself from her *a mensâ et thoro*, and wished her to choose the place to which she would retire. The Queen bursting into tears, and being too much agitated to reply, the King said to her, by way of consolation, that all should be done for the best (*todo se haria por mejor*), and begged her to keep secrecy upon what he had told her. This the King must have said, as it is generally believed, to inspire her with confidence and prevent her from seeking the redress she is entitled to by right, and also to keep the intelligence from the public, for so great is the attachment that the English bear to the Queen that some demonstration (*escandalo*) would probably take place in her household (*apartamentos*). Not that the people of England are ignorant of the King's intentions, for the affair is as notorious as if it had been proclaimed by the public crier, but they cannot believe that he will ever carry so wicked a purpose into effect. However this may be, though people say that such an iniquity cannot be tolerated, he (Mendoza) attaches no faith to such popular asseverations, especially as they have no leader to guide them,‡ and therefore should this King carry out his design, and the suit now commenced go on, the people will most probably content themselves with grumbling (*con murmurar*). The Queen, having no one but

* "Y con este prosupuesto se ha de tener creydo que le avrá pesado de qualquier daño que en los de allá se haya hecho."

† "No por esso á Vñª Magestad dexara de pesarle de todo lo que en desautoridad de ella [la Iglesia] aya passado, y que quanto al remedio el podia estar seguro que Vñª Magestad lo pondria tal, que vista la restauracion de toda la universal Yglesia, no se tenga por perdida la passada."

‡ "Yo ago poco caso de esta comunidad no teniendo quien la guye."

1527.

the Emperor to come to her aid, would, if she could, despatch a special messenger [to Spain], but these English are so suspicious at this time that no courier of hers would be allowed to sail. Besides, as at this point of the negotiations, and until the matters now pending between His Majesty and this King be settled one way or another, such a step would by no means be advisable, he (Mendoça) has dissuaded the Queen from sending a special messenger, giving her to understand that it was far better for her case that she should write a letter than despatch one of her own household.

The Queen's desire is, as she has informed him (Mendoça), to write to the Emperor, that every possible effort should be made with the Pope to deprive the Cardinal of his legatine powers. He (Mendoça) believes that nothing would so increase the favour in which the Emperor is held in England as this measure; besides which, the Cardinal is just now so entirely pledged to France that it would be far more profitable to have him an open enemy than the false friend he now is, and he might perhaps be induced to do out of fear what he never will out of love. The Emperor may believe him, there is so much feeling expressed here about the Queen's divorce, not only on her account, but because, in the event of these proceedings being carried out, her daughter the Princess would be declared illegitimate (*bastarda*), that should six or seven thousand men land on the coast of Cornwall to espouse the cause of both mother and daughter forty thousand Englishmen would at once join them, though popular favour often fails when put to the test.

The Legate perceiving that the greatest hindrance to war with Flanders is his own unpopularity, and the attachment that all classes of Englishmen, and especially the citizens of London, bear to the Emperor, has been trying all he could to calumniate him (the Emperor); but they (the people) are aware of his malice, and give little heed to what he says. Should he, however, proceed from France to Spain, it will be well to remember that truth seldom comes from his lips.*

Since writing the above he (Mendoça) hears from the Queen that she has determined to send Francisco Felipe (Francis Phillips) to Spain, as a person in whom she places great trust, with a letter explaining the position in which she is now placed. The Queen wishes that he (Mendoça) should in the Emperor's name speak with the King and Legate on this matter, but his opinion has always been, and is still, that if he were to take notice of the affair it would do more harm than good, and besides that he could not, without express orders from home, enter upon the subject.

Has communicated to the Queen the reasons he has for not bringing the Emperor's name forward at the present moment, and she has in consequence consented to his silence. Begs for

* "Vñ a Magestad trate con el como con hombre que habla pocas verdades."

1527.

the Emperor's instructions as to the line of action he is to pursue, though he does not think that on this or other points the opinion of His Majesty will be taken into consideration as it ought to be.*

Had written in his last that in the event of the answer to be given to the embassy not being as favourable as they wish, it might be as well, to avoid further unpleasantness, to refer them to this court, where the negotiations for peace had actually commenced. The Legate being in London at the time the proposal might have been well received, but now that he is in France, and likely to remain there for two or three months, this delay would be too great, as they might consider that it was no answer at all, the French being in a great hurry to begin war at once.—London, the 13th of July.

Signed: "Don Yñigo de Mendoza."

Note (*billete*).—After writing the above, heard that the English ambassador in France has written to Secretary Brian Tuke to say that if the Legate wishes to enhance the importance of his visit (*por encarecer mas su jornada*) he should not hurry on his way thither. The want of his presence is so greatly felt by the French just now that it would better serve the interests of England if he were to delay his entry into France. The sum of money required by King Francis is so large, that he (the ambassador) does not believe that what has been promised will satisfy him;† owing to which, and to public opinion in this country, it is believed that should the Emperor decline the terms offered by the embassy, the King of England, either by loan (*prestado*) or contribution, will supply him of France with the necessary funds to carry on the war, and that in compensation for the said moneys lent or given Boulogne is to be made over to England. Such is the general belief here, and yet he (Mendoza) doubts that the French will part with Boulogne at present.

Indorsed: "Deciphering of Don Yñigo's letter of the 17th of July."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 13.

14 July. 114. GABRIEL SANCHEZ to the BISHOP OF TRENT.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 20.

The Marquis Casimir left for the campaign of Hungary on Monday, the 8th inst., at the head of the King's forces. He took with him 12,000 lansquenets, 4,000 light horse, 60 pieces of ordnance, large and small, besides a great quantity of ammunition. This last went by the Danube in boats.

* "Pero yo no veo en estos cosa por donde crea quel parescer de Vñ a Magestad en esto ni en otra cosa lo tomen como deverian."

† "Y que segun los dineros quel Rey de Francia avia menester, que no creya que le acabarian de contentar con todo lo platicado."

1527.

The citadel of Possonia is first to be attacked, for the town itself, which is very large and strong, is already in His Highness' power. It is situated on the Austrian frontier, on the banks of a river, and not far from Amburgo (Hamburgh), another town belonging to our Archduke. On the 11th the Marquis arrived at the river, and threw bridges over it in order that the artillery might pass, but a sudden flood carried away the bridges, and the work had to be done again. Every thing, however, was prepared for the passage of the artillery and ammunition, and the siege was to commence last night. The citadel, they say, is very strong, and abundantly provided with stores and ammunition. The governor is a Hungarian, named Bornamissa (*sic*), 70 or 80 years of age, very rich and wise (*muy rico y sabio*), and much beloved by the late King Louis. He has the reputation of being a very good man (*buen hombre*), and has lately had differences with the Vayvod. Whether on account of this, or because he dislikes the treacherous conduct of that individual, the fact is that he has always shown himself friendly to our Archduke, and has written to say that he acknowledges his right to the kingdom. Yet he has hitherto refused to give up the citadel, on the plea that he holds it for the Crown of Hungary, and that until our Archduke is fairly appointed King it would be inconsistent with his honour to give him possession of it.

Unwilling to leave behind him such a strong place as Possonia, the Archduke has ordered the Marquis Casimir to attack it with vigour, and we expect soon to hear of its surrender. More infantry and cavalry will come [to Vienna] in 10 days, when the Archduke will march against the Vayvod.—Vienna, 14th July 1527.

Indorsed: "Copy of a letter of Gabriel Sanchez, secretary to His most Serene Highness the King of Bohemia and Hungary."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 1½.

14 July. 115. The EMPEROR to SECRETARY PEREZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 7.

The King, &c. Ordered on the 13th inst. an answer to be drawn up to all his letters. Since then has had no news from Rome. Is anxious to receive some. Begs him to write as often as possible.

The death of Bourbon, before Rome, has been the cause of much grief, as may be imagined.—Valladolid, 11th* of July 1527.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

* Two drafts of this letter are in the volume; one is dated the 11th, the other the 14th. Similar ones seem to have been addressed on the same day, as appears from this minute, to Prothonotary Marino Caracciolo, of the Emperor's Council, and his ambassador at Milan, to the Abbot of Najera at Rome, and to Alfonso Sanchez in Venice.

1527.

14 July. 116. ANTONIO DE LEYVA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 40.

Wrote last by Philipppo Arquinto (Archinto). Since then what has happened is this: The Venetians and Sforzini came on the 25th of June to Marignano, and encamped at a place whence they could do much harm to the whole of this city, and also carry off (*llevarse*) two companies of Italian infantry, under Count Lodovico Beljoso, which I had placed in a fortified monastery (*iglesia*) not far from the river Lambro.

Though the river is not large, it was so swollen at the time by the late rains that it could not be crossed except by a bridge. The enemy mustered in all from 13 to 14,000 foot, besides 500 men-at-arms and 700 light horse. About this time Count Pedro Navarro came down from Alessandria with a body of men; from Novara came other captains of the King of France, also with troops, and from Lago Maggiore Count Giovanne Borromeo with the forces of the Duke Francesco [Sforza]. Lastly from the Briana mountains came the warder of Mus, who some time before had by stratagem possessed himself of Mongus (Monguzzo), a small castle in the mountains belonging to Alessandro Bentivoglio.* All these forces came down upon us, knowing that we were in small numbers, and had no provisions in store, most of the towns in the Duchy having scarcely food for two days. Perceiving how imminent our danger was, I made up my mind to engage the enemy, though their numbers compared with ours were four to one. Against Pedro Navarro I detached Count Battista Lodrone, with 2,000 Germans, and 1,000 more Spaniards and Italians. On the approach of Lodrone, who not only has successfully defended Alessandria since, but taken from the enemy a small place called Castelletto, making its garrison of 200 foot and 100 horse prisoners, Navarro retreated two miles.

Towards Novara I sent Count Philipppo Torniello, who enjoying much credit in that city, has hitherto defended it against the enemy.

To the Lago Maggiore I sent Count Carlo Borromeo, who is serving well, and holds his ground there against the Venetians and the Duke Francesco's men. I myself, with the remainder of the force, decided to quit Milan, and marched against the enemy, though I had the greatest difficulty in persuading the Germans to move, as they would not do so without having their arrears paid up.

The confederates arrived at Marignano on the 26th of March, when their van, chiefly composed of the Duke [Sforza's] men, began to attack the monastery. I came up with 200

* Guicciardini says: "Nel qual tempo il Castellano di Mus condotto agli stipendi del Re di Francia, mentre che in Sul Lago di Como aspetta la venuta degli Svizzeri, occupa per inganno la Rocca di Monguzzo posta tra Lecco e Como, nella quale abitava Alessandro Bentivoglio come en casa propria," lib. xvii. This castellan or warder of Mus, as he is generally called, was no other than Gianiacopo Medici, often mentioned in these pages.

1527.

light horse and 500 Spanish infantry just at the time when the place was being attacked. Perceiving the danger of the besieged, and that the Germans could not join us before night, I made up my mind to charge the enemy without waiting for their arrival, and so successful was the attack that in a very short time the enemy lost about 300 men in killed and prisoners, and the rest fled to a place distant one mile from the spot where they had crossed the river, and where, hearing of my departure from Milan, the confederates had already begun to strengthen their camp.

I can assure Your Imperial Majesty that had the Germans come up in time our victory would have been quite complete. As it is, much has been gained, for the enemy, hearing of our success, moved to a stronger position close to the river, where, with the assistance of 2,000 pioneers (*gastadores*) they had with them, they fortified themselves in such manner that it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to dislodge them. Nevertheless I occupied Marignano, and pitched my tents one half mile from their camp, and kept daily sending out skirmishers in the hope of inducing them to come out of their camp. It was all in vain; and they did quite right, for whenever any of them sallied out, very few returned. In this manner they lost some of their best captains, and others were wounded, Sforza* among the latter. Thus do matters stand at present, our men trying to provoke the confederates to battle, and they never stirring out of their entrenched camp, pretending that they have orders from the Signory [of Venice] not to take the offensive, which they execute most punctually.

I have detached Count Lodovico Beljoioso with nine companies (*banderas*) of Italian infantry towards Mongus (Monguzzo), and hope to hear soon of its recovery.

Count d' Egmont has come here to serve Your Imperial Majesty. I have given him the command of the men-at-arms. He is a very brave captain, and whether mounted or on foot he always wishes to be the first in the skirmishes. The other day he was wounded in the neck by a hackbut shot, but thank God he is already well, and on horseback. The command of the light cavalry I have given to Captain Çucaró.† Juan Sarmiento and my half-brother Juan de Leyva are also doing their best. Prothonotary Caracciolo governs Milan during my absence.

The news from Germany is that His Highness the King of Bohemia was about to invade Hungary with an army of 22,000 Germans, 10,000 of whom are paid by the King, and 12,000 by the Empire. The Vayvod is at the head of a very large force, and the Turk is helping him, but I trust in God that His Highness will soon make short work of the two.

* Gian Paolo, the bastard brother of Duke Francesco.

† The same captain called elsewhere Çucaró by the transposition of a letter. Guicciardini (lib. xvii.) calls him *Zuccherò*; Sandoval *Zucaró* and *Chucharó*. He was made prisoner with others near Piacenza.

1527.

(*Cipher* :) I hold for certain that King Francis has sent some of his agents into Switzerland to recruit more men, and that he is preparing to come to the assistance of the confederates.—Milan, 14th July 1527.

Signed : "Antonio de Leyva."

Addressed : "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1527. From Leyva, Milan."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

17 July.

117. POPE CLEMENT VII. to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 15.

Duplicate of his letter of the 12th (No. 111, p. 270), with some slight changes in the wording.

Countersigned : "Evangelista."

Latin. Original on vellum.

17 July.

118. The EMPEROR to DON IÑIGO DE MENDOZA, his Ambassador in London.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. .

The King, &c. Your letters of the 25th April and 9th of May came duly to hand, were answered on the 30th, and sent by sea. Since then We have received your despatches of the 18th and 25th of May, one letter of the 4th of June, and two more of the same date by Master Pointz, together with a note of the 16th in cipher, addressed to our undersigned secretary, so that it would appear as if neither on our side or on yours any letter was missing, the only one which you have not yet answered being that of the 30th of May. We thank you very much for the intelligence conveyed in your letters and the zeal displayed in the negotiations. Hope you will continue giving us the same proofs of loyalty and attachment, &c.

The Bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) and Master Pointz have arrived here [at Valladolid]. We sent to meet them the Archbishop of Bari [Fr. Estevan Gabriel Merino] and Count Oropesa (D. Francisco Alvarez de Toledo), who, however, could not find them, as they came riding post early in the morning and entered this town by one gate, whilst our deputies went out by another.

The Bishop has brought us letters of credence from the King of France, and explained verbally the great desire his master has of seeing peace firmly established between us two. To insure which (the ambassador said) the King, his master, was ready to pay two millions of gold, one half on the delivery of his sons, and the other half at convenient periods and dates, stipulated beforehand, and for which proper securities should be given. With regard to Naples the King would, during our lifetime, leave in suspense his rights and

1527.

pretensions to that kingdom. Respecting the Duchy of Milan the King wished us to restore Francesco Sforza, during the life of whom he (the King) would likewise relinquish all his pretended rights. The same conditions were offered by the Bishop for the sovereignty of [the county of] Flanders and Artois, the King consenting, as he said, to waive all his rights during our lifetime. Concerning Tournay and Hesdin, he would willingly give up the latter if We returned the former to him, or else We might keep Tournay and he retain Hesdin. Nothing was said about the remaining articles of the treaty of Madrid, nor about our sister Queen Eleonor's marriage.

Such are in substance the fine offers (*gentiles ofertas*) which the Bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) brings in his master's name, to which We made no other answer at the time, save that We would have them considered and discussed in our Council and inform him of the result.

Next day the Bishop went to our Privy Council, and exhibited to the members deputed to hear him the powers and mandate which he brought from his master, and which, when examined, were found insufficient for the same reasons alleged on a previous occasion, when came to our court.* Yet, desirous as we are and have always been of peace at any cost, we gave orders that the Bishop's mandate should be considered sufficiently valid, under the impression that if matters should be satisfactorily arranged between us and the King of France, the latter would find ample means of supplying what may be wanting in his (the Bishop's) mandate.

Under such proviso our councillors began immediately treating with the said Bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) and with his colleague the President of Bordeaux (Jean de Calvimont), who accordingly made the offers above described, and no more. Upon which the councillors told them in our name that the conditions offered by their King were so unreasonable and unjust as to require no answer at all from us, it being very strange that they (the ambassadors) should make such meagre proposals and so inferior to those brought by Secretary Commercy when the President of Bordeaux (Calvimont) was last in Spain, or to those which the Viceroy of Naples had forwarded as coming from the King and from Madame the Regent of France (Louise de Savoie), and which Secretary Bayart had afterwards renewed. The whole of which, our councillors observed, were of such nature that they could at any time have been accepted in preference to those now proposed. The French ambassadors were told

* Here follows an almost unintelligible word, probably intended as a substitute for a proper name. I read *celer baybod*, which might be intended either for François de Tournon, Archbishop of Embrun, or for President Jean de Selve, or for Philippe Chabot, who went first to Spain as ambassadors of Louise of Savoy.

1527.

besides that the terms proposed would never be approved by the King of England, who had offered to mediate, and whom, they said, they wanted to please.

After which, and in further proof of the arguments held by them, the councillors caused to be read to the English ambassadors there present all the papers and correspondence that had passed on the subject of peace between the King of France and ourselves, as well as the treaty of Madrid, and all the original mandates granted to the French and Imperial commissioners for negotiating and concluding the same. This being done, our said councillors exhorted the Bishop of Tarbes to make more reasonable proposals, if he considered himself empowered to do so. He might thus effectually prove the great desire of peace which he said his master the King entertained. Should there be any clause in the Madrid treaty which it was impossible for his King to fulfil, the Bishop should at once point it out, and offer something in compensation, when such answer would be returned to his proposals as to convince the King and the entire world of our utmost desire to secure the blessings of peace, since We were ready for the service of God and the weal of Christendom, as well as for the sake of the King of England, whom We esteem more than any other Prince in the world, to waive any portion of our own rights for the attainment of the aforesaid peace.

The Bishop declares that he has no other commission from the King than this, so that you may judge thereby what good-will and desire (*gentil voluntad*) Frenchmen have of a good and durable peace.

After this the English ambassadors, who at the express command of the King, their master, attended the conferences, have in his name, as mediator, urged us greatly to accept the Bishop's offers, or propose new conditions; by doing which, their master, they say, may be able to help on the conclusion of the desired peace, and oblige the King of France further to declare his intention (*declarasse mas adelante su intencion*). Our answer has been that they had heard from the Bishop's own mouth that he had no other commission from his master except putting forward the very meagre offers (*magros ofrecimientos*) he had brought with him, and that in order to show them the trust and reliance We placed in the King of England We should prove that the Bishop had other instructions than those exhibited before our Privy Council. In proof of which We caused to be read to them a letter of Messire Nicolas Perrenot [de Granvelle], our ambassador at the court of France, in date of the 12th inst., stating in plain terms that the Archbishop of Bourges (Bruges) and Ambrun (Embrun) and the Queen's secretary Robertet had distinctly told him that the Bishop's commission was to tender the very same offers once made through the Viceroy of Naples, without curtailing or diminishing anything there-

1527.

from, but, on the contrary, adding to them, if necessary. The Bishop perhaps will not like to own it, but the fact is nevertheless true, that he told our said ambassador Granvelle, before starting for his mission, that he wondered much that his powers were so meagre, and the conditions he had to offer so small.*

Yet for the sake of the English King We thought then of doing what We had never done before, which is treating of private conditions. To that end, and in order to show to the world our good intentions towards the furtherance of the said peace, We caused a memorandum (*escripto*) to be drawn, addressed to the said ambassadors of England, of which a copy is enclosed, that you may be better acquainted with the incidents of this affair, and able to answer, by way of vindication of our conduct, not on any other ground, any objections that may be raised by the King and Legate; endeavouring, however, to enhance as much as possible the value of our concessions on this point, and saying that the only way of making the King of France speak out and offer better terms is the one adopted.†

This being done, We shall send you our final answer to the King's proposals, that they may be fairly discussed in England, and the peace concluded; but you will all the time adhere to your former declarations, namely, that whenever the King of France proposes better and more reasonable conditions for our acceptance—as the King and Legate and yourself know from our correspondence—We shall be disposed to treat for peace and the preservation of our old alliance with England, in such a manner that His most Serene Highness the King may know that We are really in earnest, and ready to waive for his sake part of our rights, more indeed than We should feel inclined to sacrifice for any other living Prince.

We have also informed the said ambassadors of England of our entire trust in the King, and of our full belief that he is labouring and will labour incessantly and uprightly (*instante y rectamente*) for the adjustment of the differences pending between us and the French King. We are indeed certain that the King of England will act in this case as a good friend and ally, and zealous promoter of peace, putting aside all partisanship. And yet several of our own relatives, friends, and allies, as likewise our principal and greatest vassals, cannot refrain from urging upon us the consideration that since His most Serene Highness has lately acknowledged his alliance and confederation with the French King, he is

* "El dicho Tarbes no lo querrá dezir assi, pero el hecho es que antes de su partida reparó en tener tan magra commission."

† "Para que seays mejor informado de todas cosas para responder al Rey y Reyemo. Legado á nuestra justificacion y no de otra manera, salvo que aveis de hazer valler la mercaduria, y trabajar de encarescerles lo que avemos dado por nuestra parte commo dicho es, y que este es el verdadero camyno para hazer hablar al Rey de Francia."

1527.

bound by duty and honesty to do the same with us.* In that manner will he appear before the whole of Christendom as the real and zealous promoter of peace between the contending parties, and show that neither for love, favour, nor any other consideration will he allow himself to be biassed, or favour one party more than the other. It is, indeed, a notorious fact that, were this only a question of affection, many might think that We and the King of England, who have always esteemed each other, ought for ever to be as closely united as if We were only one person, and that our old mutual friendship is so deeply rooted as not to require renewal, except perhaps for the satisfaction of public opinion (*por la satisfaccion de las oppignones del mundo*). But since such like alliance has been concluded with the King of France, We cannot help requesting His most Serene Highness to do the same towards us, to have our mutual friendship and confederation renewed, so that We may be placed at least on equal terms, and the King himself as much bound to the one as to the other of the contending parties. We have no doubt that His Highness will attend to your request, and therefore We command you to solicit and procure to the best of your power the renewal of the said alliance on the terms above specified, and having, as you have, sufficient powers from us to make any arrangement (*appointamiento*) for the settlement of our debt, so that the King may have no cause or pretext to be our opponent on this occasion, but act towards us as he would have us act towards him.

We enclose a letter for Madame [of the Low Countries] our aunt, begging her to send you a copy of the treaties made with England, lest they should be wanted for the renewal of the English alliance, or for any other purpose. You had better send the said letter to her, and when required ask her for the copy, &c.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 5.

17 July. 119. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 32.

Wrote last on the 28th of June† by Micer Filipo Arquinto (Archinto), the Milanese ambassador. Since then the Venetians and Sforzini took Marignano, three leagues from Milan, but Antonio de Leyva came suddenly upon them, and obliged them to evacuate the town. They are now strongly fortified at a place about one half league from Marignano, whence they are likely to be soon dislodged, for though they muster several

* "Assi mesmo les avemos dicho que nos creemos y cognoscemos que su Serd. demuestra de bien en mejor officio de verdadero amigo y zellator de la dicha paz, sin tener ninguna parcialidad, empero muchos parientes, amigos y confederados nuestros, y assi mismo de nuestros principales y mas grandes vasallos, no pueden abstenerse de nos importunar diciendo que pues dicho Sermo. Rey d'Inglaterra ha reconocido despues tan poco tyempo sus confederaciones y amistades con el Rey de Francia," &c.

† No 100, but dated the 30th. See p. 257.

1527.

thousands, they are a mere rabble (*muy ruyñ gente*). Their commander is one Juanes Campo Fragoso. The Duke Francesco was to have joined them, but hearing that Leyva had left Milan, he returned to Carmona, where he is at present. The forces under the latter are sufficient to defend the Duchy against the confederates, since they muster 400 men-at-arms, 500 light horse, upwards of 3,000 Germans, and 1,000 Spaniards, all picked men (*gente escogida*); but money is wanted, and the men refuse serving without pay. Had he (Soria) not sent Leyva 50,000 ducats out of the bills he had in hand, the men would certainly not have marched out of Milan, and now it is to be feared that unless another 50,000 is distributed among them they will not move one step from where they are. Soria had no orders to do this, but on Leyva's pressing solicitations, and perceiving his danger, did not hesitate, after consulting both the Grand Chancellor, who is here [at Genoa], and the Abbot of Najera, to forward that sum to the camp. Will not send the remaining 50,000 without first taking the Chancellor's advice, and that of the Viceroy and Marquis del Guasto, to whom he has written. Has no tidings of them. Both have left Rome; the former is said to be at Gaeta, the latter at Iscla (Ischia). What they have done with the Pope, nobody can tell, for certainly the plague is raging more than ever at Rome. Civittà Vecchia had been delivered up, and Don Alonso de Cordoba appointed governor. Sanct Angelo was in the keeping of Felipe de Cervellon and of a German captain. Ripalta (Ripalda) was at Ostia.

The camp of the League is nearly broken up. It is reported that the Duke of Urbino no longer has the command of it, and that he is gone to defend his own estate, which Ascanio Colonna threatens to invade. The Marquis of Saluzzo is in the neighbourhood of Bologna, whose inhabitants refuse admitting him into their territory, the more so that they have taken the government from those who held it in the Pope's name, and constituted themselves into a sort of republic. Count Gayaco is in one of his villages close to Parma, ready to enter that city, and have banners raised for the Emperor. The whole of Romagna has already done this, with the one exception of Ravenna, which the Venetians have seized, and intend keeping like other towns in the estates of the Church, for their custom has always been whilst two people are fighting to steal their cloaks (*recoger las capas quando otros riñen*). Notwithstanding all this, should the Imperialists leave Rome and take the field, the confederates will not be able to keep their present positions; but provision should at once be made for the wants of these armies, and especially of that under Leyva, and a commander-in-chief appointed, for already dissension has broken out between Germans and Spaniards at Rome.

The Florentines have ostensibly renewed their engagements with the League, principally out of fear of the Venetians and French, who threaten to invade their territory, but they are still negotiating with our generals.

1527.

The Medici are at Massa, and intend coming here [to Genoa] to stay with Cardinal Cortona, as they say they have orders from the Pope not to go either into French or Venetian territory, and are still in hopes of returning to Florence with the Emperor's assistance

Count Pedro Navarro left Asti with his forces to lay waste the country about Alessandria, but Count Baptista Lodrone coming up obliged him to retire and shut himself up in that fortress. Lodrone is now laying siege to a castle of the Marchioness of Montferrato, called Casteletto, within which are two companies (*banderas*) of French infantry, and another one of light horse. They will most likely take it, though Count Navarro, in order to create a diversion and oblige Lodrone to raise the siege, has again left Asti, and invested Guili, which is defended by a Neapolitan captain with about 80 men. During the siege of Casteletto Captain Baeza was killed by a hackbut shot.

There is a rumour afloat that the Kings of France and England have made an arrangement for a certain number of Switzers to come down to Italy, and that the former is about to send Lautrec at the head of considerable forces; but hitherto no movement of that kind has been made.

Andrea Doria passed the other day in front of this port, bound for Savona. He had on board Langes (Langeay), the French ambassador, Alberto di Carpi, and Renço da Ceri, with their respective wives and families, besides other Romans, all of whom seem to be going to France. After putting them on shore [at Savona], he (Doria) came back, and anchored in sight of this port one whole night. Overtures were then made to him in order to ascertain whether he would take service with the Emperor. He answered coldly (*tibiamente*), saying that he would if he was appointed governor of Genoa. Our impression is that he will definitively espouse the French cause, and return to Porto Hercole, there to join the French fleet, and that they will together do all the injury they can to this port and city.

The building of the new galleys proceeds with great activity; seven of them are at the Emperor's expense, six only at that of this Community, for the Doge says he cannot order more for the present. The occupation by the French of part of this coast (*ribera*) is the cause that no shipwrights or vessels (*fustas*) can come this way, and that all material for construction is so dear. Neither are the 20,000 ducats remitted from Spain sufficient to cover all expenses, for each galley costs over 2,000, exclusive of artillery and stores, besides which the ducats are those known as "ducados de moneda," not "ducados de oro," as they ought to be. Four of the Genoese galleys Count Flisco (Fiesco) is building at his own expense, in the hope that the command of them, or of two at least, will be given to him. Three more are contracted for on similar terms, and he (Soria) will defray the expense of another one, so that there will altogether be thirteen next

1527.

September. Each galley will require 600 ducats to complete the armament, and if Count Flisco (Fiesco) obtains the command of two, he (Soria) will arm two more.

The appointment of a captain-general for this Genoese fleet, in case of Don Ugo refusing to take the command of it, is a matter of great urgency. An inspector (*veedor*) general ought also to be named to superintend the armament and provisioning.

A brigantine, which left Barcelona on the 18th of June, has just arrived in port. The news is that the Turkish galleys had captured in sight of Palamós the ship on board of which the general of the Franciscans sailed with despatches for the Emperor.

The jewels which the Duke of Bourbon once pawned with Ansaldo [Grimaldo] and others for 8,000 ducats have been redeemed. They consist in 11 large diamonds, 12 big pearls, and one cross of rubies and diamonds. Wants to know what he is to do with them.

There is still a talk among the Genoese of sending Martin Centurion to Spain for the purpose of obtaining the Emperor's consent to the union. Fancies that during his absence they have persuaded the Grand Chancellor of the advantages of such a scheme, and that he (Mercurino Gattinara) has promised to write home in favour of it. His own private opinion is that there is much danger in granting their application, because most of those who wish for the union belong to the faction of the Fregosi, who aim at the government of this city. Only in the event of their surrendering the castle for His Imperial Majesty to put in a garrison and a governor of his own choosing, and their making besides some contribution in cash, can their petition be granted. The Chancellor is also of this opinion. Does not know, however, in what sense he will write home.

This letter was written on the 7th, thinking that the Chancellor would sail on that day, but he has been detained by contrary winds. Since then Vuldri (Vauldry?) and Figueroa have come, having put in owing to stress of weather. They intend sailing this very night, owing to which reason he (Soria) will be brief in answering the Imperial despatches of the 17th June, which came to hand on the 13th inst.

All the letters enclosed have been forwarded to their address, principally the one for the Viceroy. Every precaution has been taken, as the danger of their interception is greater than ever, all ways by sea as well as land being closely watched by our enemies.

Respecting the union solicited by these citizens, he (Soria) has nothing to add. He will follow strictly the Emperor's orders and instructions. Has not delivered the letters that came in blank, because at present it is not convenient to do so. If the opportunity should occur he will not fail to make use of them.

1527.

With regard to the 12 galleys which Micer Ansaldo Grimaldo has contracted to build no progress whatever has been made. Neither has the Doge's secretary told the truth when he states in his last official report that the building of the other *twenty* has already commenced. Only six of them are actually on the stocks, and whenever he (Soria) upbraids them in the Chancellor's presence for their want of activity, they answer that their galleys will be ready quite as soon as those which are being built at the Emperor's expense. This, however, is doubtful, for these Genoese seldom fulfil their engagements unless compelled to do so by those who govern them. Has, however, written to the Viceroy and to Antonio de Leyva to procure funds for the armament of the said galleys, and crews to man them.

The pieces of ordnance which the Doge's secretary has applied for from Pavia are really wanted. It had been agreed that Antonio de Leyva should send some of the old guns in that fortress to be recast here with the Imperial arms. The Prior of Barletta (Martinengo) and Soria will take care that the Emperor's orders are punctually executed.

His Imperial Majesty's command that 36,000 ducats should be given to Antonio de Leyva, and the remainder placed at the disposal of the Viceroy, shall be punctually executed. When the order came Soria had already sent to Leyva 42,000 cr., equivalent to 47,500 ducats. Since then the Germans under Count Baptista Lodrone have mutinied, and those under Leyva threatened to do the same. The latter sent two gentlemen to ask for more money, and Soria was compelled to remit to him 10,000 more, after consulting thereupon the Grand Chancellor and Martinengo, Prior of Barletta, who promised to refund the money in case this disposal of it should not be approved at Court. In this manner 52,000 cr., amounting to 58,000 ducats, have been remitted to Leyva. If to this sum be added 8,000 for the redemption of Bourbon's jewels, the payment of certain sums advanced by this Community for the pay of the two companies of Italian infantry, and 2,000 more which he (Soria) has paid to the Lord of Monago by the Chancellor's order, His Imperial Majesty will see, that out of the original credit only 16,000 ducats remain in the ambassador's hands. With these, however, he will not part unless he receives direct orders from Spain or from the Viceroy to employ them in the fitting out of the galleys. Has written to Leyva to say this.

Will stop the brigantine that brought Ribadeneyra and the despatches until the answers of the Viceroy and the other Imperial ministers are ready.

Cardinals Cibo and Cortona with the Medici have left Carrara and gone to Bologna, whence it is presumed they will go to Venice, the place of rendezvous of all the cardinals who are out of Rome, and there appoint another Pope, or take some equally ill-advised step (*garbullo*) under the favour and protection of France.

Micer Juan Bartolomé di Gattinara, who left Rome with a Papal commissioner in order to take possession of Parma,

1527.

Piacenza, and Lucca, has been robbed (*desbaliado*) and ill-treated on the road by a party of armed peasants (*villanos*), whilst still within the territory of the Florentines, who had procured him a safe-conduct for that purpose. He himself had to fly to a village of the Duke of Ferrara, called Castilnovo.

Count Nogarolo is dead at Naples. He was one of the members of the Council [*della Sumaria*] in that kingdom. Begg for the vacant place and salary, that he may the better keep up the rank of ambassador.—Genoa, 17th July 1527.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "A la Sacma. Cesa. y Catca Md."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. From Lope de Soria. The 17th of July."

Spanish. Original. pp. 8½.

20 July. 120.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 27.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

Since his letter of the 13th the Bishop of Trent has sent him the enclosed* summaries of news, whence it appears that the Marquis Casimir has declared war against the Vayvod in the name of his master, the King of Bohemia and Hungary.

The Imperialists have already evacuated Rome, as the rumour goes, but nobody knows for certain what route they will take on their return to Lombardy. It is generally believed that they will come through the Florentine territory, where, as well as at Rome, the plague is now making great ravages.

Hears that this Signory has received letters from Constantinople stating that the Grand Turk [Soliman] had heard of the taking of Rome by the Imperialists. He had settled the affairs of Anatolia, and Ibrahim Pashá, who had gone there for that purpose, was soon expected back, when he would invade Germany, &c.

Count Guido Rangone is still here, though with little or no hope of coming to an agreement with this Signory,

Mentioned in his last how Juan (Giovanni) di Sassatello had entered Imola; he has since taken possession of the citadel. The Signory have offered him very fair conditions, and a "condotta" besides, which, however, he has not yet accepted.

The Pope has addressed a brief to his Legate at Bologna, commanding him to admit the Ventivollas (Bentivogli) into the city.

The duplicate† of his letter of the 13th went by way of Genoa. Has cause to suspect that it has been intercepted by the enemy, as Count Gayatzo is on the road thither, doing all

* See above, No. 114, p. 277.

† Both must have been intercepted, for they are not in the Academy's volumes of original papers.

1527.

the harm he can, and is known besides to have stopped the last courier despatched by the Duke of Ferrara.—Venice, 20th July 1527.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "Sacre Cesare et Catholice Magti."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. From Venice. Alonso Sanchez. 20th July. Answered."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

21 July. 121. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 29.

On the 23rd inst. Marco Pio, ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara, sailed for Barcelona, and took his (Soria's) letters. It would appear that the Duke declines altogether to take the command of the Imperial forces on the plea of bad health, but in reality because he is afraid of the soldiers mutinying for want of pay. Certain Knights of St. John, who arrived yesterday from Cornetto, close to Rome, relate that on the 12th inst. the Imperialists evacuated that city, in still greater number than when they left Lombardy, for the Spaniards whom the Viceroy brought with him [from Naples] had joined them. The Germans residing in Rome (*todos los alemanes que estauan alli de estancia*) had likewise left, as well as many Italians, deserters from the camp of the League, who had joined our ranks, so that in reality it is a very strong and powerful army, capable of achieving anything. The only drawback is that it has no commander-in-chief, for according to the reports of the said Knights Commanders (*comendadores*) the Prince of Orange remained at Rome, ill in bed,* from his wounds having opened. They also heard the Master of St. John say that the Abbot of Najera (Fernando Marin) had died of the plague, a piece of intelligence which has since been confirmed by merchants of those parts, though the news is not yet officially announced. No one knew at Rome what direction the Imperialists would take, nor what they intended doing with the Pope.

The news conveyed in his last despatch about the Bentivogli being at the gates of Bologna has turned out quite true. They could not however enter, owing to the Papal governor having arrested those of their adherents who were within the city.

Cardinals Cibo and Cortona are gone to Parma and Piacenza to prevent their surrender, in spite of the Pope's orders, as agreed. Micer Jno. Bartolomeo di Gattinara, and the Papal commissioner who had been sent for the purpose of taking possession of those cities, are now at Rezzo, in the territory of the Duke of Ferrara, negotiating with the respective governors. It is believed, however, that they will not succeed until the approach of the Imperial army.

The Portuguese ambassador (Don Martin de Portugal), who is going to Spain in company with one of the Pope's

1527.

chamberlains, has arrived, and will soon sail for Barcelona.* It is said that he speaks rather unfavourably of His Imperial Majesty, and has sent a message to Cardinal Cortona, through a Spaniard of this place who acts as his secretary, requesting him not to surrender to us Parma and Piacenza, but to keep them for the Pope, and stating that the principal object of his journey is to advise the King, his master, to help His Holiness with all his power, and even to ally himself with the French King for that purpose. Such are the reports afloat about this Portuguese ambassador, though it must be said that whenever the Grand Chancellor (Gattinara) and he (Soria) have spoken to him, he has expressed himself in very different terms.

Andrea Doria has again taken service with the French, and is now cruising before this port, waiting for a convoy of wheat that is to come from Corsica, escorted by nine Imperial galleys. Should our fleet be defeated, and the wheat fall into the hands of the enemy, it is to be feared that on the approach of the confederates by land, Genoa will surrender without resistance, for never were the citizens more disheartened and crest-fallen than they are at present. The Doge has despatched one of his secretaries to the Viceroy of Naples, asking for money and provisions to carry on the defence of this port and city, as likewise for the Neapolitan fleet to come to these seas and disperse the enemy. Should his request be denied, it is his intention to protest, and if the confederates come in force, to treat with them for the surrender.

Advices from Milan state that Leyva had removed the governor of the castle, one of Bourbon's creatures, and replaced him by a Spaniard in his own confidence. The news is not official, and may be a mere report sent by merchants, but he (Soria) would be glad to hear it confirmed, for certainly the fidelity of that governor has been and is much suspected.

Since the above was written letters have come to hand from Secretary Perez of the 11th and 13th inst., the substance of which is that the whole of the Imperial army has left Rome for Lombardy, though without a commander and in a most disorderly manner, for the Prince of Orange had remained behind, declaring that he would not leave the country of the Colonnese until he had received an answer to his despatches. The Imperialists had decided to send the Pope, the cardinals, and the hostages to Salmonet (*sic*). Colonna was to remain as Papal Legate at Rome. The Abbot of Najera had been struck by the plague.

It is said that the Duke of Urbino has again made his peace with the Venetians, who are actually arming 50 galleys to assail the coast of Naples and Sicily. Part of the confederated army is still near Sienna, as well as the Marquis of Saluzzo, so that the whole of Italy may be said to be in a blaze.

* Pope Clement's credentials to this nobleman under date of the 12th July are under No. 111.

1527.

The Grand Chancellor does not intend going further on his journey, and has made up his mind to return to Spain as soon as possible.

The last advices from France are that warlike preparations were being conducted with great activity. Their artillery was crossing the Alps; 5,000 Switzers were already close to Asti, and more were expected. Their intention is no doubt to attack this city.—Genoa, 21st July 1527.

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. From Genoa. Lope de Soria. 21st of July."

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

24 July. 122. PROTHONOTARY CARACCILO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
33.

Has forwarded by Philipppo Archinto, the ambassador whom this city of Milan determined to send to the Emperor, the duplicates of his despatches of the 21st and 23rd of May. Has written several times since, lastly on the 12th inst. The insecurity of the roads, and consequent delay of his correspondence, which must needs go by sea, is perhaps the reason of his letters and those of other Imperial ministers in Italy not having been answered in time. No negligence is therefore to be imputed to him or them, if the Emperor is not fully acquainted with the general state of affairs and the movements of the confederates.

Since his last the enemy came to Marignano. Dislodged from that place by Antonio de Leyva, who went out of Milan to meet them, they pitched their tents at a spot in the neighbourhood of such great natural strength that it will be almost impossible with the small force that captain has under his command to drive them from it, or stop their supplies, besides which their number is increasing every day. Another division of the confederates has come as far as Monza. If they succeed in effecting their junction with these, Leyva will have enough to do to defend this city until the army now at Rome returns to Lombardy, which it is to be hoped will take place soon.

(*Cipher* :) All things considered, since God, who well notes the Emperor's kind acts and righteous intentions, has been pleased to grant him full victory over his enemies; since the two sons of the French King are in his power, and His Holiness himself is at his mercy (*in suo arbitrio*), it is reasonable to presume that all the Emperor's enemies will gladly seize the opportunity of making peace on honourable conditions. His (Caracciolo's) opinion has always been, and is still, that every effort should be made to obtain that peace which is the sole remedy to the evils by which Italy and the whole of Christendom are distracted. His Imperial Majesty has conducted himself so honourably in every previous treaty,

1527.

that no concession now made to his enemy for the sake of putting an end to this war can be imputed to weakness. Every one will see in it his desire to secure the peace of the World.

Signed: "Il Protonotario Caracciolo."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. From Milan. Prothonotary Caracciolo."

Italian. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 9.

25 July. 123. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 39.

Has received the Emperor's letter of the 2nd with the appointment of Chancellor of the Duchy of Milan. Returns thanks for so eminent a favour, and will not fail to exert himself, as hitherto, in the Emperor's service. Will use in future the new cipher which came enclosed.

This morning Antonio de Leyva went up to the castle and had a conversation with the governor [appointed by Bourbon]. After explaining the Emperor's intentions and the favours to be bestowed upon him, Leyva informed him in the mildest possible terms that his office had been conferred upon Joan de Leyva, his own natural brother, and Field Master (*Maestro de Campo*) of the Imperial army. There, in the presence of all bystanders, Leyva swore him, Spanish fashion, saying to him, "As I may be taken prisoner in this war, and be tempted by the enemy to surrender this castle, I command you, should such a thing come to pass, not to obey my orders, but to preserve it for His Imperial Majesty."

Will communicate with the Duke of Ferrara and the Viceroy, according to the instructions last received, whenever anything occurs [at Milan] worth mentioning.—Milan, 25th July 1527.

Signed: "Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "A Sua Mta."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. From Milan. Prothonotary Caracciolo. 25th of July."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 2.

July 26. 124. The EMPEROR to the SENATE and INHABITANTS of ROME.

S. E. L. 1,554,
f. 570.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 303.

"Romani Imperii dignitas hac lege a nobis suscepta est ut (quantum per nos fieri posset) sarcinam hanc, non tam pro nostra quam pro Reipublicæ Christianæ, ipsiusque Romani Imperii gloria suscepisse videremur, atque ut Romanorum nomen, temporum iniuria ferè extinctum, in pristinum nobis statum erigere, idque rursus per universas orbis nationes clarissimum reddere liceret, ut qui in christianorum provinciis religionis principatum obtinent, quocumque religiosis legibus a christianis ubique obtemperatur, eorum etiam et religiosis et profanis iuribus Christi nominis hostes colla submitterent, simulque et Christi et Romani Imperii gloria beneficio nostro

1527.

restitueretur. Verumtamen a vicinis nostris ad bellum provocati, civilia arma tandiu exercere coacti sumus, quousque in potestate nostra fuit labentem Rempublicam restaurare, restitutoque pristinæ libertati Gallorum rege maluimus iniquam pacem amplecti quam bellum æquissimum persequi, utpote qui longè maiora pro Christi gloria proficere posse sperabamus.

“Dumque nos ad tantam provinciam accingimur, ecce Summum Pontificem arma in nos nostramque dignitatem movere sentimus, ita ut [Nos] qui nuper civilia arma posuerimus, plus quam civilia reasumere, novasque copias ad Italiam mittere coacti fuerimus, ni cum maxima ignominia nostra Reipublicæque jactura ei cedere vellemus. Quo factum est, ut dum Pontifex, oblationibus nostris sepius spretis, induciisque violatis, una cum aliis Christianis Principibus arma in Nos, nihil tale ab eo sperantes, mordicus continuare studet, Nosque pro nostra ac subditorum nostrorum et Romani Imperii salute ac dignitate copias nostras manutenere, Nosque a tot hostium inuria defendere curamus, milites nostri Pontificem ad honestam pacem nobiscum componendam compellere volentes, Ducibus nequicquam prohibentibus, nobisque inconsultis, in Urbem istam, quam nos inter cæteras ab omni molestia preservatam optabamus, eum impetum fecerunt, quem (si fieri posset) Nos vel sanguine ipso nostro redimere vellemus, nostro mœori ac luctui, nec modum ullum nec finem certè videremus ni malum hoc maius hominum sequi posse apertà via speraremus. Proque Christi vicario, ac eius ministris iniuriis, vobisque damnis illatis tanto sumus dolore affecti ut tum* pacem universalem, tum ad arma in perfidos religionis nostræ hostes convertenda, idque tandem in vestrum et Reipublicæ honorem et commodum futurum nobis polliceremur. Qua re vos, ut omnem preteritæ calamitatis dolorem deponatis, bonoque animo sitis hortamur spretisque (speretisque) incommoda hæc multa rerum dignitate ac gloria vobis resarcienda esse. Nos enim Imperium, Regna, Dominiaque omnia, sanguinem vitam atque animam ipsam nostram nunquam non sumus exposituri, ut Carolo Quinto Imperante non modo universalis ecclesia illiusque caput, sed Romani etiam magnum dignitatis gloriæque incrementum assequantur pro ut hæc latius nobilis, fidelis, nobis dilectus Petrus a Verey Baro Sancti Juliani, Camerarius et Dapifer noster, vobis nostro nomine refert, cui vos summam in his fidem habere poteritis.—Datum Vallisoleti, 7 Calendas Augusti 1527.”

Addressed: “Senato Populoque Romano.”†

Latin. Original draft by Alfonso Valdés. pp. 3.

27 July. 125.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 41.

ALONSO SANCHEZ to the EMPEROR.

Cardinal Cibo entered Bologna the other day, and released those of the Bentivogli who had been imprisoned.

The Papal commissioner who accompanied Joan Bartolomeo,

* The words in italics are added on the margin.

† The indorsement has “Nobilibus Romanis damna passis.”

1527.

Gattinara, and Count Lodrone, for the purpose of delivering to them the cities of Parma and Piacenza, as agreed in the capitulation, could not execute the orders whereof he was the bearer, as Count Gayatzo (Gaiazzo) occupied a bridge on the way, and would not allow the party to pass.

With regard to the movements of the Switzers no positive information can be obtained. The Bishop of Trent, in a letter of the 23rd inst., writes that they had been recalled by their lords (*que avian sido revocados de sus Señores*), either because the King of France had not forwarded the stipulated money, or because he did not wish them to come down until they heard from him again. On the other hand it is generally believed here, at Venice, that they are already on the move, and that a division of them is shortly to cross the Alps. Letters, it is added, have been received from Lyons of the 17th inst., announcing that Mons. de Lautrech had arrived two days before (on the 15th), and was about to start in four or five more. He was expected to be in Italy on the 10th of August.

The Imperialists, it is said, left Rome on the 10th or 11th inst., and took the road to Lombardy. They sacked Narni on the way, and passed on. Who commands them, and what their plans are, nobody here can tell.

The Bishop of Trent writes to say that the Tartar (*el Tactaro*), was collecting an army of 80,000 horse to invade Poland, and that the King of that country (Sigismond) was making preparations to resist him.

The ambassador appointed by this Signory to go to Lautrech will leave to-night or to-morrow morning. Their captain-general (*proveditor*) of the sea sailed on the 24th for Corfú to take the command of the fleet.—Venice, 27th July 1527.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "Sacre. Cesae. et Cathce. Mti." and "Domino prothonotario et archidiacono Soria." *By triplicate*.

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. Alo. Sanchez. 27th of July."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

28 July. 126.

The EMPEROR to CARDINAL SALVIATI*

S. E. L. 572.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 304.

Excuses himself, but inculcates the Pope. The sack of Rome was no doing of his. The soldiers, exasperated at his Holiness for not fulfilling his promises and carrying on the war as before, insisted upon marching on. Neither he nor his generals can be made responsible for the excesses of his troops. —Vallesoleti, 28th July 1527.

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.

* Cardinal LORENZO Salviati, once Papal Legate in Spain.

1527.

28 July. 127. The EMPEROR to the KING OF ENGLAND.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof- u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 25.

Must have heard from his ambassador (Don Iñigo) the many reports which have reached him of the French assertion that he (the King) intends to ally himself with them against him. Cannot possibly believe such reports, considering the cordial affection (*bonne et cordiale amour*) which the King has always professed for him, the many kindnesses and friendly attentions he has shown him, the mutual love of their own kingdoms and subjects, and the total absence of any just cause or ground for disagreement between them which should lead them to injure one another. He, himself, has always desired, and still desires, to live and die in friendship with the King, that they may together do some good work for the glory of God and the peace and repose of Christendom. Begs the King to ponder well on all these things, to persevere in the love he has always borne him (the Emperor), and to maintain the ancient alliances and treaties between them, without allowing himself to be deceived and diverted from that course, but rather (as he has often promised) pointing out the means whereby the said friendship and alliance can better be preserved. He for his part is willing to co-operate in such a good work, as his ambassador (Don Iñigo), for whom he begs credence, cannot fail to report.

Addressed: "High and Mighty, &c."

French. Minute. p. 1.

28 July. 128. The EMPEROR to the CARDINAL OF YORK.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof- u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 227, No. 25.

The Cardinal will see what he (the Emperor) has written to his good brother and uncle the King of England. Doubts not that he will use all his influence, as he has often promised through the English ambassadors, to prevent anything being done contrary to his interests and to the good feeling which he (the Cardinal) has always shown him. Begs him to do his utmost to preserve, not only the same friendship and alliance as hitherto between the two countries, but to help it to grow and increase, informing him of any means which may tend to this result, on which point his advice will be gladly received, as he will hear from his ambassador, the Bishop of Burgos. Begs him to give full credence to the said Bishop, &c.

French. Minute. p. 1.

28 July. 129. MERCURINO DI GATTINARA to ALFONSO D'ESTE, Duke of Ferrara.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 44.

Replied yesterday to his letter concerning Georgio [Fruntsperg] and the money owing to him. There is great talk to-day about the French soon invading the estate of Milan. Mons. de Lautrech was expected at Torino in a day or two. The Switzers who were at Ybrea had advanced as far as

1527.

the river Pò, which they were about to cross near Sancto Sebastiano. Their principal force was still at Asti, where considerable stores of provisions and ammunition had been collected. The enemy's plan of campaign seems to be to take Alessandria first, and then march on this city (Genoa) and lay siege to it, whilst their fleet under Andrea Doria blockades the port. The Genoese galleys that went to Corsica laden with wool and to bring back wheat dare not come. If we are not speedily succoured, and if the Imperial army does not soon return to Lombardy, Genoa must fall into the hands of the enemy.

Begs him to despatch a messenger with all possible speed to the Prince of Orange or to the captains in command of the Imperial forces, requesting them to make haste, and return to Lombardy as soon as possible.—Genoa, 28th July 1527.

Indorsed: "Napoles. Particularia."

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 14.

29 July. 130. PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 46.

Since his letter of the 24th inst., reporting the warlike operations in the immediate neighbourhood of this city, Antonio de Leyva has thought it desirable to collect his forces and occupy the suburbs (*li borchì*), with a view to ensuring the supplies of provisions to this Imperial camp and to Milan. He will thus be enabled the better to defend this capital against the enemy, as well as Pavia, Alessandria, and other fortified places of lesser importance, such as Novara, Moleno, &c.

News came yesterday that the Switzers, mustering about 6,000, had marched from Ybrea to Asti, there to meet Lautrech, who with the French lances and the whole of the artillery is expected to arrive within a week. What the enemy's plans are nobody knows for certain. Some think that they will march on Alessandria; others that their object is to attempt Parma and Piacenza, which cities have not yet been surrendered to us, notwithstanding the Pope's express orders to that effect. Their design might also be to meet the Imperial army on its march, but this is hardly probable. They might also enter by the Lomelina and effect their junction with the Venetians now encamped in the territory of this city (Milan), or else, by getting possession of Alessandria, open the road to Genoa, which city and port are already invested by the enemy's fleet, and too scantily provisioned to stand a regular siege by sea and land. This last appears to us the point most threatened, especially as Andrea Doria, who has again taken service with the French, and accepted the command of the confederated fleet, is straining every nerve to watch that port and prevent the arrival of supplies. As Genoa, according to the last treaty, has been consigned to King Francis, there can be no doubt that this is their plan

1527.

of campaign; besides that, the city once taken, they can infest the coasts of Sicily and Apulia with their galleys.

Nothing shall be spared on our part to defend the Duchy, and indeed the whole of Lombardy, against the enemy. Leyva, however, has not a farthing at his disposal; the money that Lope de Soria sent us is already spent. Innumerable families are quitting Milan owing to the dearth of provisions and the insolence and excesses of the soldiers quartered upon them, who, having no money, must needs procure their daily food wherever they can find it. In order to stop the emigration of the inhabitants, and cause the absent families to come back, we have been obliged to issue very strict (*acerbissime*) proclamations for the absentees to return under pain of confiscation of property, and so forth. Yesterday, whilst we were discussing in the Council room certain measures for the internal administration of Milan, a deputation of the Great Hospital, composed of the principal nobles of the land, made their appearance, and informed us that they could no longer, for want of funds, receive any sick soldiers within the precincts of that establishment, a thing which has never before happened even in the most calamitous times.—Milan, 29th July 1527.

Addressed: "To the King. 1527. From Milan. Prothonotary Caracciolo. 29th July."

Italian. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering between the lines. pp. 3.

29 July. 131. The EMPEROR to DON IÑIGO DE MENDOZA.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. StaatsArch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224.

Your letters of the 13th inst.* came duly to hand, together with one from the Queen of England, our good aunt. They were brought by Francisco Phelipez,† who, in virtue of his credentials from the Queen herself, informed us verbally of the state of her affairs, and said in substance what you yourself wrote to us about them. You may well imagine how sorry We were to hear of a case so scandalous in itself,

* See above, No. 113, p. 271. This letter of the 29th has appeared already in abstract in Brewer, Letters and Papers, vol. iv. part II., p. 1500. Its importance has induced me to give it in full, and translate it again as literally as possible.

† The name of this individual, who was one of Katharine's servants, is generally written in Don Iñigo's despatches Phes or Phelz, which can be read alike, Phelipes or Phelipez, a common Spanish name, meaning the son of Phelipe or Felipe, according to modern orthography. In a letter of Knight to Wolsey (dat. the 18th of July, and abstracted by Brewer (p. 1488), he is called *Philip François* (François Philip?), the Queen's sewer. "The King had given him a passport, but finding that the cause of his going [to Spain] was feigned for certain purposes of the Queen, he (the King) wishes him secretly to be arrested and stopped in some part of France," &c. In another from Wolsey to Henry on the 19th, the King is right in presuming that the purpose of *Phillipes* in going to Spain is to disclose the secret matter (p. 1488); and again on the 1st of August Wolsey wrote to Ghinucci and Lee, "You are to watch Ferdinand and Francis, and if the Emperor drops a word on the subject (the contemplated divorce) make such prudent reply as will overcome his prejudices." From what precedes I am inclined to believe that *Francisco Phelipez* was a Spaniard, and not an Englishman, by birth.

1527.

and entailing such lamentable consequences for the future, from which evils innumerable must inevitably arise, especially at the present juncture. We cannot desert the Queen, our good aunt, in her troubles, and intend doing all We can in her favour. To this end, as the first step towards rendering help, it seems to us that this matter ought to be treated with all possible moderation, having recourse to kind remonstrances alone for the present. We have accordingly written a letter to the King in our own hand, as you will see by the enclosed copy of it. You may tell the King, through yourself or in any other way you may consider best, that We have had cognizance of the actual state of things between His most Serene Highness the King of England and the Queen consort, our aunt, and how, immediately after the receipt of this painful intelligence, We took up our pen and wrote in our own hand the letter of which a copy is enclosed, without communicating its import to any member of our Privy Council or others, or asking their advice upon it, persuaded as We are that such important and weighty matters ought to be treated privately between ourselves.

The better to convince the King of our wish to keep this matter secret, you will tell him that, although our first intention was to send to him one of the gentlemen of our chamber, We have since changed our mind and decided to write to him in our own hand; and, moreover, that foreseeing that this despatch, as well as our private and confidential letter to him, must needs go by land, We have with infinite trouble to ourselves put the same in cipher, intricate and difficult as you know this process to be.

That knowing his (the King's) great personal virtues, his elevation of mind,* his good and righteous intentions, and the perfect love he has always borne towards us and our affairs, We cannot in any manner be persuaded to believe in so strange a determination as this on the part of His Serenity, a step which would so astonish the whole world, were it to be carried into execution. Nor can We believe it possible, considering the good qualities (*bondad*) of His Serenity and of the Queen, his wife, and the honesty and peace in which they have lived for so many years—so much to the fame and reputation of both parties, as is notorious throughout the Christian world—the Queen herself being so good and virtuous, loving so much His Serenity, having always conducted herself towards him in so irreproachable a manner, and being of such Royal blood, that such a design can be entertained. To which We may add that having, as they have, so sweet a Princess for their daughter, it is not to be presumed that His Serenity would consent to have her or her mother dishonoured, a thing so monstrous of itself and wholly without precedent in ancient or modern history.

* “Que aviendo nos tanto experimentado y cognoscido las grandes virtudes e magnificencia de su persona.”

1527.

For even if it were right and allowable—which it is not—to say or think that the Pope could not give dispensation for this marriage, and even supposing that on that occasion there did exist—which there did not—the motives alleged, or other causes and reasons still stronger of any kind whatsoever, which could justify such a scandalous dissolution of the marriage, it would still be a more honourable proceeding (*mucho y mas honesto*) to keep the matter secret and work out its remedy privately, if necessary, though We maintain that such motives and reasons do not and cannot exist.

Nor is it likely that these proceedings originate with His Serenity, but with persons who bear ill-will towards His most Serene Highness, the Queen, and ourselves, and care not what evils and disasters may spring therefrom. For the present affair, as We have no doubt that you (Don Iñigo) will be able to show and prove to the King, is one in which many Christian Princes are concerned, and may in future times become the cause of great troubles and dissensions among them, some maintaining, after the King's death, that the Princess is his true and legitimate daughter; others asserting the contrary, and pretending that the King of Scotland, in his mother's right, ought to succeed to the throne of England; besides which, other political questions connected with the above might give rise to everlasting feuds and contentions.

You will, therefore, entreat His Serenity, in our name, well to consider the matter, and pay especial attention to the three following points:—1st. To take in good part what We say to him, and to believe that in thus addressing him We have only represented what We know to be most advantageous to himself and to us. 2nd. That We earnestly entreat him, for the honour and service of God, to put an end to this scandalous affair. 3rd. That he may be pleased to treat this matter with such secrecy and reserve as His Serenity, in his great prudence and discretion, cannot fail to see is most fitting in a case of this nature. And you will also promise in our name that whatever measures may be required to ensure the said secrecy We will readily adopt, out of our perfect love for His Serenity, for the said Queen, our aunt, for the Princess their daughter, and for the whole kingdom of England.

This is what We think you should say for the present [to the King], but We still order and command you, as you are likely to know the state of this affair better than ourselves, to say, do, and add whatever you consider necessary in a matter so important for the service of God and our own. This, however, you will do most temperately, without the least acrimony (*agrura*), and in such manner as your usual prudence and discretion shall dictate.

A duplicate of this letter shall be forwarded to you by sea, and at the same time Francisco Phe. (Phelipe) shall return to

1527.

England. He will be the bearer of a letter of ours to the Queen, our aunt, to whom you shall as soon as possible communicate the contents of this despatch, in the manner you may think most proper for her tranquillity and satisfaction, giving her at the same time such advice as may comfort her in her present affliction.

Lest the Queen should derive no benefit to her case from the [intended] appeal, We have now also written to our Viceroy of Naples, informing him in full of the nature and circumstances of the case, commanding him to obtain from His Holiness secretly, and in the best manner possible, a letter or brief, wherein, in the mildest possible terms, and with due exhortations, he may persuade the King and his ministers to put a stop to the evils which must necessarily arise out of so scandalous a business.

We ourselves have also written to His Holiness through another channel respecting this ugly affair, entreating him to revoke the legatine power conferred on the Cardinal of England, or, if he should deem it more advisable, to command by sentence that neither the said Cardinal nor any other ecclesiastic of England, of whatever rank or dignity he may be, interfere in the said affair, he (the Cardinal) being strongly suspected of ill-will towards the Queen, our aunt; but, on the contrary, that the case be brought forward at Rome before His Holiness and the Sacred College of Cardinals, there to be tried and judged by them.

A duplicate of the resolution (*despacho*) on this matter shall be addressed to you by way of Germany, with all possible secrecy, and another one after the receipt of this present letter, that you may show the same to the King as emanating from the Pope (*motu proprio*) in virtue of his pastoral dignity.*

For your better guidance (*por vño mayor aviso*), and also to ensure the most favourable termination of this case, We now send to Rome the General of the Order of St. Francis (Quiñones), fully qualified, as he is, for this sort of business, with whom and with our Viceroy of Naples you may correspond by means of your own cipher, to which the latter has a key.

True it is that We would much prefer, were it possible, to redress this present evil secretly, rather than bring it to such scandalous publicity; and yet, if no other means be left, We cannot but do everything in our power to assist the Queen, our aunt.

We have likewise written to the Cardinal the enclosed† in our own hand, which you can forward to him if required, or else keep it by you until his return [from France]. Should

* "Y el despacho que sobre esto se hiziere será duplicado, el uno se enviara en vñas manos muy secretamente por via de Allemagna, y el otro, siendo este [recibido se enviara] al mismo Rey d'Ynglaterra como cosa que vjene de proprio motu de su St. por razon de su dignidad pastoral."

† The letter, which is not in the packet, must be different from that of the 23rd, and alluded probably to the divorce.

1527.

you decide upon having it sent to him, let it be conveyed secretly through some person deserving all your confidence, and with such charge and commission as you may deem best.

Respecting other State affairs of ours now pending in that kingdom, We cannot but approve all that you said to the Cardinal before he left for France.* But as on this particular point, as well as on the subject of the peace and alliance [with England], We have lately written to you at length by way of France, through the courier of the English ambassadors at this our court as usual, We need not repeat our instructions, save saying that We shall consider it a great service to our person if you will continue to inform us of current events in England.—Valladolid, 29th July 1527.

Spanish. Original draft to be put in cipher. pp. 7.

Indorsed: "Minute de lettre de l'Empereur á Don Iñigo."

30 July. **132.** PROTHONOTARY CARACCILO to the EMPEROR.

. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 54.

(*Cipher:*) Leyva has read to him (Caracciolo) the paragraph of a letter respecting the Duke Francesco Sforza. It would be advisable that, in order to treat with him exclusively and in secret, full powers should be forwarded to the said Leyva, or to whoever else is to conduct the negotiations. Clear and ample instructions showing the Emperor's wishes should also come by the same post, because the distance is great and the roads are insecure. Even so, he (Caracciolo) doubts whether the Duke will consent to treat under the present circumstances.

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. From Milan. 30th of July."

Italian. Original deciphering. p. 1.

30 July. **133.** ANTONIO DE LEYVA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 109.

Since his letter of the 14th† Captain Ribadeneyra arrived on the 17th. The orders he brings shall be faithfully attended to, but he (Leyva) cannot help remarking that no account is being taken at Court of his present dangerous position, surrounded as he is by enemies, and without bread or money to give his soldiers. He hears that Soria has orders to furnish him with only 30,000 ducats, which, considering that the monthly pay to the Germans alone amounts to 25,000 ducats, and that of the Spaniards to 8,000, without including the garrisons, is but an insignificant sum towards general expenses. Has since been obliged to raise 4,000 Italian infantry, which must be paid every month, or else they will

* See Don Iñigo's letter of the 13th July, No. 113.

† This letter, as well as that of the 14th, and a third of the 30th of September, the abstract of which will come hereafter, have been given by Lanz, *Correspondenz des Kaysers Karl V.*, vol. i., pp. 235-48, as forming only one. They are not there in the original Spanish, but in a French translation.

1527.

go home, and everything will be lost. If to this be added that the light horse, the men-at-arms, the garrisons of Lecco, Pizzighitone, Trezzo, Como, Pavia, &c. have not been paid for some time, and that considerable sums must be spent in ordnance, ammunition, spies, couriers, &c., His Imperial Majesty will judge whether 36,000 ducats are sufficient to keep this army. Wishes that he had means of his own to supply these wants, but his estate in the kingdom of Naples is by this time partly mortgaged and partly sold. The commandership (*comendaduria*) of which the Emperor lately made him present is pawned to Cartagena, the banker, for 2,000 ducats advanced to the Germans. None of his friends and relatives, who otherwise might trust him, will lend him one farthing more, owing to his former engagements in the Emperor's name being still unpaid.

The Emperor intimates in his letter that the Viceroy [of Naples] has received orders to provide as best he can for the wants of this army, but the Viceroy is nearly as far from Milan as we are from Spain, and whilst the orders come and go the whole may be lost. His Imperial Majesty ought not to trust too much to his lucky star, for it is not every day that God works miracles (*no todos los dias hace Dios milagros*).

King Francis' ordnance left Lyons on the 5th inst. Captain Figueroa must have fully reported on Roman affairs; there is no need for him to say how matters stand there.

Count Gayago, and private business of his own.

Returns thanks for the acknowledgment of his services conveyed in the Emperor's letter of the 23rd. Will do his duty to the last.

With regard to the Duke [Francesco Sforza] and the message which he (Leyva) has been ordered to send him, Prothonotary Caracciolo and others have been consulted, and though some were of opinion that this was not the time for such overtures, yet an attempt has been made in the following manner. About a fortnight ago a Spaniard of the name of Garro, an honest man and soldier serving under Gian Paolo Sforza, the Duke's bastard brother, fell into our hands, and was lodged with the rest of the prisoners. Through this Garro a message came from Gian Paolo saying that his brother, the Duke, begged him (Leyva) to use his influence with the Emperor to procure the settlement of his affair as soon as possible, and that if he (Leyva) wished it the Duke would send a confidential agent to discuss the terms, &c. His answer was that the Emperor was always ready to receive with open arms those who had offended him, and that if the Duke would stand his trial before unsuspected judges appointed for the purpose, he might be sure of being treated with mercy. He (Leyva) would do all he could in the matter. Those who brought the Duke's message did not fail to mention, by way of argument and of intimidation also, the rumour prevailing at the time of a French army soon

1527.

coming to Italy. His (Leyva's) reply was that the arrival of the French could in nowise improve the Duke's position, for even in the case of their being victorious, which he hoped to God would not happen, the Duchy of Milan would not be restored to him, unless it was in the manner and in the way that his brother held it whilst residing in France.* Has purposely kept this proposal open during seven or eight days until he should hear whether the French are really coming down. Now that this seems to be a certainty according to the last advices, and that they (the Sforzini) are also aware of it, the overtures have been discontinued, and the affair remains as it was.

With regard to this castle of Milan, the very day the news came of Bourbon's death, he (Leyva) made sure of it, without, however, deposing the governor.† There was in reality nothing to fear, as he had only three Frenchmen under him; and besides, strict orders had been given to the Spaniards that no one should go in or out without their permission. But there was within the walls a Grison captain named Paul, in command of the Germans, who on various accounts was not to be trusted. This one Leyva managed to depose in the following manner. Passing one day in front of the castle, Leyva begged him to come out, which the Grison did, and then taking him under some excuse to his own lodgings in the city, he gave the command to another German captain of his acquaintance, named Gaspar,‡ who immediately entered the castle, and took a fresh oath of allegiance from the men.

All this was done previous to Ribadeneyra's arrival, and before he (Leyva) knew the Emperor's wishes. He has since called upon the governor [La Mothe], and persuaded him, in the best manner he could, to give up his command, which he did immediately and without difficulty, on the promise of 2,500 cr. to marry his two daughters, besides his own pay as governor, which, however, he is not likely to enjoy long, as he is both old and sickly. The Emperor having done him the honour of appointing him warder (castellano) of the said force, he (Leyva) could not do better than to name his brother Juan as his lieutenant.

The administration of justice and government of the city remains, as before, in the hands of Prothonotary Caracciolo, as Chancellor of the Duchy. He is sure to give satisfaction, as he is a very learned man, and a devoted servant of the Emperor. The same may be said of the Abbot of Najera, now at Rome. Respecting the officers of this army he (Leyva) has no change to recommend; all do their duty. Pedrarias commands at Como; he has under his orders the company of

* Massimiliano Sforza, who died in 1530. Both he and Francesco were the sons of Lodovico Il Moro.

† Monsieur de la Mothe de Noyers.

‡ Gaspar Fruntsperg, the son of George?

1527.

Captain Bracamonte besides his own. Villaturiel is at Delea (Lecco ?) with his Spaniards, and Diego Lopez de Sosa at Trezzo. All of them are excellent officers.

Juan de Astudillo, servant of the late Marquis of Pescara, defends the castle of Novara. There is no fear of the enemy taking it, even if they should come in force. As to the castle of Vigezano, Guasto has care of it, for it belongs to him.

The Emperor sends to inquire what money remained in the hands of M. de Bourbon's treasurers at the time of his death, but His Majesty must have been misinformed on this point, for he had none to leave. Had he possessed wealth the Constable was the very man to expend it in a short time, and if the Emperor is to undertake to pay the debts he left in this Duchy he will have enough to do. His own servants had not received their wages for many months.

The said Bourbon, before he started on his Roman expedition, had taken from the Seigneur de Via (Viglia)* all his offices and charges, and given them to other people known to be faithful servants of the Empire. This he did because he happened to surprise certain letters wherein he (Viglia) spoke in very light terms of His Imperial Majesty. The late Constable was right in his suspicions, for he (Leyva) has lately intercepted letters from the ambassador of the Duke Francesco [Sforza], residing at the Court of France, in which he professes to know through Via (Viglia) that His Imperial Majesty has been unable to accomplish his purposes, &c. The said Via was governor of Asti, and senator [here at Milan]. The enemy is now in possession of that city, and none but the most decided Imperialists ought to sit in this senate. It is, therefore, for the Emperor to decide what is to be done, for certainly the said Via is only here as a spy to watch our movements.

With regard to the Milanese emigrants lately arrived from France and the Emperor's warnings respecting them, he (Leyva) can only say that they shall be closely watched, and placed where they can do no harm. On the two brothers Beljoioso (Count Lodovico and Alberico) he (Leyva) can rely as on himself. Captain Pietro Virago has lately enlisted under our banners. The King of France had given him the command of the light horse and infantry, and it was he who defended Frosinone when the Viceroy blockaded it. He has now come over to us, and it is to be hoped will continue in the Imperial service.

Thinks the appointment of the Duke of Ferrara to the command in chief of the Imperial forces in Italy a very excellent one, but doubts his accepting it, knowing, as he does, the scarcity of our means and the mutinous spirit of the men, &c.

* Probably the same person elsewhere called *Billia* and *Bilia*, who in January 1526 represented the Duke of Milan in Spain. See Part I., pp. 551-2.

1527.

Respecting Bourbon's burial, as soon as his corpse is brought to Milan the Emperor's orders shall be punctually executed.

The report is that the Imperial army has gone out of Rome on account of the plague. Believes that it will not go on unless paid.

The Swiss, mustering 22 companies, have arrived at Ybrea. The artillery of France was at Hambrun (Embrun), one day's journey from Suze, on the 25th inst.; the men-at-arms, in great numbers, had marched past Lyons. Venice was raising fresh levies.—Milan, 30th July 1527.

Signed: "Antonio de Leyva."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 12.

- 31 July. 134. CHARLES V.'S MANIFESTO to the PRINCES OF EUROPE, after the sack of Rome.
S. E. L. 1,554,
f. 371.
B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
f. 304.

The Emperor to all, &c.—Protests against the calumnies that have been spread concerning him, as if he could be the author of the sack of Rome. Does not, and never did, harbour suspicion or ill-will towards so good a Pope as Clement VII.—Valladolid, ultimo mensis Julii 1527.*

Latin. Original draft in the handwriting of Secretary Alfonso de Valdés. pp. 2.

- 31 July. 135. The EMPEROR to the COLLEGE OF CARDINALS, in credence of PIERRE DE VEREY.
S. E. L. 1554,
f. 572.
B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
f. 302.

Carolus, &c.—Reverendissimi in Christo Patres, amici carissimi. Tot tantisque argumentis nostrum erga Romanum Pontificem et Apostolicam Sedem animum et voluntatem attestatum esse arbitramur, ut tametsi milites nostri (quod diffiteri nolumus) rem omnium atrocissimam in Urbe patrarint nullum tamen adeò a ratione alienum fore credamus qui ea crimini nostro velit (*sic*) ascribere, sed his qui beneficio nostro paccatam Rempubicam novis seditionibus turbare, firmatas cum Dom. Ugone a Moncada inducias violare, Columnensium que terras ac deinde Regnum nostrum Neapolitanum armis adoriri, potius quam nostra benevolentia frui ac in ocio et quiete vivere elegerunt. Nos verò pro nostra erga vos vestrumque ordinem [benevolentia?] cum promptitudine, licet nulla a vobis facta esse videatur, de quibus iure meriti conqueri possemus, ... quippe qui, nostri amoris ac benevolentiae obliti, vestris auspiciis inducias prefatas, ut accipimus, violari, novamque seditionem a qua hæc incommoda orta sunt excitari, nullo nostro merito passi estis, eaque iusto

* Copies of this declaration seem to have been addressed to all the Princes of Europe individually.

1527.

Dei iudicio facta esse videamur. Tanto tamen dolore vestra hac calamitate perculsi sumus, ut cum id litteris nequaquam committere valeamus, quem istuc mittimus Nobili fideli, nobis dilecto, Petro à Verey,* Baroni Sancti Juliani, camerario et Dapifero nostro, in mandatis dedimus ut hac aliaque Reverendissimis Paternitatibus vestris nostro nomine referat. Vos plurimum hortamur ut summam homini fidem habeatis, deque nostro in vos et Apostolicam sedem animo ac voluntate tantum vobis pollicemini ut salva Reipublicæ salute a nobis nihil non sperare debeatis.—Datum Vallisoleti, ultimo Julii 1527.

Latin. Original draft in the handwriting of Alfonso de Valdés. pp. 1½.

31 July. 136.

S. E. L. 1,554,
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 303.

The EMPEROR to the CARDINALS, his friends, in credence of PIERRE DE VEREY.

When the Pope rejected his offers of peace, every one could foretell what would be the result of his obstinacy. His soldiers "iusti potius Dei iudicio quam nostro iussu seu voluntate Roman expugnare coacti sint." Is sorry that his men did so much wrong and injured them so much, "merebatur enim mutua inter nos benevolentia ut magno potius honore quam molestiis a nostris afficeretur."

Sends Pierre de Verey to them, &c.
Vallisoleti, ultimo Julii 1567.

Addressed: "Cardinalibus amicis affectis, damnaque passis."†

Latin. Original draft in the handwriting of Alfonso Valdés.

31 July. 137.

S. E. L. 1,554,
f. 573.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 303.

The EMPEROR to the rest of the CARDINALS, individually. It is against his nature to seek revenge. The calamities which have fallen on Rome are the just judgment of God.—Vallisoleti, ultimo Julii 1527.

Addressed: "Cæteris Cardinalibus."

Latin. Original draft in the handwriting of Alfonso de Valdés, with the note: "Fiant in hac forma littere XV."

31 July. 138.

S. E. L. 1,554,
f. 573.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 303.

The EMPEROR to the ROMAN NOBLES.

Credentials in favour of his envoy, Pierre de Verey, who is to speak to them in the same terms as to the cardinals considered to be friends of the Emperor.—Vallisoleti, ultimo Julii 1527.

Addressed: "Nobilibus Romanis damna passis."

Latin. Original draft in the handwriting of Alfonso de Valdés.‡

* The same individual elsewhere called *Vere*, de *Veyre*, and *Beer*.

† Similar letters were addressed individually to the Cardinals of Sienna (Senensis), La Valle, Cesarino, Campeggio, Egidio, and Capua.

‡ With the following memorandum:—"Littere sex cum titulo: 'Magnificis, (sic) dilecti.' Littere quatuor cum titulo: 'Venerabilibus (sic) dilectis,'"

1527.

31 July. 139. PROTHONOTARY CARACCILO to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 57.

(*Cipher* :) After having occupied the suburbs (*borghi*), the whole army, and especially the Germans, insist upon being quartered in Milan itself. No pay can be issued to them, but they must live somehow. The whole of yesterday they (the Germans) were in a state of mutiny thereupon; the Milanese, on the other hand, in great fear of being sacked, were holding consultations together as to the best means of preventing their visit. The men were at last quieted on the promise made by the townsmen of 3,000 cr. per week during one month, which sum, though insufficient to keep half the Germans, they have decided to divide among themselves, and wait until more funds come from Spain. If the Milanese only keep their promise, one month's time is gained, for otherwise, were the army to enter Milan, great evils might ensue.

(*Common writing* :) News came yesterday to Leyva that the enemy had arrived at a spot called Caia, in the neighbourhood of Monza, and about 17 miles from this city. Their forces consist of five companies of Grisons, four of Switzers from the cantons of Altorf, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, under a renowned captain named Amantocle, besides five of Italians. Gian Giacomo [de' Medici], the castellan of Mus, and several other captains had joined them with upwards of 150 light cavalry. In short, the whole force mustered 6,000, and 4,000 more were expected in a few days. On the receipt of this intelligence Leyva determined to attempt a *coup de main*. Yesterday evening, at two o'clock of the night, he secretly left Milan at the head of 3,000 men, made up of Germans, Italians, and Spaniards, men-at-arms, and light horse, every one of whom wore a white tunic (*con le camisie bianche*). He marched all night, and arrived soon after sunrise in sight of the enemy, who, having had time to prepare, put themselves in battle array and fought bravely, until at last their captain-general, Amantocle, with four more, being slain, and two taken prisoners, the rest took to flight, leaving on the field of battle upwards of 1,200 of their men, exclusive of many prisoners, and eleven of their banners. The castellan of Musso (Mus), however, managed to escape with some of his mounted followers.

It has been altogether a most signal victory, and one likely to have very good results, for the country about Monza is now freed from the enemy, and when the Switzers of Asti, who have already taken Castellazo, and are threatening Alessandria, hear of the defeat of their countrymen, they will probably lose courage. The whole was planned and executed with such secrecy, that though the Venetian camp is close by, they never knew of the departure of our men. Unluckily, our success is damped by the miserable state of the army and of the Milanese themselves. The Germans are incessantly clamouring for their arrears; there is no money to give them, and none comes from Genoa. They insist upon entering Milan

1527.

and being quartered among the inhabitants, which will be a great misfortune, unless Leyva has the means of preventing it. Only the other day the "Vicario della Provisione" and several deputies came with tears in their eyes, begging us to do everything in our power to avert so awful a calamity, for once within Milan, there is no saying what excesses the soldiers may commit. —Milan, the last day of July.

Signed: "Il Protonotario Caracciolo."

Indorsed: "From Prothonotary Caracciolo, 31st July."

Italian. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering between the lines. pp. 4.

1 Aug. **140.** The DUKE OF FERRARA to ALONSO SANCHEZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41.
f. 112.

His letter of the 27th ult. has come to hand. Begs him to write as often as possible concerning the state of affairs, and will be grateful to hear the news, for although he cannot at present accept the office which His Imperial Majesty has been pleased to confer on him, for the reasons stated in the enclosed copy of a letter which he has sent to Spain, yet he takes unflagging interest in the Emperor's prosperity.—[Ferrara], 1st of August 1527.

Addressed: "To the Magnifico Alonso Sanchez, Imperial ambassador in Venice."

Italian. Contemporary copy in Sanchez's handwriting. p. 1.

1 Aug. **141.** SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 62.
B. M. Add. 28,575,
f. 305.

Encloses duplicate of his letter of the 21st, sent by way of Gaeta. Has nothing to add except that the Pope and his cardinals, as well as all the servants and vassals of the Emperor, are anxiously expecting his arrival, or else instructions as to what they are to do. A Spaniard who left the Imperial Court on the 29th of June, and has lately come to Rome on business, says that the vessel on board of which he sailed brought no letters from home, at which the Pope is much disappointed,—so much so, that on the 28th ult. he despatched one of his chamberlains [to Genoa] to ascertain whether really no news had come, so anxious is he to know if any resolution has been taken in his affairs.

The Germans are still urging that the Pope and cardinals should be sent to Gaeta, but they insist upon the Viceroy first giving securities for the payment of the 250,000 ducats promised by the Pope, exclusive of their share in the 150,000 which they and the Spaniards were to receive, and which have not yet been paid in full owing to the bankers who took the contract being unable to fulfil it, for the two following

1527.

reasons: one that the Viceroy can no longer lend them the 20,000 on Benevento; the other that the plague is making such ravages, both here and at Naples, that no man can be found to stand security for another. All which prevents the settlement of these debts, and consequently the march of the Imperial army on Lombardy, where, according to the late news, a considerable force of French and Switzers is shortly expected.

(*Cipher* :) Alarcon says that the Pope talks of going to Spain and holding an interview with the Emperor, but he thinks that he will not be able to go for want of money.

(*Common writing* :) The deputies appointed by the Germans and Spaniards have agreed to ask for the revocation of Cardinal Frenesis' (Farnese) appointment as Legate. They do not wish him to go to Spain, but recommend in his stead the Datary Bishop of Verona, and the Archbishop of Capua, accompanied by Don Ugo. They have accordingly applied to the Viceroy for permission for the Datary to go to Naples. The Pope affects disappointment at this, (*cipher* :) but is in reality glad that Cardinal Farnese is objected to.

(*Common writing* :) Advices from Venice of the 25th and 27th June state that Lautrech is shortly expected with 800 lances and 12,000 Switzers. The infantry force, when complete, is to amount to 30,000, of whom 10,000 are to be paid by the King of England. (*Cipher* :) It is also announced that the governor of the castle of Milan is only waiting for the arrival of Lautrech to raise his standard for King Francis, and has accordingly despatched messengers (*proprios*) to Venice and to Lyons to that effect. It is to be presumed, however, that Leyva, who has been informed of that traitor's plans, will be on the alert.

Revolution in Bologna. Refusal of the inhabitants to grant Count Guido Rangone and Count Gayaco passage through their territory. It is, however, reported that they have since marched by another route at the head of 4,000 men, and that their intention is to fortify Palma (Parma).

The confederates passed their forces in review the other day. They have only 14,000 men in Lombardy. The Duke Francesco [Sforza] intended to overrun the Milanese and destroy the corn fields, but Leyva was on his guard.

Discovery of a conspiracy at Sienna.

The Germans still insist upon the Pope leaving Rome, but they do not wish him to go to Gaeta.

The Prince of Orange, they say, has gone to Sienna, there to wait for the Emperor's orders.

The Marquis and Bishop of Astorga are still at Civittà Vecchia. They are expected here this week, for no other purpose than that of kissing the Pope's foot, and then sailing for Spain, after calling on the Viceroy at Naples. Knight Commander Mayorga has assured him (Perez) that the

1527.

Marquis no longer intends speaking to the Pope about his marriage.—Rome, 1st of August 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. Rome. Perez. 1st of August."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

2 Aug. 142. The EMPEROR to the KING and QUEEN OF PORTUGAL.*

S. L. 1,553,
f. 55.

B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 308.

Is very sorry for what has happened at Rome; could not help it. His soldiers perceiving that no treaty made with the Pope had been faithfully observed, and that the one with the Viceroy was likely to share the same fate, determined to march on Rome in spite of their generals. Though the excesses and cruelty of the exasperated soldiery have not been so great as his enemies chose to represent at the time, he is still very sorry for what has happened. He can assure them that he has felt the disrespect (*desacato*) of his troops towards the Apostolic See more than he can express, and certainly would have much preferred to be conquered than conqueror under such circumstances. Begs for their help and assistance to promote general peace.—Valladolid, 2nd August 1527.

Spanish. Original draft in the handwriting of Alfonso de Valdés.

2 Aug. 143. The EMPEROR to the KING OF PORTUGAL.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 65.

Most beloved King, our brother, &c.,—Though We are sure that through various channels you must already have heard of the Roman disaster, We cannot but inform you how it came to pass, that you may give us advice and assistance on a matter that so greatly concerns the service of God and the welfare of the Christian Republic. Truly We have hitherto done so much for the peace of Christendom, and the honour and preservation of the Apostolic See, that nobody can entertain doubts of our good intentions; for in the first place, when We could have easily revenged the injuries received at King Francis' hands, and recovered the lands which that Monarch has so unjustly usurped from us, We preferred, for the common welfare of Christendom, giving him his liberty to carrying on war for our own private interest. As to the Roman Church itself, it is notorious how bitter were the complaints which, during our stay in Germany, were made by the States of the Empire, begging us to redress the injuries received from the Holy See. Yet perceiving that

* João III. and his wife Catalina, the sister of Charles.

1527.

their request could not well be granted without detriment to the authority of the Roman Pontificate, We preferred, very much against our will, to leave Germany discontented rather than impair and lessen in the least the credit and authority of the Apostolic See. Hence it was that Pope Leo X. and Adrian VI., aware of our good intentions, joined us in the task of fostering the welfare of Christendom. Our Holy Father Clement VII. then succeeded to the Pontificate, and, forgetful of the favours granted by us to the Christian Church in general, and to him in particular, allowed himself to be led astray by certain malignant parties about his person; so that, instead of maintaining as a good shepherd the peace concluded with the King of France, he bethought him of making war upon us. No sooner therefore was the French King set free than the Pope made with him, and with some of the Italian potentates, a league to expel our armies from Italy, and take away from us the kingdom of Naples. Seeing ourselves thus compelled to take up arms in our own defence, We protested first to him, and afterwards to the College of Cardinals, that no one must complain if the Apostolic See suffered in the contest. Our protests, however, were of little avail, since not only did they (the confederates) carry on the war they had commenced, but persisting in their wicked purpose, they broke the truce concluded with Don Ugo de Moncada, in such a manner that after the accomplishment of an act so detrimental to ourselves and so profitable to them as the French King's liberation was, seeing ourselves abandoned by all, and finding no good faith anywhere, We placed our cause in God's hands, and sent to Germany for reinforcements, that We might gain by force what could not be obtained from love or honour. As the Pope's troops, moreover, had seized a portion of our Neapolitan kingdom, our generals, without consulting us, decided to give succour wherever the danger was greatest, and took at once the road to Rome. Hearing of the approach of our army, the Pope then concluded a truce with the Viceroy (Lannoy), but on such conditions that his reluctance and ill-will were plainly visible. Nevertheless, in order to show how different were our feelings We accepted the truce, much preferring to suffer humiliation and shame than take revenge of the wrongs We had received. But before our ratification of the terms had actually reached Rome, our army, fearing less this second truce should be as openly violated as the first made with Don Ugo, unmindful of, and in opposition to the will of their generals, prosecuted their march on Rome, where they committed the excesses of which his brother of Portugal must have heard, and which, though gross enough, have not been so great as the enemies of the Empire wish to represent. Nevertheless, though We firmly believed that the Roman disaster was more owing to a visitation of the Almighty than to the power and will of man, and that God, on whom We place all our trust, permitted that the injuries We had received should be avenged

1527.

without will or consent of our own, yet We have felt so much this want of respect (*desacato*) to the Holy See that really and truly *We should have preferred to be vanquished rather than to come victorious out of such a contest.*

But since such has been and is the will of God, who out of his infinite mercy will often permit great evils to prevail in this world in order that blessings still greater may accrue to mankind, as We have not the least doubt has been the case on the present occasion, it befits us all to thank him for his favours, and do what may best promote his glory, the honour of his Church, and the common weal of Christendom, to ensure which We are determined to lavish everything We possess in this world, to our very life's blood, that the errors and civil wars being put aside, We may devote all our strength to crush the enemies of our Christian religion.

We therefore request you, our most beloved cousin and brother, as earnestly as We can, that since you have always shown by your deeds such good-will towards the honour of God and increase of his Holy Catholic faith, you will assist us in this undertaking, that We may with your help and advice redress the evils of Christendom and destroy its enemies, &c.*—Valladolid, 2nd August 1527.

Spanish. Original corrected draft in the handwriting of Secretary Lallemand. pp. 3½.

3 Aug. 144. The EMPEROR to POPE CLEMENT VII.

S. E. L. 1,994,
f. 586.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 311.

The Bishop of Worcester (Ghinucci) is about to leave for Rome. Thinks it his duty to recommend so worthy a person, who has always rendered good service both to him (the Emperor) and to the Pope.—Valladolid, 3rd August 1527.

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.

4 Aug. 145. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 67.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 312.

Enclosing, as he does, the duplicate of his despatch of the 1st inst., and knowing that Alarcon too writes in cipher, he (Perez) will add but little. (*Cipher:*) Can assure His Imperial Majesty that unless proper provision be soon made for this army, an order sent for the captains to join their companies, or else a good peace concluded, affairs are in such a plight that if the remedy to be applied does not come quickly it will be of little avail. If the Emperor's authority is to be maintained the administration of Rome must be speedily provided for, for although some officials have been appointed, and are actually discharging their respective duties, they know that this state of things cannot last long, and therefore are conducting themselves in a very different way from that which they would no doubt follow if they knew that they were to

* A summary of this letter will be found in Sandoval, *Hist. del Emperador Carlos V.*, lib. xvi. § 9.

1527.

remain in office. Were the government of Rome in good hands, and the plague to abate in its intensity, he (Perez) has no doubt that many families would return to the city.

(*Common writing* :) The Emperor's letter of the 17th of June has come to hand. Will attend to the affairs of Palencia and Oviedo. The Viceroy writes to say he has received orders from Court to offer the Pope the tribute and the white horse (*hacanca*), the ceremony to take place on the day of Our Lady.—Rome, 4th August 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressd: "Sæ. Cesæ. Cathocæ. Mati."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 2.

6 Aug. 146. The DUKE OF FERRARA to his AMBASSADOR at Venice.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 115.

(*Cipher* :) Is in receipt of his letters of the 16th, 24th, and 28th ult., enclosing one from Alarcon. To the latter's exhortations the ambassador is to answer in conformity with the reply he has addressed both to the Prince of Orange and to the Viceroy. That ought to be sufficient, but in case it should not, he (the ambassador) must openly declare to Alarcon, in whom he (the Duke) mostly trusts, that he is as well disposed as ever he was to the Emperor's service, but that the brutal and furious assaults (*li furiosi et bruti sobbissi*) of the soldiers, first against Mons. de Bourbon, and afterwards against the Viceroy, Marquis del Guasto, and Prince of Orange, their rebellious spirit and constant mutinies, have been the cause of his not accepting at present the command of so undisciplined a set of men. Were he to do so, his own honour and reputation might be seriously compromised, without any advantage resulting to the Emperor. The ambassador is besides to remind Alarcon and the Marquis that unless the Imperial army is made to quit Rome immediately, and proceed to Lombardy, the Emperor's supremacy in Italy is lost for ever, and that the Imperial soldiers have already gained so much by their late victories that they ought not to clamour, as they do, for the arrears of their pay, but on the contrary ought to lend what money they possess for raising new levies of men, and maintaining the Imperial sway in Italy, "et quello danaro hanno guadagnato lassando aparte lo honor suo che importa piu."

Indorsed: "Cyfra del Duca di Ferrara al suo ynbasciatore."

Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

4 Aug. 147. ANTONIO DE LEYVA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 117.

Wrote more than two months ago to the Viceroy of Naples (Lannoy), and to the rest of the Imperial commanders and ministers [in Italy], informing them of the strait in which he is for want of money and provisions. Has on various

1527.

occasions despatched messengers to them; Hortege, whom he sent, on hearing of Bourbon's death, Grupem (Gruppen?), who started about the middle of June, and Baraona, who went at the beginning of July. Has received no answer, save two very short and unsatisfactory letters, one from Don Ugo [de Moncada], the other from the Abbot of Najera. Has written likewise to the Duke of Ferrara, but since he took possession of Modena he no longer condescends to answer his letters, though before that he used to write almost every day, that he [Leyva] might help him at Roncille (Roncillone), which he did with very good grace. Has written to him again recently by express messenger. Knows not what his answer will be, or whether he will answer at all. As to the orders he [Leyva] has received to serve under the Duke [of Ferrara] or the Prince [of Orange], as it may be, he can only declare once for all that he will obey anyone, even a stick (*obedeceré aunque sea á un palo*).

Has hitherto succeeded by fair speeches in persuading the people of Parma and Piacenza not to admit the Venetians or the Duke Francesco* within their walls, though they have been much pressed by the contrary party. But as the Papal brief for the final delivery of those cities, according to agreement, has never come, he (Leyva) is much afraid that he has lost his time, and that the expected arrival of the French forces will disarrange all his plans.

The late Duke of Bourbon took upon himself to sell various estates belonging to this fiscal chamber (*camara*) in favour of several Imperial servants who certainly deserved this well, as a reward for their fidelity. But in his opinion Bourbon did wrong, because though he might give away the property of the emigrants (*foraxidos*), he was not justified in alienating the Crown lands. Has therefore avoided touching them. It is for the Emperor to decide whether the alienation is to continue or not.

Should the Emperor come to an agreement with France, it will be the easiest thing possible for him to subdue the whole of Italy with the very money which King Francis is to disburse for the ransom of his sons, since by applying the same or part of it to the support of his armies he will be able to subdue his opponents.

After the above was written advices have been received of the 28th ulto., stating that the King of France had sent orders to the warder of Musso† to invade this Duchy with 2,000 Switzers and as many Grisons, and that the said warder had come as far as a place called Carato.‡ This

* Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, or Francesco Sforza?

† Gian Giacomo de' Medici, more commonly called "Il Medeghino," son of Bernardo de' Medici and Cecilia Serbellone, Milanese nobles. A good account of him and his doings may be found in Pietro Angelo Lavizari, *Memorie Istoriche della Valtellina*. Coira, MDCCXVI., 4to. At page 88 is an account of his defeat at Carato, there called *Carate*.

‡ Fourteen miles from Milan.

1527.

intelligence and the want of money to pay the Germans obliged him (Leyva) to retreat from Marignano and come to Milan. He arrived on Sunday, rested all Monday, and on Tuesday night determined to go and meet the said Switzers, all belonging to the cantons nearest to Milan, and the best soldiers among them. They were commanded by one Amandrocolo (*sic*), a captain of great military reputation, very much esteemed by his countrymen, and "compadre" of the King of France. Carato, where the said Switzers and Grisons were, was represented to be a place without walls, and yet of easy defence, owing to its commanding position. Left Milan at night, after making his men put on "camisas benditas." Count Alberigo Beljoioso remained in command of the capital. Arrived before Carato at three in the afternoon, but as the road was long, and the Germans were behind, the men were obliged to wait, and do in broad daylight what it had been intended to do at night and in the dark. The enemy, therefore, had plenty of time to prepare. The place was attacked on three different sides by the Spaniards, Germans, and Italians, easily carried, and the enemy driven to the other end of an enclosure surrounded by thick hedges. The men, however, began to sack the houses, upon which the Switzers rallied and drove them out of the place. Another attack was then made, which had a similar issue, the men again falling to plunder the houses, and being repulsed, until having reformed the three attacking parties, he (Leyva) told them that whoever should leave the ranks for the sake of plunder, as long as there was one of the enemy alive, would be punished with death. It was agreed with Count Lodovico Beljoioso, who commanded the Italians, and with the colonel of the Germans, that both should attack conjointly with him (Leyva) when the latter blew a trumpet, which was done, and with such fury that the Switzers and Grisons could not resist the onset, "though I vouch to Your Imperial Majesty that they fought like so many devils; so much so that we were obliged, in order to put an end to the fight, to kill nearly all of them. One thousand Switzers with their captain-general, Amandrocolo,* remained on the field of battle, as well as eleven of their colours (*banderas*) and other spoils; four of their captains were taken prisoners. As to the Grisons very few escaped alive, for they fought desperately; but as the town was attacked on three different sides their real loss cannot be calculated. As to myself, I can assure Your Imperial Majesty that never since the beginning of my military career have I been in a hotter encounter, or in greater danger of my person. Twice I was so hotly pressed by the enemy that I thought I should never have escaped alive. About 15 of my best Spaniards were slain, and Arevalo, captain of my own body guard, dangerously wounded, as well as another Burgundian

* Called Amantocle in Caracciolo's despatch of the 31st July, No. 139, p. 310.

1527.

captain, who behaved most gallantly on the occasion. The warder of Mus contrived to escape, mounted on a swift Turkish horse."

The expedition was so quickly planned and achieved that we returned to Milan before the confederates at Marignano had been apprised of our departure. The affair upon the whole was a glorious one, and especially opportune, for I hear that four more companies of Switzers who were on their way to this Duchy, hearing of the disaster which befell their comrades, have since returned home. Hears also through his spies in France that it has been resolved to send an army to Genoa, or else to Parma and Piacenza, to meet ours at Rome. No sooner was he informed of it than he sent orders to Count Babbista Lodron to keep himself in readiness with his 2,000 Germans at Alessandria, and to the commander of the Italian infantry, at Genoa, to take up positions at Tortona with 1,000 men to stop the enemy's march, or succour that city in case of need. The Switzers arrived at Asti on the 28th ulto., and marched all night, believing they could easily surprise the two companies of Germans quartered at Castellago, an open town without fortifications of any kind. Our people were so badly informed that they never heard of the enemy's movements until they were actually at the gates. They defended themselves stoutly, and had time to retire to a place in the neighbourhood called El Bosque (Boscho), which is well fortified, and where, in anticipation of an attack upon Genoa, he (Leyva) had placed one company of Italian infantry and another of light horse, as it is on the road to that city. The enemy followed them thither, and have since blockaded the place, but Count Lodron is at Alessandria with his 1,000 Germans, and will no doubt be able to relieve it.

The French are advancing, and Lautrech is already reported at Suze.

Begs leave to recommend to the Emperor's attention and favour the Milanese gentlemen whose names are comprised in the enclosed list.* Three of them in particular have done and are still doing such service that he (Leyva) really thinks it would be impossible for the Emperor to find better servants anywhere. One is Bartholomeo de Magis, who has hitherto acted as treasurer to this army; the other Antonio Rabia, who is at the head of the commissariat (*viveres*); the third Luis de Galera, attached to the ducal chamber (*camara ducale*). Count Lodovico Beljoioso and his brother Alberigo do all they can. Both are excellent officers, and enjoy much credit in this city and the whole of the Duchy.

Count d'Egmont is now entirely cured of his wound. Had he been allowed to follow the expedition to Carato, he certainly would have gone. He is in command of the men-at-arms, and can be thoroughly trusted, such are his fidelity and courage.

* Not in the volume.

1527.

A week ago Count Federigo Borromeo deserted and went over to the enemy. He has an estate here which yields about 2,000 cr. a year. Count d' Egmont wishes for it, and has applied to him (Leyva) for the grant. Could only offer him the rent as a reward for his services; begs His Imperial Majesty to give him full possession to encourage others, &c.—Milan, 4th August 1527.

Signed: "Antonio de Leyva."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. From Antonio de Leyva. 4th August."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

6 Aug. 148. ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 70.

(*Cipher*;) Wrote on the 27th ulto., stating that the Duke of Ferrara would most likely decline the charge of commander-in-chief. Was quite right in his judgment, as appears from his own despatch, and from the private letters which the Duke himself has addressed him, and of which a copy is enclosed.* Will answer him in a suitable manner and acquaint the Viceroy, Antonio de Leyva, and Lope de Soria at Genoa with the Duke's determination, that each of them may act in accordance with it. The confederates are fully aware of the offers that have been made to the Duke. Only the other day the Pope's Nuncio (Averoldi) and the Florentine ambassador, who resides here, called upon the Ferrarese, and told him that they could not imagine how his master could accept such an office under present circumstances, unless he had entirely lost his senses (*que su amo fuesse tan loco*). They represented the state of affairs as being entirely in their favour. The Signory requested him not to help the Bentivogli, and his answer was that he could not help it, as he had taken engagements with them. Hears that those parties are now 10 miles from Bologna, and that they intend, with the Duke's assistance, to enter the city.

Three days ago the Pope's Nuncio (Averoldi) received a Papal brief, in date of the 23rd ulto., commanding him to repair immediately to Bologna, and assume the government of the place as Papal Legate. The brief was brought by a messenger, who left the castle of Sanct Angelo secretly; but the Nuncio, it appears, refuses to go thither, on the plea that the Bolognese will not obey him.

It has been publicly announced in this city that Mons. de Lautrech and the Switzers will soon be in Italy. The former was to have left Lyons on the 23rd. Enclosed are copies of

* See above, No. 140, p. 311.

1527.

letters from the Bishop of Trent, announcing that the Switzers have already entered Italy. Cannot believe his report, for Lope de Soria says nothing about it.

No positive news of the Imperial army. Some say that it has actually evacuated Rome, but that its destination is unknown. No great results, however, can be expected, unless discipline is re-established and the soldiers paid. According to all accounts they were still on the lands of the Church collecting the sums which the Pope had promised by the last capitulation. Is the more inclined to believe this, that since the 10th of July, when the army is said to have evacuated Rome, it has made but little progress in its march. Has no means of ascertaining the truth, for although he has written several letters to the Viceroy, he can get no answer.

All things considered, an honourable peace would be most desirable at the present juncture. If it cannot be secured the army must be paid, or else the disorderly state of the men may be the cause of serious disasters.

There is here (in Venice) great scarcity of wheat; the prospects of the next harvest are anything but good. None is expected from Cyprus, and the arrivals from Ravenna are neither so abundant nor so frequent as these people imagined at first. The Turk, hitherto, has not granted them permission to export it from his dominions. It would therefore be advisable also to close the ports of Apulia (Puglia) and Sicily from them.

Has been told that letters have been received from Lautrech, dated Lyons, the 23rd July, saying that he had delayed his departure because the King of France had written to ask King Henry of England to contribute one third of the expenses of the war in Italy, and was waiting for the answer; that the Cardinal of England had crossed the sea [to France], and was to hold an interview with the King. The English resident ambassador (Prothonotary Casale) has had letters from his brother Gregory, who was once at Rome, but is now at Paris, confirming the above news, and likewise that the French ambassador at the Imperial Court (the Bishop of Tarbes) had written to say that the overtures for peace had been answered in so unsatisfactory a manner (*con tan magra respuesta*) that the negotiations must needs be broken off. The French King had publicly said to his courtiers that it would be a shame for him or any other Christian Prince to tolerate the Pope's remaining longer in captivity. He had uttered many threats on that occasion, and announced that he counted upon the assistance of his brother of England. Indeed Cavalier Casale wrote on the 24th to his brother the Prothonotary, now English ambassador to this Signory, that the King, his master, had engaged to pay 10,000 Germans, most of whom were already enlisted, and the remainder soon to join their companies. Count Guido Rangone has a "con-

1527.

dotta" of 60 lances, for which the King of France has promised to pay him 5,000 ducats a year.

The Duchess of Urbino (Eleonora Hippolita di Gonzaga) has obtained from the Signory permission to go to Padua for the benefit of her health. She will probably be as closely watched there as she was here. Her son (Guidibaldo della Rovere), however, remains still in Venice.

P.S.—This is the triplicate of a despatch forwarded by way of Genoa, and which it is to be presumed has never reached its destination owing to the defeat (*desbarate*) sustained in that city.—Venice, 6th August 1527.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. Venice. From Alonso Sanchez. 6th August."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 5.

9 Aug. 149. The EMPEROR to CHARLES DE LANNOY.

S. E. L. 1,554,
f. 587.
B. M. 28,576,
f. 314.

Recommends to him very warmly the person of the Bishop of Worcester (Ghinucci), auditor of the Apostolic Chamber, and orders him to favour the said bishop in all his affairs and in his intended petition to the Apostolic See.—Valladolid, 9th August 1527.

Latin. Original draft. p. ½.

9 Aug. 150. The EMPEROR to the ABBOT OF NAJERA.

S. E. L. 1554.
f. 586.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 315.

In favour of George Fruntsporg.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

15 Aug. 151. HERNANDO DE ALARCON to the EMPEROR.

M. Rc. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 77.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 316.

Writes in commendation of certain ambassadors of the Republic of Sienna who are about to leave for Spain. As the Siennese have always been faithful and done great service, especially when the Imperial army last passed through their territory, he has no doubt that their petition will be attended to.

Has written twice or three times lately about the state of affairs at Rome, and the necessity there is of a prompt remedy to the evils impending there. As the promises so often made to the soldiers have not yet been fulfilled; as out of the 150,000 cr. only 80,000 have been paid, and the Viceroy has not sent the 20,000 he promised, it naturally follows that the men are more exasperated than ever, and threaten to retire to the kingdom of Naples and live there at the expense of the inhabitants until they are paid in full. Such indeed

1527.

appears to be the determination of the Spaniards and Italians if the money is not forthcoming. As to the Germans they are daily threatening to come to Rome, and take the Pope and the cardinals with them wherever they go. Every hour we expect a mutiny. Has written several times to the Viceroy explaining the state of things, and begging him to come [from Naples], as he once promised. His answer is that despatches lately received from Spain will prevent his coming, as his presence is required at Naples, but that the Marquis of Guasto will leave to-morrow with as large a sum as can be collected, and most of the captains of infantry now in Naples.

(*Cipher* :) Respecting the appointment of the Duke of Ferrara to the command of the Imperial army, the report is that he will not accept it; indeed Lope de Soria writes that he has already declared so. No wonder; for being the person he is, and having obtained all he wanted, he is not likely to accept a charge of so much responsibility. He ought, however, to consider that all he has won in this war comes through the Emperor's favour. The Prince of Orange is too young and wants experience; it is therefore urgent for the Emperor to select another general-in-chief. Would to God he had health and strength enough to accept the charge which the Emperor has been pleased to confer on him, but the truth is that he is so exhausted and in such bad health that he is only thinking of going to Spain and passing the remainder of his days in the service of God and His Majesty. Begs to be excused if, owing to these reasons, he does not accept the Emperor's favours.

(*Cipher* :) The Pope and the cardinals wish very much to be acquainted with the Emperor's determination. Knowing, as they do, that the matter has been submitted to the Viceroy, they are anxiously expecting news from that quarter. As long, however, as the Imperial army remains in a mutinous state, as it is at present, he (Alarcon) cannot imagine how any good can be expected from it. Nor is it probable that they will be persuaded to go to Lombardy, since French and Swiss are already in the plains of Italy, whilst the French fleet and Andrea Doria are blockading Genoa.—Rome 15th August 1527.

Signed: "Perez."*

Indorsed: "Duplicate sent by way of Sienna and signed by Perez."

16 Aug. 152.

DON IÑIGO DE MENDOZA, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 27.

Will be brief, as the present despatch goes by land, and another fuller one has been forwarded by sea. Has duly

* After Perez's signature is a note stating that, not having been able to enter Sanct Angelo at night and obtain Alarcon's signature, he (Perez) signed the letter himself.

1527.

received two of His Majesty's letters, dated respectively the 22nd and 29th of March.* (*Cipher* :) By the first of which he (Mendoza) was charged to represent to this King the extreme and earnest desire which His Majesty had for peace; and that since he (the King) had renewed his friendship with France, there was no reason for his not doing the same with His Majesty, and thus cementing the old alliance between the houses of England and Burgundy. Did as he was ordered, and represented the Emperor's wishes, but the more he (Mendoza) dwelt upon the Emperor's exertions for peace, the more passionate the King grew (*tanto mas se encendía*), saying that His Majesty did nothing for him, and that the offers made by the Bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) were of a nature to satisfy the Emperor entirely. The more he (Mendoza) strained his argument to prove that these terms were both unreasonable and inferior to those proposed to the Viceroy, or laid before the Imperial Council of State by Secretary Comacre (Comacler) and L'Esleu Bayard, thus showing that the King of France had little or no regard for His Highness of England, the more irritated did the King become, telling him (Mendoza) that those ambassadors had no mandate whatever from their master to offer such terms, and that neither had the promises to the Viceroy been signed by the King of France, with other similar excuses of very little importance. Whence it may safely be concluded that he (the King) is guided more by passion than by reason in this business. In short, the King showed his disappointment at the Emperor's not declaring himself more explicitly on that point. He (Mendoza) calmed the King by giving him hopes that whenever the King of France proposed more reasonable and just terms the Emperor would be glad to renew the negotiations, and to show that besides his wish for general peace, he is as much inclined as ever he was to please his brother of England. He (Mendoza) expected a vessel (*zabra*) from Spain soon, which was to bring him instructions on the subject.

With regard to the renewal of the old friendship and alliance, which is another part of his commission, Mendoza would willingly not have mentioned the subject, for two reasons; the first, because when he came here, and made overtures thereupon, he was distinctly told that nothing of the sort could be entertained whilst the Emperor's debt to this King remained unpaid; the second, because he knows for certain, as he wrote on a former occasion, that the new French treaty contains a mutual obligation, and, therefore, any attempt of his to renew the alliance without any apparent advantage to His Majesty would have been derogatory to his authority and reputation, as it would appear as if we could not manage our own affairs without this King's assistance and help. Notwithstanding the reasons above

* Nos. 44 and 55. This last is dated the 25th of April, but might be in part a duplicate of that of the 29th March, which is not in the Imperial Archives.

1527.

mentioned, and others which might be adduced, as the Emperor's last letter again orders such overtures to be made, the ambassador seized the first opportunity to declare, in as courteous terms as he could, that the Emperor being prepared to give any guarantee that might be asked for the payment of his debts, he (Mendoza) begged him to have the old friendship and alliance between England and Spain renewed; to which he (the King) answered that he was now so bound to the French that he could no longer treat (*capitular*) with His Majesty as he did in old times. Mendoza's reply was that His Imperial Majesty was so fond of peace and so averse from war, that if an offensive alliance with England was no longer to be entertained, he begged that a defensive one might still be made. "Things have gone so far," said the King, "that I do not believe that I can please the Emperor on that point; but since you mention treaties, &c., may I ask what your instructions are concerning the Emperor's debt to me?" "I have already told Your Highness (said Mendoza) that any security or caution that may be required the Emperor is ready to grant." "I am tired (retorted the King) of hearing about treaties and securities; deeds, not words, are wanted." And although Mendoza gave him to understand that in this particular case the payment of the money would immediately follow the signature of the treaty, the King attached no faith to his words, and dismissed the subject. Whence Your Majesty must naturally conclude that this King considers the delay in granting the proposed alliance a sufficient security for the money His Majesty owes him. In case of such treaty being made, it will be merely to abstain from mutual offence; a defensive and offensive alliance, such as His Imperial Majesty wishes, he (the King) considers difficult in the extreme; besides which, he says, the case is fully provided for (*está salvado*) in former treaties.

As His Majesty must be fully informed by his ambassador in France* of the Legate's journey to and doings in that country, he (Mendoza) need not refer to the subject further than to say that the opinion here is that the King of France is delaying as much as he can his reply to this King. Should that which he expects from Spain be favourable, he will no doubt change the terms of his treaty, and disappoint these people. Should it be unfavourable, he will from sheer necessity accept any conditions that are offered to him, and these people will be exacting. That is the reason why he (Mendoza) cannot be persuaded that this King and Legate work sincerely for peace; for, although it is true that they may eventually be the winners by it, they are sure to gain much more if the war continues, as the King of France being

* Nicolas Perrenot, better known as Sieur, and afterwards Cardinal de Granvelle.



1527.

perchance reduced to extremities, the trade of England may increase in consequence.

Has sent to Madame [of the Low Countries] a copy of the mandate and powers which the Legate took from hence, that she may forward it [to Spain] through the French ambassador residing there. Has begged that this be done with great secrecy, because if the Englishman who gave it him tells the truth, great difficulty and danger were incurred by him in procuring it. Another copy shall be forwarded by the first Spanish vessel sailing from these ports, that if the one miscarries, the other may reach. His Majesty will therein be able to perceive the evil disposition of these people (*la ruyn intencion de estos*), and also that there are reasons to suspect that if peace is not concluded in the manner and on the terms recommended by the Legate, the treaty now being made in France will also include offensive alliance against Your Majesty; though when he (Mendoza) spoke last to the King he assured him most positively that there was no clause to that effect in the treaty [here made] with the French ambassadors, His Majesty having been accepted by England (*estaba aceptado por su parte*).

With regard to the Queen [and the letter to the King, her husband], that is a morsel which will not be much to the King's taste, though he (Mendoza) will be most cautious in making the communication. But in truth the King is so swayed by his passions, and so determined to persevere in his error, that he is rather seeking the means of accomplishing his purpose than advice for abandoning it. Owing to which reason those who counsel him best he considers as his worst friends. But His Majesty will act in this case as befits his rank and parentage, and disregarding the inconvenience that may arise therefrom, will help with his authority and power wherever most wanted.

Yesterday, immediately after the receipt of the Emperor's letters, Mendoza wrote to the Queen, informing her of the arrangement made at Rome as well as of the measures which His Majesty proposed to adopt in future for her comfort and assistance, that she may let him know when and at what time he is to wait upon the King and deliver his message, so that it may be beneficial, not detrimental, to her cause. As soon as she has answered he (Mendoza) will execute His Majesty's commission, though he cannot help thinking that were the matter delayed for some time, it would prove highly advantageous for His Majesty's affairs in this country. He (Mendoza) knows for certain that such conversations will rather revolt the King than otherwise, so blinded is he by passion. The morsel, however, shall be given to him in such disguise as to be as little repugnant as possible to his palate, though his conscience is so perverted that whatever is most for his good meets with the least favour.

1527.

It is generally believed that if the King can obtain a divorce he will end by marrying a daughter of Master Bolo,* who was once ambassador at the Imperial Court, and who is now called Millor de Rochafort. Everything, however, is now in suspense, and will be so until the Legate returns from France. It is feared that then the suit will begin, and the Queen be summoned to appear. She intends refusing to appear before (*recusar*) the Legate, and applying for unsuspected judges, which application he (Mendoza) does not believe will be granted, as they themselves have begun by finding fault with the Pope's brief, and alleging that the marriage of a woman with two brothers is forbidden by canon law (*derecho*), and that the Pope has no authority to give dispensation. Perceiving, however, that this course was not likely to lead to success, they have changed their plan; they now plead that the dispensation was surreptitiously obtained, and is null and void, not only as regards the statement made, but also in the concession itself, all of which, as His Imperial Majesty knows, is entirely false. The better to refute the malicious arguments of these people, [Gardiner] the Bishop of Wyncestre (Winchester), who is a great lawyer (*letrado*) and a good servant of the Queen, was of opinion that the present Pope [Clement VII.] should make good any deficiency which might exist in the brief, but this would have been equal to acknowledging that there had been a flaw in the dispensation, and consequently that the Queen's daughter (Princess Mary) was illegitimate. Owing to these reasons that plan has been abandoned. Whatever line of defence is taken, he (Mendoza) will not fail to inform Your Majesty, that either one way or other, without injury to the one principally concerned, a remedy may be adopted. The greatest inconvenience is that the Queen has no means at her command to communicate with Rome and let the Imperial ambassador there know how the trial proceeds, there being no posts established between this country and Italy, and no security on the roads, and therefore the suit might be finished and closed before the Pope could come to the rescue.—London, 16th August 1527.

Signed : "Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

Addressed : "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 6.

17 Aug. 153. The EMPEROR to ALONSO SANCHEZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 264.
B. M. Add. 28,575,
f. 319.

We have received your despatches of the 29th of May, 3rd and 8th of July, together with the enclosures, containing the news of Germany. We thank you very much for the information contained in the said despatches.

* Thus written for Boleyn (Sir Thomas), the father of Anne, who about 1519 had formed part of an embassy to Charles.

1527.

We wish you, out of the money you are to receive from the Venetian bankers on our account, to repay yourself your expenses in the despatch of couriers, as well as retain your salary.

Since the above minute was written we have received by Knight Commander Suarez de Figueroa your letter [of the 27th of June]. We have ordered an answer to be written, which immediately after our signature shall be addressed to you.—Valladolid, 17th August 1527.

Addressed: "To Alonso Sanchez, of our Council, and our ambassador in Venice."

Spanish. Original minute. p. 1.*

17 Aug. 154. The EMPEROR to the ABBOT OF NAJERA.

B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
f. 319.

Was very anxiously awaiting the news of Italy, when his letters of the 27th May and 11th of June came to hand. Thanks him for his diligence and zeal in all matters connected with his Royal and Imperial service. Will hear from his Viceroy of Naples what he (the Emperor) has decided respecting Italian affairs.—Valladolid, 17th August 1527.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Post datam et firmatam.—Your letters by Knight Commander Figueroa have just come to hand. An answer shall be speedily sent.

Indorsed: "From the King. 1527. From Valladolid. To the Abbot of Najera. 17th August." p. 1.

18 Aug. 155. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist,
Salazar, A. 40,
f. 87.
B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
f. 320.

Wrote on the 4th, enclosing duplicate of his letter of the 1st, sent by way of Genoa. Stated then what he knew about the Marquis' business, and his intention to come to Rome.

(*Cipher:*) As Alarcon writes fully on the present state of affairs, and the mutinous spirit of this Imperial army, there is no need for his (Perez) returning to the subject, save to say that unless all the men, of whatever nationality, are quickly paid, there is no chance of their consenting to leave Rome, and marching to the assistance of Antonio de Leyva, and defending Lombardy against the enemy. The appointment of a commander-in-chief is more needed than ever, now that the Duke of Ferrara declines to accept the charge.

(*Common writing:*) The Viceroy, Don Ugo, and the Marquis del Guasto have not yet come from Naples, though they are anxiously expected by all parties. The former writes that he has been delaying on account of Don Ugo's bad state of health, but that he will soon come to Rome, and see about the payment of the army, &c. Fancies, however,

* A note in Secretary Soria's hand is thus conceived: *Fiat ut supra ad Abbatem de Najera in Rome, et Lupum de Soria in Genua.*

1527.

that the Viceroy will not come for the present, as his stay in Naples is required, in order to raise the money, &c.

The Germans, they say, will not consent to the Pope and cardinals being taken to Naples as proposed, and are trying to persuade the Spaniards and Italians to join them in this resolution. These last, on the other hand, wish very much to go to the kingdom [of Naples], and though some of their captains have actually advanced money on the security of the Grimaldo bank, most of the men are greatly inclined to execute their threat.

Gironimo (Girolamo) Moron came here the other day, expecting to find the Viceroy. As the latter did not come he was sadly disappointed, though he omits nothing that may be conducive to the Emperor's service.

The plague is now raging to such extent that it is doubtful whether the Emperor's next letter will find him (Perez) alive. Should he, however, by God's infinite mercy be spared, he will continue at his post, advising, as he has done hitherto, any changes in that Duke's wavering mind, and reporting also on general affairs, until the Emperor be pleased to send him his congé to go back to Spain. He cannot now be of much use at Rome, as he is in disgrace with His Holiness for having presented the Emperor's letters in the College of Cardinals, &c.

He had written thus far on the 16th when the Marquis del Guasto and Juan Antonio Muxetula, of the Council of Naples, arrived. The latter comes from the Viceroy to negotiate with His Holiness; the former to lead this army to Lombardy as soon as possible. Already he has announced his arrival to the captains, telling them that the men will be paid immediately. What answer the Spaniards, who are now assembled for that purpose, will give, it is impossible to say, but if it be unfavourable His Imperial Majesty's affairs in Italy run great risk, for already thousands of Frenchmen and Swiss, with full complement of artillery, have arrived in Lombardy, and will join the army of the League in order to come this way. Doria is blockading Genoa, and between 5,000 and 6,000 men are being prepared to attack that city on the land side.

(*Cipher* :) Alarcon and Muxetula waited yesterday on His Holiness, and spent some hours with him. On coming out of Sanct Angelo they despatched a messenger to Naples. It is rumoured that the conference turned upon the securities which the Pope is to give for the future, both in hostages and towns.

The Archbishop of Cosenza died at Gaeta on the 15th or 16th inst.; Cardinal Rangone last night. Knight Commander Aguilera is ill with four boils (*nacidos*), and as many carbuncles, but the physicians who attend him expect to save his life.

The Marquis and Bishop of Astorga are expected here to-day. They will be lodged at the Belvedere, close to the

1527.

Papal Palace, but according to Knight Commander Mayorga will only remain at Rome two or three days.

Auditor Casador, the Bishop of Alguer, is at Aquila. He begs him (Perez) to bring him before the Emperor's notice. —Rome, 18th August 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. Perez."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 6.

18 Aug. 156. CHARLES DE LANNOY to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist,
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 90.
B. M., Add. 28,576,
f. 324.

(*Cipher* :) The French under Lautrech are entering Italy; the Swiss coming down on Lombardy; some have already reached the Hastesano (county of Asti). Andrea Doria with his galleys has joined those of the French, and is actually blockading the port of Genoa. Any force of the enemy, however small, attacking that city on the land side is sure of success, for the Genoese are tired of suffering privations, and as they are fond of novelty, and wishing for a change of government, the chances are that, if attacked, they will make no resistance whatever. In Lombardy, Antonio de Leyva has been obliged to shut himself up in Milan, whilst the confederates are masters of the field. The Imperial army, now quartered on the patrimonial estates of the Church (*en el patrimonio de la Iglesia*), is both licentious and ungovernable, owing to the great arrears of pay owing to them and to other causes. Should the war continue it will be exceedingly difficult to preserve discipline. Venetians are in treaty with the Germans and even with the Spaniards of this army, and the Pope entertains the hope that the Emperor's affairs in Italy may soon become so entangled that he will be able to escape from his most solemn engagements.

Never was Italy in so critical a position. The Duke of Ferrara wavers in his fidelity. Since taking possession of Modena and Carpi, which is what he most desired, he begins to say in public that the treaty which His Imperial Majesty concluded with him was not such as he wanted. This he does no doubt that he may leave a door open, as these Italian politicians are in the habit of doing, to go over to the other side whenever it suits him. He (Lannoy) is very much afraid that the King of France will one of these days make great offers to the Duke and gain him over, so as to stop the passage of the Imperial troops through the Ferrarese territory, and prevent their returning to Lombardy. On the other hand the Venetians have armed 40 galleys, and the Turk at their request is fitting out 25 more, to invade the coasts of Puglia or Sicily. The Pope is delighted at all this, because the greater the danger of our position, the more chance will he have of

1527.

accomplishing his object. Every potentate in the world is now arrayed against the Emperor, and there is not money to carry on war against them all. For this reason, if an honourable peace can now be concluded with His Holiness, even if it were necessary for that purpose to make some concessions, he (Lannoy) is of opinion that the expedient should be tried at once. There are, however, two very potent reasons for doubting its success. The first is that the Pope has been so much sinned against, and has himself sinned so much, that no reliance can be placed on his keeping any conditions that might be made; the other that if the League become prosperous in Lombardy, the enemy will throw all his forces upon this kingdom [of Naples], and that being the case, all hopes of an arrangement with His Holiness will vanish. That is the reason why, instead of setting the Pope free, as Alarcon advises, his (Lannoy's) opinion is that he ought to be brought here,—the army allowing it, on the promise of their being paid their arrears.

Has considered it necessary to state his views of the matter, because the present state of affairs is very different from what it was on the 1st of July, the date of the Emperor's last letter.—Gaeta, 18th of August 1527.

Signed: "Charles de Lanoy."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. pp. 2.

18 Aug. 157. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 82.
B. M. Add. 28,575,
f. 320.

Since his despatch of the 7th inst., the Marquis of Astorga (Don Pedro Fernandez Osorio) has obtained "by means of penance" (*por via de penitencia*) certain Papal bulls absolving him from his marriage to the daughter of the Count of Benavente (D. Alonso Pimentel). No sooner did he (Perez) hear of it than, accompanied by Knight Commander Aguilera, he went up to the Pope and did all he could to nullify the said bulls. The Pope promised to see that they contained no clause at which His Imperial Majesty might possibly take offence, but said that the bulls being applied for "*por via de penitencia*," he had no right to refuse them (*no lo podia de derecho estorbar*).

Has written to the Marquis, who is still at Civittà Vecchia, and to his uncle the bishop, informing them of the Emperor's wishes in that respect, and of the order for them to return to Spain as soon as possible. Believes that at the date of this letter the Marquis has suspended his application, and is returning home. Enclosed is his letter and that of the bishop.*—Rome, 18th August 1527.

* Both are dated "Civita Vieja, 10th of August," and addressed to Secretary Perez, and may be found in the Academy's volume, A. 41, at fol. 75 and 76. Uncle and nephew show their readiness to comply with the Emperor's orders, and tender their excuses for visiting the Pope at Rome. The bishop says distinctly that he never advised the Marquis to apply for the Pope's dispensation to dissolve his

1527.

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. From Secretary Perez. 18th August."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 82.

18 Aug. 158. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.

Salazar, A. 41,

f. 85.

B. M. Add. 28,575,

f. 320.

Has reported in his letter of the same date on the business of the Marquis [of Astorga]. Encloses also the duplicate of his letter of the 4th, which went by way of Genoa.*

As Alarcon has always written, and continues writing, to Court on military affairs, giving his opinion thereupon, he (Perez) needs not refer to them, (*cipher*) save to say that unless God and His Imperial Majesty provide a remedy, the army be paid and sent to Lombardy, and a commander-in-chief appointed, all is lost there as well as here.

Lannoy, Don Ugo, and the Marquis del Guasto are daily expected in Rome for the settling of this business of the Pope and cardinals. To-day, the 13th, they have not yet arrived, but they cannot fail to come in a day or two, for the Viceroy has written to say that the moment Don Ugo has quite recovered from his late illness—and he was already much better—they would all start on their journey.

It is said that the meeting of the Germans the other day was for the purpose of persuading the Spaniards to join them, and go all together to the kingdom [of Naples], which, if carried into effect, would be a very serious thing, and might possibly encourage the enemy to stronger measures. The Viceroy has been duly informed of these designs of the Imperial soldiers, that he may hasten the payment of the 150,000 ducats guaranteed by the Grimaldo bank, and also of the sums owing to the captains, &c.

The Bishop of Huesca (Juan de Aragon y Navarra†) has died at Sora. Don Pedro de Urrias has petitioned the Pope not to grant the abbacy of Monte Aragon to anyone but

marriage with D^a Maria Pimentel, as he himself (the Bishop) had married them when of suitable ages, and besides did not consider such a proceeding lawful (*lo tenia por cosa illicita*). But he loved his nephew so much, and owed so many favours to his family, that if it could be proved that his first marriage was invalid, and that he could marry another lady of larger dowry (*de mayor acrecentamiento de estado*), he would do everything in his power to forward it. The Marquis, on the other hand, declares that, in obedience to the Emperor's commands, he is already making preparations to return home, but that he cannot leave Italy without going to Rome and kissing the hands of the Pope. He did not deserve the letter which the Emperor caused to be addressed to him, and at which his relations and friends, as he hears from Spain, had taken offence. His conduct throughout the affair had been that of a *Christian* and of a *gentleman*, &c.

* No 144, p. 314.

† His death is recorded by Fr. Ramon de Huesca, *Teatro Hist. de las Iglesias de Aragon*, as having taken place on the 26th of December 1526. See vol. vi., p. 323.

1527.

himself, as he pretends to have a right to it, and says that the provision is *juris patronati*. Hears that the Pope intends giving the vacant bishopric to Cardinal Campeggio, but Alarcon is to go to Sanct Angelo before long about it.

Had written thus far when the Imperial letter of the 2nd of July came to hand, announcing the appointment of the Duke of Ferrara to the post of commander-in-chief, and that of the Prince of Orange to be lieutenant-general under him. Has only to observe that the former does not accept the appointment, and therefore that a new one must be made. Whoever he be, Perez will not fail to report and give his opinion on the state of affairs, as it is his duty to do,—that is, if he is still alive, for considering the great mortality from the plague at this moment, there is little chance of his escaping. Begs again for leave of absence to go home. He has been in disgrace with the Pope ever since, in obedience to the Emperor's commands, he presented to the College of Cardinals the letters about the Council, and therefore cannot be of much use under present circumstances.

Alarcon and Muxetula saw the Pope yesterday, and held a conference with him, after which they despatched a messenger (*estafeta*) to the Viceroy. (*Cipher* :) Cannot say for certain what the conference was about, but hears that on the application made to His Holiness for certain hostages and fortified towns as security for his future behaviour towards His Imperial Majesty, he made no objection whatever, declaring that he is as sure of the Emperor as the Emperor is sure of him, and that he knows very well that whatever ill or good is to come to him must proceed from the Emperor's hands, and that he wants no other protector and true son but His Imperial Majesty.*—Rome, 18th of August 1527.

Signed : "Perez."

Addressed : "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1527. Perez. 18th Aug."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

19 Aug. 159. DON MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING OF BOHEMIA AND HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 175, v^o.

Received on the 23rd of June last the packet of letters of the 9th of May, brought by Mosior de Rosinbues (Rosinboz), in answer to his own of the 15th March and 9th of May. Has informed the Emperor of their contents.

* "A lo que alcanço es lo de la seguridad que dará para ser buen padre de v^{ra} Mag^d. que es dar fortalezas y personas. Y diz que muestra gran voluntad á estar ya asegurado de v^{ra} M^d. y que v^{ra} Ma^d. lo está de su S^d. y conoce claro que si bien ó mal le ha de venir ha de ser de mano de v^{ra} M^d. y que no quiere otro protector ni fijo sino á v^{ra} M^d."

1527.

Don Juan Manuel has not heard from His Highness for a very long time, and yet at the present moment, and when he might favour his (the King's) application for the Duchy of Milan, he ought by no means to be forgotten. Salinas has pledged his most solemn word to him (Don Juan) that in the event of His Highness obtaining the investiture of that Duchy a good pension shall be ensured to him. His Highness should write to him in the meantime, and confirm the promise made in his name. Both Don Juan and the Secretary (Lallemand) are much devoted to His Highness, and very ready to do him service. The rest of the councillors should also be written to respecting this affair of Milan, each of them separately, and without the other's knowledge. That will have a better effect, and His Highness will then be able to gain the affections of all. He (Salinas) has not spoken to the Emperor about it, as he fears he may reply that the acquisition of this new estate (Milan) will divert him from more important business; that it is too much for the King [his brother] to hold at one time, as he may in consequence relax in the matter of the Turkish war, and so forth. If the business, however, is brought on and discussed in Council, the ambassador thinks that it will be carried out, as the Emperor, now that Bourbon is dead, can have no possible objection to his appointment.

The letter for Chancellor (Gattinara) came too late, as he had already started on his journey. We have heard of his arrival at Monago (Monaco), and that he has changed his mind since Bourbon's death and the sack of Rome, for he speaks of returning to the Emperor's service, &c. It is doubtful, however, whether he will be again admitted. If he is, he is sure to be in perpetual contradiction with His Imperial Majesty, and not at all in favour. Should he write to His Highness, the answer had better be shaped in accordance with his present position, and the little probability there is of his returning to the Emperor's grace.

The Emperor is as well disposed as ever he was to give the promised assistance, but new obstacles rise in his way and prevent the execution of his wishes. Were it in his power to make peace at once with his enemies, so as to be able to attend exclusively to the affairs of Germany and the Turkish war, he would not hesitate in making such military preparations as would overawe the common enemy. Has been informed by Count Nasaut (Nassau) that the Emperor intends crossing over in person; perhaps the galleys which are now being constructed in the ports of Mediterranean are for this special object, unless it be that His Imperial Majesty thinks of increasing his forces at sea.

The Emperor approves the alliance which His Highness has just concluded with the King of Poland (Sigismond), also the negotiations for the marriage of the Princess. His answer respecting the affairs of Hungary and the doings of

1527.

the Vayvod must be subordinated to the state of things in Italy, and the prospects, not very promising just now, of a general peace. What His Highness writes about Hungary has given general satisfaction here, but everyone is amazed at hearing of Juan Negro's doings, and their presentiment is, whatever the Pope may write to the contrary, that the Turk will soon invade Germany. A report is current here that Sultan Solyman is dead, and that his successor, whoever he may be, has met with disasters in Syria; but well-informed courtiers do not believe this news, which comes entirely through the Pope and the Venetians.

Respecting the intentions of the Duke of Jasa (Hesse), Lantzgrave, and Count Palatine Frederic, if they are such as announced in His Highness' last letter, he (Salinas) can only say that the Emperor was very much concerned when he heard the news, and caused certain letters to be written to them, bidding them not to favour Count Ulric and the Suabian League.

Nuño Ramirez de Gusman and his family—his son, Ramiro Nuñez de Gusman, has been set free, but Gonçalo Nuñez is still a prisoner, notwithstanding his (Salinas') solicitations and prayers, as the Emperor will not hear of his release just now.

When His Highness' letters came to hand, Don Jorge de Austria* had already left for Flanders. He could not, therefore, deliver His Highness' message and recommendation in the affair of Sigismund d' Erbestain (Herbstein) and his castle.

The report (*relacion*) about the Switzers, which His Highness sent by this last post, was put into the hands of the Emperor, who has forwarded it to Antonio de Leyva, that he may act accordingly.

His Imperial Majesty has heard of the unsatisfactory answers which the English ambassadors gave to those of His Highness. It was never presumed that they would answer otherwise, when the King of Portugal, a country so closely allied to Spain, replied as His Highness must have seen by their letters.

A French Franciscan friar, known by the name of Ave Maria, a man of science and authority, who has been general of his Order, has lately come here, sent by the King of France to treat for peace, but on such conditions that they can hardly be accepted, however inclined His Imperial Majesty may be to put an end to the war. Ambassadors from England and France have also arrived on similar errands, but hitherto they have not been received at the Palace.

Count Noguerol has also arrived with the ambassadors of Muscovy, who were received by His Imperial Majesty on St. Peter's Day.

* A natural son of Emperor Maximilian, and consequently uncle both to Charles and Ferdinand. He had been proposed for the Duchy of Milan. See Part I.

1527.

Since Antõnio Rincon* is again intriguing against the Emperor, it is advisable to put into practice those means which His Highness mentioned in his last letter.

Gave Laxao (La Chaulx) the royal letter and message about his pension. That councillor would much prefer to see the ducats, though of the Hungarian mint, rather than all the fine reasons therein expressed.

On the 15th of March His Highness bade him (Salinas) procure from His Imperial Majesty permission to hold a diet in Flanders, under the presidency of the Lady Margaret, wherein the affairs of Hungary might be discussed, and a subsidy obtained against the Turk. The Emperor did not object to the diet being held in Flanders, but wished the assembly to be convoked, and the subsidy to be asked in his name. Upon the ambassador's insisting that it should be held in His Highness' name, Secretary Lallemand sent to say that the Emperor had made up his mind on that score, and was not likely to change it. Has therefore desisted, as it will not do to press matters against the Emperor's will in this particular.

Quicksilver mines to be farmed out to the Fucares (Fuggers) for a term of 15 or 20 years.

Secretary Christoval de Castillejo.—Knighthood of St. James to Bernaldino de Meneses.

Don Frances [de Zuñiga] would very much like to see the promised marten skins. He has shown His Highness' letter everywhere at Court, but still he thinks of retaining his chronicle until he has the furs.† His book, however, is being transcribed, and shall go by next messenger.

Laxao (La Chaulx) writes by this post and encloses autograph letters from the Emperor and Empress. He, himself, is very grateful for the promised favours, but would very much like to see the fulfilment of them.—Valladolid, 19th August 1527.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 8½.

19 Aug. 160. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 179, v^o.

By the Emperor's last letter His Highness must have been made acquainted with what has been resolved concerning the quicksilver mines in the masterships (*maestrazgos*) of the Order of Calatrava. When, on the 15th of February, he

* The same individual called *Rangone* by the Italian writers. He was a Castilian by birth, and took refuge in France during the war of the Commons (*Comunidades*). Francis employed him in various embassies to Hungary and Constantinople until the year 1541, when he and Cesar Fragos, who escorted him, were assassinated by order of the Marquis del Guasto, as it is believed.

† A buffoon of Charles, better known by the name of Don Francesillo, probably from his small size. His burlesque chronicle of the Emperor, in which not one of the courtiers about his person is spared, was published at Madrid in 1855.

1527.

(Salinas) received especial instructions on that subject, he sent to the Council of Finances (*Hacienda*) certain proposals in His Highness' name, offering to rent the said mines for a period of 15 or 20 years, on the same terms as the Fucares (Fuggers) or any other contractor, previous to the appointment and acceptance of a mercantile house to be responsible for the payment, and to undertake the works, &c. The Council's decision was that the mines should be worked by certain Spanish merchants for a sum of money equal to that which the Fuggers had received during the three last years of their contract, and that the entire produce of the mines, after deducting that amount, should be placed to His Highness' credit. He (Salinas) accepted this contract in his master's name conditionally, until it should be ascertained how much ore the mines yielded. Meanwhile a Spanish banker named Juan de Vozmediano, offered to pay a higher price for the mines, namely, 20,000 ducats. Another company of Genoese merchants then bid 10,000 more, including the quicksilver mines of the said masterships, and consequently the whole has been adjudicated to them as the highest bidders. Has since been requested by them to ratify the contract in His Highness' name, which he has delayed until he should receive further instructions to that effect.

Such was the state of matters when a servant and factor of the Estretes (Straëts?) arrived in Spain, who was the bearer of a letter of His Highness, ordering the ambassador to use all his influence in their favour, that they might obtain the lease of the mines. Having asked the factor to exhibit His Highness' mandate to that effect, he answered that he had not yet received it, though he knew that it had been signed and sent fifteen weeks ago. Nevertheless, as there is no time to lose, since the present contract is to end on St. Michael's day, he (Salinas) inquired whether he was ready to take the mines, and at what price. His answer was that he was disposed to enter into a contract, but could not offer more than 2,000 ducats commission on the whole. Has ascertained that when Alonso Gutierrez had the mines his profits only amounted to 1,700,000 maravedis, and that of the Fucares (Fuggers) to 2,200,000, and that in three years; so that, such being the case, His Highness would have to disburse annually seven or eight thousand ducats, besides the expense of working the said mines. As at the present moment upwards of 2,000 hundredweight of quicksilver are already taken out of the mine,—a quantity more than sufficient for the supply of the trade during the next six months,—it naturally follows that the expenses would exceed the produce. Has, therefore, determined, after consulting people well versed in such matters, not to bid for the mines, but leave them to the company that works them at present.—Valladolid, 19th August 1527.

Addressed: "To the King [of Bohemia], my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

1527.

20 Aug. 161.

S. E. C. de C.

f. 15.

B. M. *Add.* 28,576,

f. 326.

DECLARATION of Witnesses concerning Vessels captured by the French.

Pedro de la Cama (?) declares on oath that on the 26th of July (1527) he sailed from Chester in England on board his own ship "Santa Maria de Guadalupe," freighted with ox-hides and other merchandise, and bound for Andalucia. His vessel was boarded off Cape Finisterre by a French man-of-war, and captured.

He (Pedro de la Cama) protested against such a proceeding, saying that when he sailed from England it was not known there that France was at war with Spain. The French replied that war had been declared three weeks before.

Gonzalo Relon, from Codillero [in Galicia], then declared that, coming from Cape Finisterre, he was on the 5th of August (1527) assailed by an armed French vessel. The cargo, consisting of wine, &c., was confiscated and the vessel sunk. He was, moreover, kept prisoner on board the French ship for two days. On the 17th the French, having sighted a sail coming from England, put the witness (Relon) and others on shore and went in pursuit of the other sail, &c.—Santiago, 20th of August 1527.

Spanish. Original protocol attested by a notary. pp. 10.

22 Aug. 162.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.

C. 71, f. 181.

DON MARTIN DE SALINAS to FERDINAND, King of Bohemia and Hungary.

Had already sent his last, in answer to the letter brought by Plus Ultra, His Highness' herald, when Costilla,* the courier, arrived with despatches. In consequence of which he (Salinas) waited on the Emperor, and asked him for the investiture of the Duchy of Milan. His answer was that he was most willing to make the grant, and had ordered the Secretary (Lallemand) to have the papers drawn out, &c.

Some days after this the Emperor having said to Lallemand in his (Salinas') presence that His Highness had applied to him for the investiture of the Duchy, but that he (the Emperor) was hesitating owing to certain difficulties which he foresaw, Lallemand failed not to use every sort of argument to convince the Emperor, as he succeeded in doing, of the expediency and justice of the grant. It was then resolved that the matter should be kept a profound secret between the Secretary and Salinas, and that the Emperor should write in his own hand to his brother announcing his consent. Salinas spoke to the councillors, and the affair was going on very successfully, when the day after Costilla's arrival the ambassadors of France and England sent in certain proposals of peace, a copy of which is enclosed, demanding among other things that Francesco Sforza should be reinstated in the

* Though *Costilla* is a common name in Spain, I should not be surprised if *Castilla* was intended, the custom being in those times to give couriers, and especially heralds or kings-at-arms, appellatives derived from the countries where they served or in which they were born.

1527.

Duchy of Milan. This naturally caused great agitation in the Council, some of its members being still in favour of His Highness, whilst the majority, thinking that the appointment might become an obstacle to peace, were of a contrary opinion. Has since been told that great offers have been made to the councillors of pensions and other gratuities, enough to tempt the very Devil. Secretary Lallemand has been offered 6,000 ducats perpetual rent if he will only help, and it may be suspected that the rest of the councillors have been tempted with similar or larger bribes. Needs not add that the Secretary has rejected their offers, and that the Emperor's answer to their proposals in general was anything but satisfactory. Seeing this, the French ambassadors called upon the Secretary, and told him that the King, their master, was ready to fulfil every one of the conditions of the treaty of Madrid, except that of the cession of Burgundy. The Emperor might grant the investiture of Milan to whomsoever he pleased without his offering the least opposition. Upon which, Secretary Lallemand spoke to the dissenting councillors, repeated the words of the French ambassador, and begged them to desist from their plans. Meanwhile his Imperial Majesty prepared the letter herein enclosed, and which no doubt contains all that passed between him and the Secretary at the last audience, as well as a most solemn promise of the aforesaid grant. It is important that upon the receipt of this present despatch His Highness should write at once to the Emperor, thanking him for all his favours, and also ratify and approve all the offers and promises which he (Salinas) has made in His Highness' name. It is needless to say how much Secretary Lallemand has worked in this last affair, and how deserving he is of the Royal consideration. The 10,000 florins so long promised should be settled upon him at once. Letters should also be written to all the members of the Council of State, and particularly to Don Juan Manuel, thanking them for their exertions.

The Emperor is still undecided as to the expediency of His Highness now passing over to Italy, being so averse to any measure likely to entail trouble upon his dear brother, and place him in a dangerous position. Certain it is that had the passage been effected when proposed, the Emperor's affairs might now be in a better plight, and we should not be obliged to beg for the Duchy of Milan. As it is, the affair itself requires much consideration, for if His Highness is to wait for approval and consent from this Court, it will never be granted, owing to the reasons above stated; and as to passing over now, without sufficient cause, or without asking for leave first, it would not look well. On the other hand, were the King of France to send troops to Lombardy, His Highness might cross over to Italy without first consulting the Emperor. It would be a very nice

1527.

opportunity of showing devotion to the cause, and the Emperor would then no longer hesitate in granting the investiture of the Duchy. Had this been done before, as he (Salinas) has recommended in several of his despatches, we should not have to beg so long. But better late than never, and if the opportunity offers His Highness must not let it pass.

His Highness must bear in mind that those among the councillors of State and others who disapprove of the grant will bring in support of their view every possible argument, besides the very strong one that all the resources of the Austrian dominions and of the new kingdom of Bohemia are consumed by the Hungarian war,—which is a fact. It is therefore important, in order to defeat such arguments, to put the most speedy end possible to that war anyhow, especially as the assistance to be expected from these parts is from various causes so small and so long delayed, notwithstanding the Emperor's good wishes. Nor can the ambassador pass over in silence the fact of the Chancellor (Gattinara) having lately written to advise that the Duchy of Milan should be given to Prince Philip.* What the Chancellor's intentions are in proposing such a measure, he (Salinas) need not say, since they are well known to His Highness. Suffice it to say that the affair is one in which tricks and cunning devices of every description are daily being employed.

This despatch has been delayed until now, owing to the arrival of Commander Figueroa with news from Italy, principally from Rome and from the army. The Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) writes to say that the Imperial army is without a commander-in-chief. He strongly recommends His Highness' passage to Italy, as the best expedient to be adopted under the present circumstances. The rest of the captains are of the same opinion. Though the Emperor had offered the command of the forces to the Duke of Ferrara, it was uncertain whether he would accept or not, and therefore the army had sent a deputation to Lannoy, begging him to take the command. This Lannoy had refused until he should hear the Emperor's pleasure.

The governorship of Milan has been conferred upon Antonio de Leyva on the same terms that the Duke of Bourbon held it.

The Emperor is sending Millao (Migliao)† to Rome to visit the Pope and express his regret for the late occurrences. After his departure the general of the Franciscan friars (Quiñones) arrived at court. He was one of those who, a few months ago, brought about the last truce, and as the Emperor knows him to be very virtuous and acceptable to the Pope, he is now about to be sent back to Rome to soothe

* The Emperor's son, only three months old at the time, since he was born on the 21st of May 1527.

† Mons. de Verrey, or Veyre, as he is called elsewhere.

1527.

His Holiness' irritable temper, and, if possible, to conclude a lasting peace.

The French offers continue the same. They propose complying with all and every one of the articles of the treaty of Madrid, with the sole exception of the one relating to Burgundy. In compensation for this they offer to pay 2,000,000 crowns (*escudos*), 1,000,000 down, out of which the King of England is to be reimbursed the sums which the Emperor owes him. For the payment of the other million they ask such long dates that it is very doubtful if they will ever liquidate their debt. The Cardinal of England (Wolsey) is now in France negotiating an alliance with the King against His Imperial Majesty. What will come out of it nobody knows for certain; but whatever the issue, we trust that God will support the justice of our cause.—Valladolid, 22nd August 1527.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 4½.

23 Aug. 163.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 102.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the
EMPEROR.

Wrote on the 8th and 11th inst. Since then this Signory has had letters from Pietro de Pesaro, dated from Boscho, the 16th, advising that Andrea Doria had sent by land one of his nephews, called Filipin, with 1,000 men to take Portofino. There was there a body of Imperial troops amounting to 800 men; and besides, when the Genoese heard of it they despatched upwards of 1,500 men to the assistance of the besieged, who, on their arrival before the town, attacked the enemy, and routed him with great loss, taking prisoner Filipin himself and four or five of his captains. Hearing of the disaster, Andrea Doria came to Portofino with his galleys and those of France, cannonaded the town and port, sank one of the Imperial galleys, and captured all the shipping inside the harbour; to wit, eight vessels laden with wheat, one large ship from the Levant, laden with spice, and other merchandise, valued at 150,000 ducats.

Meanwhile Cesaro Fragoso, son of Janus Fragoso, the captain of this Signory, with about 1,000 of Lautrech's infantry, approached Genoa. He found the city greatly terrified and without defence, owing to its garrison having gone to Portofino, in consequence of which the Genoese asked to capitulate. It is believed that they have already surrendered.

Has no news of the High Chancellor, but believes that he sailed for Monago on the 13th inst. (*Cipher:*) This is a sad piece of intelligence, and a disaster for which the Imperial army alone is responsible by its disorderly and mutinous state. If it does not come soon, the whole of Lombardy and the Duchy will be lost.

1527.

The above-mentioned Pesaro writes further that Lautrech intends laying siege to Alessandria, and that now that Genoa has fallen, he will put part of his troops on board the fleet and sail for Naples or Sicily. If so, all communication with Spain will be closed, and no remittances in money will come. In future he (Sanchez) intends sending his correspondence by way of Flanders, to Madame, as the only safe conveyance under present circumstances. If the King of Hungary and Bohemia could only conclude a truce with the Vayvod, and come over at the head of his troops, all might still be saved. It is evident that the confederates aim at nothing less than expelling the Imperialists from Lombardy and the whole of Italy. Their maritime forces are so considerable that, if they invade Sicily, there is no knowing what will happen, for the island is badly provided for defence.

Has reported in his letter of the 7th the answer of the Duke of Ferrara, and his excuses for not accepting the command of the Imperial forces as long as the men are unpaid, &c. The courier despatched by the Duke, informing the Emperor of this determination, was captured by the men of Count Gayatzo (Gaiazzo), in the Parmesan. The letters were brought here to Venice, and deciphered, together with some of his (Sanchez's). Cannot ascertain which they are, or of what date, or else he would send triplicate by the first opportunity. This Signory has sent to Lautrech 50,000 ducats by the ambassador who left the other day for the camp. Has been told that they have since remitted 50,000 more.

The Bishop of Trent writes in date of the 15th inst. that the Paleologue, or black man,* as he is called in the country, was slain in battle by a cannon shot. His head has been cut off and taken in triumph to the Vayvod (Zapolsky) at Buda, who had in his army two sangiaes and 15,000 Turks.

Stated in one of his former despatches that the Signory had laid a tax of 100,000 ducats on the clergy. Finds that they have received 20,000 over that sum, and that without the Papal authority. Two bishoprics now vacant, those of Treviso and Cividat (Civita di Friuli?), they intend granting to two Venetian ecclesiastics, in opposition to the rules established by Pope Julius. From Ceruia they have extracted a large quantity of salt, said to be worth 100,000 ducats. As the people of Trieste, who took some from the lands of the Pope and paid for it, were going back to their country, the Signory ordered the bark to be seized and the salt taken. They have since refused to give it up, saying that they did it by the Pope's express commands.

Hears that Count Cayatzo (Gaiazzo) is coming to Venice, and that the Signory will give him the command of 150 horse and 1,000 foot. He has already arrived. Also that the Marquis of Mantua is in close negotiation with these

Evidently the Giovanni Nero and Juan Negro of former despatches.

1527

people, and that they offer him at the King of France's recommendation the supreme command of all their forces.

(*Common writing* :) This present letter was commenced three days ago. Has kept it open that he might add to it the confirmation of the Genoese disaster. No news came yesterday, but to-day the Signory has received letters from Pietro Pesaro, their ambassador at Lautrech's camp, in date of the 19th, announcing that he was about to start for that city, by order of that general, for the purpose of settling the terms of the capitulation, (*cipher* :) which is a proof that the city has surrendered. Indeed, after the loss of the ships at Portofino, it could not hold out long for want of provisions.

(*Common writing* :) Whilst writing the above has received letters from the Bishop of Trent, in date of the 19th, advising the prosperous campaign of the King of Hungary and Bohemia, whose army was already at Buda or very close to it, (*cipher* :) so that there is reason to anticipate that some sort of arrangement may be concluded with the Vayvod, which will enable His Highness to come over or send a good reinforcement.

(*Common writing* :) The confirmation of the news about Genoa has arrived. The letters are dated the 17th. It is said that Andrea Doria, after capturing the ships inside the harbour of Portofino, sailed for Genoa with his galleys. A storm blew at sea, and he was obliged to go to Leghorn. The Genoese, 4,000 in number, then sallied out against Cesaro Fragoso, who had only with him 1,000 regulars, and as many volunteers (*aventureros*), but so stout was his resistance that the Imperialists were repelled and beaten off. Followed in their flight by the enemy, Genoa was taken without difficulty. If the account be true, it is rather strange that 2,000 men should have taken possession of so populous a city.

(*Cipher* :) Andrea del Burgo writes in date of the 18th from Ferrara that the Prince of Orange had sent to the Duke a gentleman of his suite from Sienna, congratulating him upon his nomination, saying that he was quite ready to obey his orders and asking for instructions. The Duke's answer was that the Imperial army ought to march immediately to the succour of Lombardy, now threatened by the enemy. The gentleman told Burgo that the Imperialists were as usual encamped at Narni. Upwards of 4,000 Germans and 24 captains, 2,000 Spaniards and two captains, had died of the plague. There remained still 8,000 Germans, as many Spaniards, 4,000 Italians, 600 lances, and 2,000 light horse. If these forces were not already marching on Lombardy, they would at all events start as soon as the Prince came back from Sienna.

Such is the information sent by Burgo. He (Sanchez) knows not what to think about it. Now that Genoa is lost, he doubts much the expediency of the Imperial army going to Lombardy, for certainly the enemy's fleet will invade Sicily

1527.

and Naples, whilst leaving the Marquis of Saluzzo and Duke of Urbino behind with the rest of the forces they will keep Leyva in check.

The very moment that he (Sanchez) heard the news about Genoa he wrote to the King of Bohemia, asking for reinforcements. Doubts much whether the latter will be able to send them for the reasons above stated. Has written likewise to the Viceroy, from whom he has not heard for an age.

Some say that Lautrech intends dividing his forces; one part is to go to Lombardy, the other to Tuscany.—Venice, 23rd of August 1527.

Signed: "Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. Sanchez. Venice. 23rd August."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 9½.

25 Aug. 164. The BISHOP OF CASTELLAMARE* to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,005,
f. 15.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 327.

The Emperor must have been so fully informed of the late events at Rome, that there is no need to trouble him further on that head. But perhaps the Emperor is not aware that he (the Bishop), though a staunch adherent of His Imperial Majesty, was one of those who suffered most on the occasion, his house having been sacked, and he himself obliged to pay a heavy ransom for his person and servants. Next to the injury done to the Church, the conduct of the Imperial soldiers has chiefly alienated the affection of the people. He, nevertheless, continues the same as he was, and wishes for nothing more than an opportunity to show his devotion.—Castellamare, 25th August 1527.

Signed: "The Bishop of Castellamare."

Addressed: "Al Serenissimo invictissimo Cesar Rey de España y nuestro Soberano Señor."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

26 Aug. 165. PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLIO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 121.

(*Cipher:*) Lautrec, on the 28th of June, laid siege to Boscho, into which two companies of Germans from the garrison of Alessandria had in disorder (*per disordine*) thrown themselves. The town was taken after 18 days' siege, on the conditions which Leyva must have reported. After this, on the 16th ult., the enemy took possession of Porto Fino, and of the Imperial galleys there. On the 18th the enemy made himself master of Genoa, and the Doge was obliged to take refuge in the castle with a few of his adherents. The ambassador (Soria)

* His name was Centellas, a native of Catalonia.

1527.

was at Montoio, a village belonging to Count Sinibaldo del Fiescho; the Spaniards and Italians composing the garrison had fled to the neighbouring villages.

Fearing that Alessandria might be lost, Leyva has contrived to introduce into it five companies of Italian infantry under Count Albrico (Alberico) Beljoioso.

(*Cipher* :) The enemy's design seems to be to penetrate into the Lomelino "butando lo ponte a Valentia." Already the lansquenets of the "bande nere" have reached Imbrea, and will shortly join the Venetians. When they do, the confederates are sure to approach this city, where Leyva is preparing a good reception for them.

(*Common writing* :) As Leyva is now writing a full account of military operations in the Duchy, and he, himself, has addressed a long memorandum to the High Chancellor (Mercurino Gattinara), who left Genoa on the 13th, he needs not enter into more particulars.—Milan, 26th of August 1527.

Signed : "Il Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed : "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1527. Milan. From Prothonotary Caracciolo. 26th of August."

Italian. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering between the lines. pp. 5.*

27 Aug. 166. The EMPEROR to QUEEN KATHARINE.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof- u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224.

Madame and my Aunt,—Your letter by Francisco Phs. (Phelipez), bearer of this present, came duly to hand. I have perfectly well understood the verbal message he brought from you respecting the affair [of the divorce], and the reason why you sent him to me.† After him (Phelipez) came your own physician (Vitoria), with whom I had also a long conversation on the subject. You may well imagine the pain this intelligence caused me, and how much I felt for you. I cannot express it otherwise than by assuring you that were my own mother concerned I should not experience greater sorrow than in this your case, for the love and affection which I profess to Your Serene Highness is certainly of the same kind as that of a son towards his parent.

I have immediately set about taking the necessary steps (*los despachos necesarios*) for the remedy [of your case], and you may be certain that nothing shall be omitted on my part to help you in your present tribulation. But it seems to me that in the meantime Your Serene Highness

* A note in Secretary Lallemand's hand states what follows:—"C'est la propre chiffre d'Anthoine de Leyva, la quelle jay envoye a Pedro Garcia, et croyz que sera myeux luy envoyer ceste pour deschiffrer avec celle du dict Anthoine de Leyva. Touttesfois s'il plait a Monsieur le Chancellier vous pourrez renvoyer ceste a Anthoine, et faire ce qu'il vous ordonnera."

† "Y de él entendi lo que de vuestra parte me dixo tocante al negocio, y por que causa me lo enbiasteis."

1527.

ought not to take this thing so much to heart, as to let it impair your bodily health, for if this is preserved, all other matters will be remedied with God's help.* I beg you to bear in mind this my recommendation, and I have no doubt that in this as in other matters Your Serene Highness will act much better than I could counsel. As I do, however, presume that before the receipt of this my letter you will have heard my intentions through Don Iñigo de Mendoça, I shall say no more here than to refer you to my letter to that ambassador, as well as to the message now conveyed by the above-mentioned Francisco, which is no doubt what Your Serene Highness most wishes to know.† Most earnestly entreating you to inform me as soon as possible of the course of this affair, that I may do all that is necessary for your protection, as well as of your health, I remain, &c.—Palencia, the 27th of August. In the hand of your good nephew, Charles.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

28 Aug. 167. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 125.

The High Chancellor (Mercurino di Gattinara) left this on the 13th inst.

Nine of the Imperial galleys that were in this port of Genoa, namely, three of the Emperor's own, one of Il Gobbo, and the remainder of this Community, sailed for Corsica at the end of June, for the purpose of escorting certain vessels laden with wheat for this port. Two more ships of war, which accompanied the said galleys, remained at San Florencio, whilst the galleys went to Bonifacio to escort a merchant vessel with a very rich cargo. Meanwhile the French fleet came to San Florencio, and finding the two ships in that port, took their artillery and sank them, after which they joined Doria's eight galleys, before this town. On the 2nd inst. our fleet came up, and finding the enemy in sight, retreated to Porto Fino, which the enemy speedily invested by sea and land. On the receipt of this intelligence the Doge, the Prior of Barletta‡ (Martinengo), and himself (Soria) decided to send some troops to the relief of the besieged. Accordingly, on the 16th the Prior and the Governor of Genoa (*el capitan de la plaza*) left with 500 infantry, fought the enemy, and slew or took prisoners the greatest part of them. On the ensuing day (the 17th), hearing that some of the Fragosi with about 1,500 men of the French camp had approached Genoa, the Prior and the Governor hastily came

* "Y ruego á Vuestra Serenidad que en el entretanto no tome estas cosas de manera que le hagan algun mal en su persona, que quedando ella buena todo el otro con el ayuda de Dios se remedyara."

† "Y á lo que por el dicho Francisco Phe. mas sabrá, que será [acaso] lo que mas Vuestra Serenidad querrá saber."

‡ "Y quedaron presos el dicho Prior de Balrreta (Barleta) y el Capitan de la Pliaça (*sic*)."
Pliaça is no doubt meant for *plaza* or *piaga*."

1527.

back, bringing with them not only the forces that had defended Porto Fino in the first instance, but also the crews of the said galleys, which they left as it were at the enemy's mercy. Had they set fire to them, they would not have fallen since into the hands of the confederates, who will no doubt employ them against us.

As the Fragosi were one mile from this city, the Prior and the rest of the Imperial captains thought that the best thing to do was to sally out and drive the enemy off. He (Soria) was of a contrary opinion, observing that though victorious in the encounter, we could by no means save the city, as the enemy would certainly be reinforced, the port was blockaded, and provisions were wanting. It was more prudent to wait until the Imperialists from Rome should come to our assistance; but the spirited advice of the Prior prevailed, and accordingly on the 18th, before daybreak, he went out with 1,500 men, and resolutely attacked a monastery, called San Bereño (*sic*), where the advanced guard of the enemy was situated. This was easily taken, when our forces descending (*decendieron*) upon San Pietro de Arena, where the main body was, a most signal victory was gained, most of the enemy being either slain or taken prisoners. Unluckily for us, the men, for the sake of spoil and prisoners, broke their ranks, and spread about the country, which being observed by Cesaro Campo Fragoso, who was in the rear-guard with some infantry and cavalry, he charged, and notwithstanding the efforts of the Prior, of the governor of the city, and of Bernaldino Cerbellon, all of whom were taken prisoners on the occasion, our men were driven back into Genoa with considerable loss. At this juncture the Fragosi within the city took up arms; the Imperialists ran away; the Doge with his wife and family shut himself up in the castle; Count Flisco (Fiescho) and he (Lope de Soria) with a handful of citizens and soldiers came up to this place (Montogio), three leagues from Genoa.

Thinks that the citadel has provisions for one month. Should the army from Rome come soon, all may yet be remedied; but if it tarries, there is great danger of the whole of Lombardy falling into the hands of the enemy, for though the citadel is strong, it is scantily provisioned, and the confederate fleet is in sight of the port. Hears that a capitulation is already talked of.

The very day that Genoa was taken, Cesaro Fragoso made his entrance peacefully and without troops; though some hours before, his (Soria's) dwelling place had been sacked before his eyes. The day after Teodoro Triulcis arrived, and assumed the government of the city for the King of France. Fragoso, after obtaining some money from the bankers and citizens, returned to the Venetian camp, taking the Prior and the rest of the prisoners of note with him for the sake of ransom. The Fragosi, it is said, are rather discontented at his not assuming the government of the place, but the generality of

1527.

the Genoese are pleased at the command being given to a foreigner rather than to a Fragoso or Adorno.

Mons. de Lautrec, after taking Boscho, has laid siege to Alessandria. Leyva is at Milan with a small, though very efficient, force; the Venetians at Marino, mustering about 8,000. The forces under Lautrec amount to 12,000 men, exclusive of the cavalry; but they are a poor set (*ruyn gente*), and terribly afraid of our army coming down upon them.

Since the above was written, the citadel of Genoa has surrendered to Teodoro Triulcis on condition of the lives and property of the Doge and all others within the walls being safe. The Doge is to leave for La Mirandola or Ferrara on the 28th, with his wife and family. He (Soria) intends to accompany him wherever he goes, and after that join the Imperial army, and place himself at the orders of the Viceroy, or of whoever may have the command.

The latest news from Rome are of the 4th inst. Alarcon writes to say that he has received the Imperial despatches of the 27th of June and 2nd of July, which he (Soria) had forwarded. The Viceroy, Don Ugo de Moncada, and the Marquis del Guasto were expected within four days, when it would be decided what was to be done with the Pope, and what direction the Imperial army—still encamped at Perusa (Perugia)—was to take. Both Germans and Spaniards were ill-pleased at the Prince of Orange holding the command; though he was not with the army, but had retired many days previously to Sienna.

Hears that at the latter city a messenger has arrived who is the bearer of letters from the Emperor to the Pope. The news comes from Genoa, and is not official. It is also reported there that the general of the Franciscans (Quiñones) has arrived in Rome.

It is his (Soria's) duty to remind the Imperial ministers that, should peace be concluded with France, one of the conditions ought to be the restitution of Genoa and its citadel, and also that of the nine galleys taken at Portofino.

When Genoa was taken, some of the galleys which he (Soria) had ordered to be built were already nearly complete, and certainly would have been ready at the end of September. Of the 20,000 ducats destined for this service, 4,000 had been spent; the remainder was in the hands of the merchants who were to pay the bills (*que avian de pagar el cambio*). Will not dispose of these sums unless he receives express orders to that effect. Of the credit of the 100,000 ducats, 8,000 remain in his hands. Leyva has urgently applied for them. Has also written to the Viceroy about it, but not heard since April last. Will be obliged to remit them, unless he receives orders to the contrary.

Count Flisco (Fiescho) has hospitably received Ansaldo, Nicolo, and Stefano Grimaldo, who with the late governor of Genoa (*capitan de la plaza*) took refuge in this town (Montogio). He well deserves to be recommended to His Imperial Majesty.

1527.

Hears that one of the conditions of the surrender of the citadel is that the Doge be allowed to despatch to Spain one of his secretaries, named Giuliano* della Spezia, who is to sail shortly. Cardinal of Coma is dead.—Montegio, 27th of August 1527.

P.S.—The above is the duplicate of his letter sent through Genoese merchants. To-day, the 28th, one from the Lieutenant of the Sumaria of Naples, dated Gaeta the 13th inst., has come to hand, announcing that the Viceroy was there, doing his utmost to procure money, in order that the Imperial army of Rome should march into Lombardy. On the day before (the 12th) the Marquis del Guasto had left Gaeta with two galleys, bound for Civittà Vecchia and Rome. He was taking money for the army, and had with him Miçer Antonio Muxetula, who bore a message for the Pope.

Has just received a letter from the Prince of Orange, dated Sienna the 17th inst., informing him that the Viceroy, Don Ugo, the Marquis [del Guasto], and Alarcon were at Rome deliberating on what was to be done with the Pope and with the army, and that his impression was that matters would be settled in six days, and the army commence its march. If the intelligence conveyed in the Lieutenant's letter of the 13th be correct, he (Soria) does not think it possible that the Viceroy and the others can already be at Rome, and therefore the Prince must be misinformed.

A servant of his (Soria's) has this instant arrived from Lucca, with letters of the 24th stating that the Imperial army had left Todi, and taken up its quarters at Monte Flasco (Montefiascone), with the intention of marching on Florence and Lombardy.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. From Montegio. Lope de Soria. 27th August."

Spanish. Original. pp. 7½.

30 Aug. 168. CHARLES DE LANNOY to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 144.

Has by his last despatch† duly acquainted His Imperial Majesty with his reasons for selling to Count Burello the county of Gayazzo and the barony of De le Sere, which once belonged to Count Gaiazzo. Burello, who is a devoted servant of His Imperial Majesty, has paid for the said estate 27,000 ducats down, with which sum the men-at-arms have been paid; otherwise it would have been quite impossible to

* Giuliano, called elsewhere della Speça or Spezza.

† That of the 18th. See No. 154, p. 329. No mention, however, occurs in it of the confiscation and sale of the Gaiazzo estates.

1527.

stop them, for they were coming in a state of mutiny to this kingdom, and would have been followed by the rest of the army, Germans as well as Spaniards, had not the above funds and others hastily collected on the occasion been distributed among them. A great danger was by this means averted; the men-at-arms have thus been appeased, and the whole of the Imperial army persuaded to remain at Rome.

As Count Gayazzo publicly deserted the Imperial service, as he has now entered Parma, and is fortifying that city for the League; as Count Burello, who has bought his estates, is a native of this kingdom (Naples), and has rendered much service to the Emperor, having been present with his father (the Duke of Monteleone), the present Viceroy of Sicily, at all the battles that have been fought lately, and especially on the occasion when the aforesaid Count Gayazzo treacherously deserted our camp and passed over to the enemy, it is but just that His Imperial Majesty should confirm and approve the said sale.—Gaeta, 30th of August 1527.

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From the Viceroy of Naples. 30th August."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

30 Aug. 169. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 146.

By his despatch of the 4th of July, which Commander Figheroa (Gomez Suarez de Figueroa) took to Spain, His Imperial Majesty must have been informed of the confusion and danger in which all things connected with the army were. Since then matters have grown still worse. Some captains of the Spanish and German infantry, deputed for the purpose, came the other day to ask him for two things; firstly, that he should guarantee to them the sums promised by the Pope; and secondly, that he should go [to Rome] in person to arrange matters and take the command. Perceiving that the determination of the soldiers was to come to this kingdom, and not to leave it until they were paid in full; that, when they departed from Lombardy, the men were already possessed with the fancy of visiting Naples, and would be glad of any excuse to accomplish their plans, he (the Viceroy) considered it imprudent to refuse their request, as otherwise they might have become exasperated, executed their threat, and caused the ruin of this kingdom. With a view to gaining time for an answer to come from Spain, he (the Viceroy) feigned to accede to their demands, and consented to become security for the sums promised by the Pope, provided they (the captains) should bring him an estimate of the money owing to each corps (*squadron*), and at what rate the stipulated sum was to be distributed among them. The deputies seemed satisfied with this answer, and

1527.

returned to Rome; but after a period of 15 days, during which they were unable to agree, they came back again saying that it mattered not how the sums promised by the Pope were to be distributed. He (the Viceroy) was to bind himself *in genere* that they should be paid their arrears immediately, and if that were not possible, within such period of time as he thought they could stand; that to this effect they would place in his hands the Pope's person, to be detained at Gaeta or elsewhere until the whole sum agreed on the capitulation was paid, but that in either case his (the Viceroy's) presence at Rome was required to arrange military matters, and take the command.

This message was brought by the same captains who came on a former occasion, to whom other deputies from the Spaniards and Germans were now joined, so that perceiving their determination, and that it was no longer possible to temporize, the Viceroy gave his solemn promise to go to Rome, speak to the Pope, and arrange with him the mode and dates of the payment, without which preliminary step he (the Viceroy) could nowise be security. Promised also to do everything in his power to settle the question of the command. He was on the point of leaving Naples for that purpose in company with Don Ugo de Moncada and the Marquis del Guasto, when the Imperial despatch of the 1st of July came to hand, appointing the Duke of Ferrara commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces in Italy, with the exception of those at Rome and Sicily, the Prince of Orange to be his lieutenant-general with the assistance and help of Alarcon, by whose advice all military affairs were to be conducted. It was further stated in the Imperial despatch that he (the Viceroy) was to manage general affairs, and those concerning the general peace.

As far as he himself is concerned he must fain return the most heartfelt thanks for the singular favour now bestowed upon him by His Imperial Majesty in thus relieving him for the present from his military duties. Nothing could be so agreeable to him, after so many years spent in the Imperial service, during which he has, through many dangers and difficulties, commanded this Italian army, as to see himself relieved from such burden. For henceforward it cannot be expected that the men, dissatisfied as they are by the want of pay, will recover their old discipline and love for the service, especially as the means are wanting to pay them regularly. Soldiers spoiled by victory, and licentious beyond measure, are not so easily controlled. Anything that hits their fancy seems to them allowable, and as we cannot pay them, it is impossible to inflict punishment and enforce discipline. Even had money been forthcoming, and the men regularly paid, it would have been a difficult matter to restore matters to their former state.

1527.

As in the event of his going to Rome it would have been necessary for him to visit the soldiers in their own quarters, and promise them the speedy settlement of their arrears, it is almost certain that he would have been retained until the said promises were completely fulfilled. For this reason he has declined going to Rome for the present, and written to Alarcon to obey in any case the Emperor's orders. Though up to the present hour that captain has positively declined leaving Rome, and accepting his new post with the army, yet he is so devoted a servant of the Emperor that it is to be hoped he will accept in the end and join the Imperial army, in which, previous to the arrival of the Imperial despatch, he (the Viceroy) had in the Emperor's name promised him the post of Marechal (Field Marshal).

Has, however, thought it well to despatch to Rome the Marquis del Guasto, with full powers and instructions to offer the soldiers, conjointly with Alarcon, his own personal security that they shall receive in full the 150,000 ducats promised by the Pope. The Marquis, moreover, is to do everything in his power to persuade Alarcon to join the army.

Letters from Lombardy announce that the Duke of Ferrara declines the appointment of commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces.

Hears from Rome that up to the 12th inst. the army still persevered in its intention to come to this kingdom unless they were paid by the 15th. On the receipt of which intelligence he (the Viceroy) hastily collected 19,000 ducats, with which, and with some money which the Roman bankers were to give on account of the 150,000 ducats at first promised by the Pope, and by means of the above-mentioned powers entrusted to the Marquis, the approaching storm has to a certain extent been allayed, and there is some hope, though a very slight one, that they will abandon their disorderly plans.

As the affairs of Lombardy are in the precarious state described in another despatch, which accompanies this, and it is urgent that our army march as soon as possible in that direction, he (the Viceroy) has written to the Marquis [del Guasto] requesting him to put aside all resentment he may have, and attend only to the Emperor's interests. Should there be any dispute respecting the leadership of the Imperial army, he is to assume at once the command of the infantry, and Alarcon take that of the men-at-arms with the title of Marechal. Accordingly the Marquis, though very much hurt and offended at the small notice taken of him in these last Imperial orders, as well as at the non-fulfilment of the promise which the Emperor made him shortly after the death of his uncle, the Marquis of Pescara, actually left for Rome on the 12th inst. with two galleys, intending to

1527.

land at Neptuno, 30 miles from that city.—Rome, 30th of August 1527.

Signed: "Charles de Lannoy."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From the Viceroy of Naples. 30th of August 1527."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

30 Aug. 170. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 149.

Writes in recommendation of Don Diego de Carvajal, who has served under him, and is an excellent officer. Has given him leave to go to Spain to answer personally certain charges brought against him in the Royal Council and Court of Chancery. Begg employment for the said Carvajal, or the command of one of the galleys now being built in the Spanish ports.—Gaeta, 30th of August 1527.

Signed: "Charles de Lannoy."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From the Viceroy of Naples. 30th of August 1527."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

30 Aug. 171. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 151.

In commendation of Annibale de Pignatello, who, after a long life spent in the Imperial service, wishes to retire from the World and devote himself entirely to God. The archbishopric of Cosença being now vacant, the said Annibale asks for it.—Gaeta, the last day of August 1527.

Signed: "Charles de Lannoy."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From the Viceroy of Naples. 30th of August 1527."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

— Aug. 172. MEMORIAL of the FERRARESE AMBASSADOR [in Spain].

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 117.

The Duke, my master, trusts to His Imperial Majesty's good opinion, and begs him to use his influence that he may be reinstated in all the privileges, grants, and concessions which he enjoyed from the Holy See at the time that Pope Leo unjustly deprived him thereof.

He desires, through the Emperor's favour, to obtain from Pope Clement VII. the undisputed possession of Modena and Rezzo, which being fiefs of the Sacred Roman Empire,

1527.

were granted to him by Maximilian. In exchange for these favours the Duke binds himself to remain faithful to His Holiness, as well as to His Imperial Majesty, and their successors, promising to obey their commands as his true and supreme Lords; but he hopes also that the Emperor will grant him the said favours gratuitously, "gratis et amore," as befits so liberal and generous a Prince, taking into consideration the enormous sacrifices which he (the Duke) has hitherto made for the Imperial service, having spent, as he has, considerable sums of money since the year 1514, when he attended the siege of Padua with 1,500 foot, 200 men-at-arms, 400 light horse, and 10 large pieces of ordnance, with ammunition, &c., at the cost of nearly 70,000 ducats, as his own brother, the Cardinal of Ferrara (Hyppolito d' Este), and the Spanish ambassador, Don Juan Manuel, both of whom attended the Imperial camp, can testify. In revenge for this timely succour afforded by the Duke, my master, the Venetians armed a powerful fleet, with which, and with the forces sent by Pope Julius, they ravaged the Duchy of Ferrara, causing damage to the extent of upwards of 500,000, part of which still remains unpaid.

The Duke consents to reimburse the 40,000 ducats, more or less, which Pope Leo gave the Emperor Maximilian on the pledge of Modena.

He is likewise willing to pay to His Imperial Majesty 30,000 ducats in the following manner: 10,000, half in specie and half in jewels; 20,000 in salt gathered in the district of Comacchio, for the use of Mantua and of Milan. His Imperial Majesty might thus receive certain sums in cash the very day that the said cities were effectually restored to the Duke.*

Indorsed: "The Ferrarese ambassador's memorial."

Italian. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 3.

30 Aug. 173. ADVICES from LAUTREC'S CAMP.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 188.

The lansquenets have this day reached Hibrea (Ibrea), six or seven miles from this place. Great maritime preparations are being made at Genoa. Micer Galeazo Tassone has arrived at this camp with a message from the Duke of Ferrara, who, it is said, wants to make his peace with the King of France. He promises not to furnish money, men, provisions, or artillery to the Imperialists on condition of his retaining whatever possessions he has now.

Mons. de Lautrec has consulted with his most experienced officers as to what plan of campaign had better be adopted, and whether it is better to continue the siege of Alessandria or raise it and go elsewhere. After a good deal of discussion the opinion of those who are for the continuance of the siege

* This memorial has no date, but being placed in the volume between Sanchez's letter of the 23rd and that of Caracciolo of the 26th, I consider myself justified in inserting it here. It was undoubtedly presented in Spain by the Duke's ambassador, Marco Pio.

1527.

has prevailed. The city, they said, though strong, was not sufficiently garrisoned, and it would be dangerous to leave it, now that Genoa is in the hands of the confederates, and their fleet about to sail on an expedition against Naples. For this reason Mons. de Lautrec has determined not to move from where he is until he has taken Alessandria, &c.

Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

30 Aug. 174. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 140.

Encloses duplicate of his despatch of the 28th. (*Cipher*;) Forgot to observe that in case of Genoa being recovered, it is very important for the Imperial service and the good of the land that the government of the city be not intrusted either to an Adorno or to a Fragoso. The Emperor should appoint one governor for the city, and another for the castle. Though the late Doge has been faithful throughout, he is unfit for the command, and has few friends, is stingy and miserly, as he has shown himself lately, for though he (Soria) and others had often advised him to keep plentiful stores in his castle, and he invariably answered that it was provisioned for two months at least, experience has shown that there was only food enough for a fortnight. In short this man is not equal to command (*es para poco*). Yet as a reward for his past services, and that the world may see how His Imperial Majesty rewards those who are faithful, he (Soria) begs that the Doge's secretary, Giuliano della Spezzia, now going to Spain on his master's errand, be graciously received.

Nicolas and Stefano de Grimaldo and Juan Baptista de Fornariis are all of them the Emperor's faithful servants. Stefano intends accompanying us to Lombardy, or wherever he may be of service out of Genoa. The late governor of Genoa (*el capitan de la plaza*) and Stefano Espindola purpose doing the same. Recommends them to the Emperor.—Montogio, 30th of August 1527.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed "To the King. 1527. From Montogio. Soria. 30th August."

Spanish. Original in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. p. 1.

30 Aug. 175. ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 129.

Wrote on the 23rd advising the loss of Genoa.* Enclosed is a copy of the letter which Soria wrote to him, describing that event. The report here (at Venice) is that Theodoro Triulcis (Trivulcio) remains as governor, much to the dis-

* See No. 163, p. 341.

1527.

appointment of the citizens, who would have greatly preferred Janus Fragoso, a captain in the service of this Signory, the same who sent thither his son Cesaro.

(*Cipher* :) According to a letter of Andrea del Burgo, dated Ferrara the 24th, Mons. de Lautrec had sent a message to the Duke [Alfonso d' Este], making him great offers if he would join the League. The Duke answered that he was ready to do anything that was not actually detrimental to the Emperor's interests, or a breach of faith; a very appropriate answer, were it not that if Lautrec again presses the matter it is to be feared that the Duke will yield to his solicitations.

(*Common writing* :) The garrison of Alessandria has been reinforced by 400 foot and 200 cavalry under Count Alberico Beljoioso, whom Leyva had detached thither for the purpose. In consequence of which succour, so opportunely sent, Lautrech had not laid siege to the city, as was apprehended. He had sent to ask 2,000 men from the proveditor of the Venetians now encamped at Marignano, but the answer returned was that he could not detach those forces without previously consulting the Signory.

(*Cipher* :) Has been told that the proveditor writes that were he to give Lautrec the 2,000 men he wants, he should have no troops left to maintain his positions. This would show that neither the Venetians nor the French are so strong in numbers as they profess to be. The English ambassador who resides here says that instead of the 10,000 Germans whom his King has engaged to furnish, and who cannot be ready as soon as they are wanted, he has ordered as many Italians to be recruited, the command of whom is to be given to his brother, Cavaliere Casal, under the title of Commissary General.

(*Common writing* :) It is rumoured here that the Germans who were at El Bosque (Boscho), in all about 600 men, have taken service with Lautrech.

Has not heard from Leyva for some time. They say here that he is fortifying Milan.

(*Cipher* :) No news either from our army. The rumour is that it is still encamped where it was, and not likely to move for some time. At least such is the common report among the enemies. They had lately kept a more vigilant eye (*apretado*) upon the Pope and the cardinals.

From Lautrec's camp the news is also rather vague. Some say that he has made up his mind to attack Alessandria, having lately received a reinforcement of 6,000 Gascons; others assert that he has decided to go to Tuscany.

It is also rumoured that the Doge of Genoa has capitulated and opened the gates of the "Castelletto" to the French, on what conditions he (Sanchez) has not heard.

(*Cipher* :) Had written so far two days ago, but has had no opportunity to send his letter. Has been told, though he does not vouch for the truth, that this Signory has issued

1527.

orders for the fleet to go to the Sicilian coast, and capture all vessels laden with wheat. Has also heard on very good authority that the French ambassador (Bishop of Bayeux?) has tried, in his master's name, to induce these cardinals, Trana and Elliejo, to repair to Abiñon (Avignon), promising them each 3,000 cr., and making them other brilliant offers if they will undertake the journey. It is added that Cardinal Cortonna is strongly soliciting them to go, but that they will not.

(*Common writing*.) Count Guido Rangone has departed for Lautrec's camp to take the command of 60 lances. He is to receive 10,000 francs monthly stipend, besides the order of St. Michael. Count Gayaço (Gaiazzo) is still here. Believes he will go soon, as the Signory is about to give him the command of 150 horse and 1,000 foot, with a stipend of 1,000 ducats [per month].

The Signory is making fresh levies to fill up the number of 7,000 one way, and 15,000 the other, which is their allotted contingent in this war, besides 26,000 ducats monthly for the stipend of certain Switzers.

The King of Bohemia has made a most prosperous campaign, After taking possession of several important towns and fortresses, such as Strigonia and others, he was preparing to march further into the heart of the country. Buda, Pest, and other large cities of Hungary had sent in their allegiance, and His Highness was continuing his triumphant march through Hungary.—Venice, 30th August 1527.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. Venice. Alonso Sanchez. 30th of August."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

31 Aug. 176. The EMPEROR to the CARDINAL OF YORK.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof- u. StaatsArch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 28.

Has heard from his ambassador, Messire Nicolas Perrenot [de Granvelle], now with him,* what kind overtures the Cardinal has made him. This is indeed a further proof of the Cardinal's friendship and attachment to the Emperor, but no new thing to him, as he (the Emperor) has long known and experienced the same. His only wish is to be able in some way to recognize his services publicly, and show that he is not an ungrateful prince, but would have all the world

* "J'ai sçeu les bons propos qu' a mon ambassadeur Nicolas Perrenot qu' est maintenant *devers vous* avez tenuz." The Cardinal was still in France. An abstract of this letter has been published by Brewer, p. 1542.

1527.

know how much he esteems and loves him, what confidence he places in his words and acts, and how pre-eminently willing he would be to render him good offices.

Has written very fully to his ambassador,* whom the Cardinal will find as good and honest a person as can be. Begs credence for him as for himself, and requests the Cardinal not to be chary of his news and good advice, but continue them as heretofore. Should there be anything in his dominions which the Cardinal wishes to possess, he has only to name it, and the Emperor will be glad to grant it to him, as he considers him the best friend he has in this world. Prays God to grant him all his desires.—Written at Palencia, on the last day of August (1527).

Addressed: "To the Legate [of England], my good friend."

French. Minute. p. 1.

31 Aug. 177. DON MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING OF HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 183, vº.

His Imperial Majesty left for Palencia on the 23rd ultimo, owing to the plague having broken out at this place (Valladolid), and many people dying in consequence. That very day the ambassadors of England and France waited upon the Emperor, and assured him in the name of their respective masters that the Duchy of Milan might be given to whomsoever His Imperial Majesty chose, without any opposition on their part; so that the above declaration removes the greatest obstacle to His Highness' nomination, since the Kings of England and France no longer object to it.

Cardinal Wolsey is still in France, negotiating a peace. He writes to say that he hopes to be successful, and suggests that an ambassador should be sent to represent the Emperor at the conferences. Mons. de Laxao (La Chaulx) has been selected for that purpose, conjointly with the Imperial ambassador [in France]. Both are to have minute instructions and full powers to treat, so that every hope is entertained of a speedy settlement of all difficulties. For this reason and others that might be pointed out, it is advisable that His Highness should strive to put an end to the Hungarian business, so as to be quite at liberty to attend to Italian affairs, bearing, however, in mind that no substantial help is to be expected from the Emperor just now, since his treasury is completely exhausted.—Palencia, 31st of August 1527.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

* This can hardly be Don Iñigo, but Perrenot, who, as appears from a former letter (No. 176), was sent to the Cardinal in France.

1527.

31 Aug. 178. COUNT BURRELLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 31,
f. 153.

Has written by Knight Commander Figueroa to acquaint the Emperor how Count Gayaza's (*sic*) estate having been confiscated and put up for sale, he (Burrello) has become the owner of it by paying into the Imperial treasury the sum of 27,000 ducats. Has instructed the secretary of the Viceroy of Sicily, his father,* now residing at the Imperial Court, to solicit for him the confirmation and approval of the said sale.—Gaeta, the last day of August 1527.

Signed: "El Conde Burrello."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ Cesareæ et Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From the Count of Burrello. The last day of August 1527."

Spanish. Original. pp. 1½.

1 Sept. 179. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 305.

Wrote on the 16th inst. by way of Gaeta. All here are very anxious to hear from His Imperial Majesty, especially the Pope, who wishes to know as soon as possible what his destination and that of the cardinals is to be. As the last brigantine from Spain brought no despatches for us, His Holiness, on the 28th ulto., sent one of his own chamberlains to Genoa, to obtain news, if possible. His return is anxiously expected. Meanwhile the Germans are urging the Pope's removal from Rome, but they demand first from the Viceroy security for the payment of the 250,000 ducats, and also of the remainder of the 150,000, which they and the Spaniards were to receive here, and have not yet been paid in full. This is entirely owing to the merchants who contracted having failed in their engagements, from the two following reasons. The first because the 20,000 which the Viceroy offered to advance on Benevento (*sobre Benavente*) are not forthcoming, and the second because the country is so exhausted and ruined, and so cruelly ravaged by the plague, that no one merchant can be found to be answerable for another, &c.

(*Cipher* :) Alarcon told him (Perez) the other day that the Pope was talking of going to Spain in person, but he (Alarcon) does not believe that he will undertake the journey, principally for want of money to defray the expenses.

(*Common writing* :) The deputies (*electos*) of the Germans and Spaniards have unanimously agreed that the appointment of Cardinal Farnese as Legate ought to be revoked, and that the Datary, who is also Bishop of Verona, should go in his stead, accompanied by the Archbishop of Capua and by Don Ugo. The Viceroy, accordingly, has been written to for

* Hector Pignatello, Duke of Monteleone, was at this time viceroy of Sicily. Count Burrello was his son.

1527.

a permission for the said Datary to proceed on his mission, and go first to the kingdom of Naples. It is expected that he will send it soon. (*Cipher* :) The Pope affects regret at this revocation of his Legate, principally because he wishes to please Farnese and the rest of the cardinals, but secretly he is rejoiced at it.

(*Cipher* :) Letters from Venice of the 25th and 28th give as certain the speedy arrival of Lautrec at the head of 800 lances and 30,000 men, of whom 12,000 are Swiss. One half of the whole force to be paid by the King of England.

Governor of Milan, &c.

(*Common writing* :) Venetians are arming a number of galleys to capture any ships laden with wheat coming from Sicily.

The Bolognese are trying to establish a republic. The other day they refused Count Guido Rangone and Count Gayaço a passage through their territory.

The confederates the other day passed muster of their army, when it was found that in Lombardy alone, without counting the detachments they have about here, they number 9,000 infantry. It is rumoured that the Duke Francesco Sforza intends coming out (*salir*) and laying waste the corn (*á talar los panes*); but Antonio de Leyva is on the alert, and will not allow him to do mischief.

A conspiracy, they say, has been discovered at Sienna. Some of the citizens, among them 24 members of the Government, were in treaty with the army of the League and the Florentines for them to send a force, when one of the city gates would be delivered to them by the conspirators. This treasonable plot being discovered, the alarm was sounded, and some of the criminals, some say eight, others fourteen, were massacred by the mob. The remainder took flight, and among them a very rich citizen, whose fortune, which has since been confiscated, amounted to 150,000 ducats. It appears that the conspirators, in order the better to ensure success, had dexterously circulated through the city the rumour that the Imperial army was soon to go to Sienna, and sack that place as they did Rome.

The Germans have made up their mind to allow the Pope to leave Rome, but on no account is he to go to Gaeta. What the reason may be for this determination, he (Perez) cannot guess, or where they want him to go, for certainly the plague is making ravages in almost every district of the kingdom of Naples.

Encloses for Secretary [Alfonso] de Valdés the brief commanding the Archbishop of Seville (Manrique) to impose silence, under pain of excommunication, on those who may speak or write against Erasmus, and his refutation of the Lutheran doctrines.

The tribute of Naples was not given to the Pope on St.

1527.

James' day, as arranged. The ceremony is to be put off until the 15th of August.*

There is a belief here that in the last brigantine which came to Genoa some personage arrived, sent by the Emperor. His informer tells him that on the day of its arrival great rejoicings took place at Genoa, and salvos of artillery were fired, and that on the 13th the Doge (Antoniotto Adorno) and his Grand Chancellor held a conference on board with the said personage, which lasted till the afternoon, and that he is expected at Rome from hour to hour. Some even go as far as to say that the said personage is no other than the Emperor's High Chancellor [Mercurino de Gattinara].

The Prince of Orange, they say, is gone to Sienna, there to wait for the Emperor's instructions and orders. He has quite recovered from his wound.

The Marquis and Bishop of Astorga are still at Civittà Vecchia, and write to say that within this very week they intend coming to Rome and kissing His Holiness' feet, and then going back to embark for Spain, after calling on the Viceroy. Commander Mayorga has assured him on his oath that his object in coming is not to solicit the Pope about his marriage, as he no longer thinks about it, but merely to present his dutiful respects to him. Should he act differently, the Pope knows what the Emperor's wishes are on this particular.—Rome, 1st September 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacmæ. Cæsaræ. Majti."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins. pp. 5.

1 Sept. 180. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 184.

After the despatch of the 31st of August was closed a courier arrived from Genoa. Chancellor Gattinara has landed at Barcelona, and writes that he will soon reappear at Court. It is reported that the cause of his speedy return is the one mentioned in his (Gattinara's) last letter. When he landed at Genoa he found it impossible to proceed on his journey, owing to the French having occupied all the passes in Piedmont. Then the enemy invested Genoa with 24 of their galleys, and the Chancellor not considering himself secure within the place, determined to risk another sea voyage and return to Spain. There is much gossiping at court about this sudden resolution of the Chancellor, as well as the reception he is likely to meet with. Some courtiers imagine that he will never again enjoy the Emperor's favour, and all condemn his versatile humour, &c. He (Salinas) is of the same opinion. If he returns to office he is sure to follow his old practices,

* September must be meant, not August, since the letter is dated the 1st of that month.

1527.

but he has lost so much of his credit with the Emperor that he will not be able to do much harm. This notwithstanding, we would rather have him at a distance than here at Court.
—Palencia, 1st September 1527.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

1 Sept.

181.

ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM to MERCURINO DI GATTINARA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. de E. y otras,
f. 11.

Predicts greater tumults and disturbances after the suppression of the Lutheran heresy [than before]; they will be raised by the partisans of discord and enemies of learning.*—Basilea (Basle), 1st September, anno 1527.

*Latin. Holograph.**

2 Sept.

182.

COUNT BURRELLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 165.

The Imperial despatch of the 1st of July has come to hand. Is very thankful for the expressions of approval of his services therein contained.

As the Viceroy (Lannoy) must have fully informed the Emperor of the measures he is taking for the preservation of this kingdom, as well as of his negotiations with the Pope, the loss of Genoa, the maritime preparations of the confederates, and even of those of the Turks, the imminent danger of Milan, and the refusal of the Duke of Ferrara to accept the appointment with which the Emperor has been pleased to honour him, the Count need not enter into more particulars.

Has forwarded to his father, the Viceroy [of Sicily], the despatch that came for him. He is sure to be on the alert, and make every preparation to meet the enemy should they attempt to land on the coast.—Gaeta, 2nd September 1527.

Signed: "El Conde de Burrello."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ Cesareæ et Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From Count Burrello. 2nd September."

Spanish. Original. pp. 1½.

2 Sept.

183.

NEWS-LETTER from HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41.
f. 99.

The Vayvod is flying towards Tockay with scarcely one thousand of his followers left, without hope of assistance from any quarter, for the Turk, who he says is always ready to help him, cannot do it now, being engaged in war with the Sophi of Persia, who has defeated him in several encounters and slain

* First volume of his *Hyperaspistes, seu Diatribæ adversus Lutherum*, Basle, 1527, 8°.

1527.

some of his best captains. That is the reason why he has taken up the artillery he had at "Peterwardein et Flack" (*sic*).

The Lord of Moldavia behaves friendly towards His Royal Majesty. The Valachian (Valachus), he writes, will not come to the assistance of Count Joan [Zapolsky?]. His Majesty, however, is sending Nicolas de Salm, the elder, with all the light horse and a considerable body of infantry, cavalry, and very fine artillery (*cum egregia artilleria*) in the direction of Tockay, to follow up the Vayvod. The rest of the royal army is here. The Diet is announced for St. Michael's day.—Buda, 2nd September 1527.

Latin Contemporary copy. p. 1.

2 Sept. 184. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 99.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 333.

Wrote on the 18th by a messenger of the Marquis del Guasto, and enclosed a letter from Alarcon, reporting on general affairs up to that day. Since then the Germans have sent here about 100 horsemen of their nation, threatening that unless they were paid within six days they would all desert the Imperial banners, and take service with the enemy, as they were indignant that no notice whatever was taken of their claims, and nobody came near them to speak in the Emperor's name. Seeing their determination, the Marquis [Hernando de Alarcon]* decided to repair to their camp, having first applied for a safe-conduct to go and return at will. The deputation departed, and the safe-conduct was granted in due form for the whole of August. Meanwhile Alarcon wrote to Lannoy informing him of the German claims, and asking for money, or else for sufficient powers to make a settlement and fix the dates of payment. The Viceroy authorised him to promise in his name that they should be paid within three months, out of the 250,000 ducats which the Pope is to give; that he would send 10,000 ducats in specie to issue one half pay, and that the remaining half would be issued 30 days after date. With this assurance, and the sum of 25,000 ducats in cash, as complement of the 100,000 promised on a former occasion, the Marquis left Sanct Angelo on the 28th ulto., and took the road to the German camp with strong hopes of persuading them to march on Lombardy. As to the Spaniards he has no doubt that they will, because they have already received the whole of the 50,000 ducats, their allotted share. The Marquis has not yet returned from the camp. If he does before closing this letter, he (Perez) will not fail to inform His Imperial Majesty of the result of the negotiation.

The threat of these Germans to go and serve another Lord makes us suspect that they may possibly be in treaty with the French and the rest of the confederates, the more so that when the last deputation came to Rome, some of its members were

* Alarcon had by this time been created "Marquis de la Val Siciliana."

1527.

heard to say that unless they were immediately paid all arrears up to the present day they would come to Rome, seize the Pope and the cardinals, and take them away wherever they went. Some of the Germans went so far as to say that they would set fire to this city. This last threat, however, they could not execute if they wished, for it is not likely that the Spaniards would consent to it, nor would Alarcon easily surrender to them the Pope's person, unless the whole of the Imperial army, Germans as well as Spaniards and Italians, were perfectly agreed on that point, which is not likely to be the case.

Juan Antonio Muxetula, after holding several conferences with His Holiness in the presence of Alarcon, left for Naples the other day and has not yet returned (*cipher* :) with the Viceroy's answer. It would appear that he (the Pope) is unwilling to take engagements as to the payment of the 250,000 ducats, unless negotiations about his own liberation commence at the same time. Should his wish be complied with, he offers to give as security all the fortresses that remain in his hands (*todas las fortalezas que toviere*) and several rich people as hostages. He will besides create cardinals at the Emperor's pleasure, and bind himself to pay 200,000 ducats at a month's date. Such is the nature of the message taken by the said Joan Antonio [Muxetula]. No one knows what the Viceroy's answer will be, but no decisive step can possibly be taken until an arrangement be made with these Germans. Apparently His Holiness is very much afraid of their taking him out of Rome. Others think that he would be rather glad of such violence being executed on his person, as it would necessarily result in discredit and shame to His Imperial Majesty. Some even believe that the Germans and he understand each other on that score.

(*Common writing* :) Some days ago one of the Prince of Orange's retainers, named Captain Antonio [de Udena], came here. He had first been to Ferrara on a message from his master to the Duke, and brings letters from the latter for the Marquis del Guasto and Alarcon. (*Cipher* :)* He says in substance that if the Imperial army does not immediately march on Lombardy, he (the Duke) will act as best suits his own personal interests ; if, on the contrary, the army moves on, he is ready to help and assist to the utmost of his power. In neither case, however, does he intend accepting the appointment of commander-in-chief of the forces, as he thinks that he can better serve the Imperial cause elsewhere.

On the receipt of this message the Marquis and Alarcon wrote to the Duke, informing him at length of the causes which had hitherto prevented the march of the army, and

* There must be here a mistake of the clerk who deciphered this letter, for on the margin of a summary of the same letter and others, to be submitted to the High Chancellor's inspection, I find the following note in Gattinara's hand : "It might be that the *Marquis of Mantua*, before protesting, had already made up his mind to join the League ; but it is prudent to dissemble," A. 41, f. 372.

1527.

giving hopes that in a few days they would set out for Lombardy. To the Prince of Orange, who is still at Sienna, another letter was written, requesting him to hold himself in readiness to join the army on its passage through that city. Whether he will attend or not to the wish of these captains (Guasto and Alarcon) is more than the Secretary can say, for people suspect he (the Pope) is secretly inducing his Germans to make the preposterous demand of having the Pope and the cardinals delivered to them. Captain Antonio was the bearer of both letters to the Duke and to the Prince.

(*Common writing* :) Has already announced in former despatches that, on the demise of the Archbishop of Cosencia and of the Bishop of Huesca, the Pope had appointed to the vacant sees Cardinals Gaddi and Campeggio, and also conferred the vacant abbacy of Monte Aragon on Cardinal Cesarino, notwithstanding the Emperor's presentation of Don Pedro de Urrias.

The Marquis and Bishop of Astorga were to have come here, had not the former caught the ague. Hears that the bulls of the Marquis have been granted in the form described in his (Perez's) despatch of the 18th ult.

Hears that in the last conference which Alarcon and Muxetula held with His Holiness respecting his liberation, perceiving that both pressed him to give proper security for the 250,000 ducats which he has promised to pay, he (the Pope) exclaimed with tears in his eyes, "For God's sake do not oblige me to do a thing that may be known throughout the world, and remain for ever engraved in the memory of man. Such is my misfortune and my poverty that the three barefooted friars who are with me could not get their daily food unless they borrowed money from charitable persons. I leave it to you and to your conscience whether such a treatment is worthy of an Emperor."*

Believes that Alarcon has forwarded the copy of a bull which His Holiness has newly issued, prescribing the form and manner of election in case he (the Pope) should die; the substance of it is that the cardinals are to meet at Bologna, Mantua, or Ancona, to elect the new Pope. Should Clement VII. die out of Italy, the election to take place at Rome. In short those who have seen the original bull find that there is nothing in it detrimental to the Emperor, or to any one else; but they say that in the event of the Pope not recovering his liberty, another bull is in store, excommunicating all those who keep him in confinement, and placing the whole of Christendom under interdict.

With regard to the annual tribute (*censo*) of the kingdom of Naples matters remain as they were. His Holiness has just prorogued the term until the 20th inst., and the Viceroy accordingly has undertaken to pay into the hands of his agents

* "Una cosa que suene y quede por memoria para siempre. Harta desgracia tengo que para tres descalzos, que me quedan, no alcanzaria de comer para ellos, sino gelo prestasen de limosna."

1527.

(*hazedores*) 14,000 ducats, which is the amount due for two years. There is no difficulty about this, but the Pope wants 1,000 more for the white steed (*hacanea*), and the Viceroy will only grant them on condition of their being discounted from the sums which are owing to us; whereas His Holiness asks for ready money, on the plea that he needs it for his daily maintenance.

Knight Commander Aguilera died on the 18th.

On Sunday, the 1st inst., the Marquis del Guasto, who had gone to the German camp to treat with the mutineers, returned. He found them determined to be paid in full. If so, they were ready to go wherever they were told. If not paid, they would take service with another master. So obstinate were they on this point, that the Marquis, after a good deal of persuasion, could only obtain from them the promise of waiting where they were one week more. The Marquis on his return to Rome found 10,000 ducats just arrived from Gaeta, they were immediately forwarded to the German camp. In addition to this a messenger was at once despatched to the Viceroy, informing him of the state of affairs, and begging him to procure at least 30,000 more for two payments, as the Marquis believes that with these two and the remainder that is owing to them out of the 100,000 ducats they will be satisfied and obey orders, (*cipher* :) though he suspects that the Germans have entered into an agreement with the League to desert the Imperial banners on a given day, unless speedily paid their arrears.

(*Common writing* :) Hears whilst writing the above that the Marquis has left for Gaeta to hold a conference with the Viceroy, acquaint him with the state of things, and beg he will come to Rome to settle pending affairs, and assume the command of the Imperial army, (*cipher* :) as otherwise everything is lost. News has come that the French army is coming this way, and that their fleet is also to join the Venetian. It might after all be preferable that the confederates come from Lombardy than that our troops go that way, for surely if the Imperialists meet them on the road, they can easily cut off their supplies of provisions through a country already much exhausted by war.—Rome 2nd September 1527.

Signed "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ Cesareæ et Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. From Secretary Perez. 12th September.

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4½.

3 Sept. 185. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 167.

The Doge and he (Soria) are on their way to La Mirandola. Thence he (Soria) intends joining the Imperial army, which according to a letter received from the Prince of Orange,

1527.

dated Sienna, the 22nd ult., must already be on its way to Lombardy.

Recommends Agostino Espindola, late governor of Genoa, and his brother Stefano Espindola del Borgo, who did their duty well on a late occasion.—Santo Stefano, 3rd September 1527.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. From Santo Estefano. Lope de Soria. 3rd September."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

3 Sept. 186.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 171.

ANTONIO DE LEYVA to the LORD OF MONACO [AGOSTINO GRIMALDO].

Will not record the loss of Genoa, as the news must already have reached him. It was mostly the Doge's fault. He (Leyva) still holds Alessandria, Pavia, Milan, and Como, every one of which cities, as well as the castles of Lecco, Trezzo, and Pizaighitone in Lombardy, he can without doubt successfully defend against the enemy. The French are still encamped in front of Alessandria, but hitherto have not attacked it. Should they make an attempt, they are sure to be defeated, as Count Lodrone is inside and succours of men and supplies have reached that place in spite of the enemy. Pavia is well defended by a competent garrison of Spaniards, and Milan has been strengthened in such a way that were all France to come down they could not take it. The Imperial army is daily expected from Rome. Letters of the Duke of Ferrara and of Captain Zorzo,* of the 27th ulto., announce that the Viceroy, the Marquis del Guasto, and Don Ugo de Moncada had held a council, in which it had been resolved immediately to march this way.

The enclosed† despatches for the Emperor are to be forwarded to Barcelona as soon as possible. Begs that a vessel be fitted out without any loss of time, and that any letters coming for him should be sent forthwith.—Milan, 3rd September 1527.

Indorsed: "Copy of letter from Antonio de Leyva to the Lord of Monago."

4 Sept. 187. The SAME to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 172.

B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 338.

His last was dated the 7th ulto.‡ Since then, on the 29th, Mons. de Lautrech approached a fortress called Castellazzo, in the territory of Alessandria, where Count Baptista Lodron had posted two companies of his Germans to escort

* Most probably Giorgio Fruntsperg, for Giorgio pronounced in the Venetian fashion is easily turned into *Zorzo*.

† See the following letter of Leyva to the Emperor.

‡ This despatch of the 7th is neither in the Academy's volumes nor at Simancas; it was probably intercepted. His of the 4th is at p. 316, No. 147.

1527.

certain supplies destined for that city, and without which the Imperial garrison could not subsist. The two companies had orders to retreat to Alessandria as soon as the enemy came in sight. They would have had plenty of time for this, had not one of their captains, Bultistan? by name, who being, as has since been ascertained, on bad terms with another captain of his nation, named Maximiano, then at Alessandria, preferred taking another route, and retreating to a small village called El Bosque (Il Boscho), which, though it appeared to him strong, was not so in reality. Lautrech came up and besieged the place for 18 consecutive days, during which he made various assaults, opened mines, &c., until at last the Germans, for want of water, were obliged to surrender on condition of their being allowed to go home. Some Italian and Spanish horsemen who were with them were despoiled of everything they had, and suffered to return to Alessandria. The Germans, however, were prevented from taking any other route than that of France, and the consequence has been that, as I have been told, most of the men, from fear of the country people (*villanos*), have taken service with the French, (*cipher* :) though I firmly believe that the very moment Lautrech's army comes in sight all will desert him and come over to us. One of the German captains, named Duy?, a bastard brother of the Duke of Bavaria, has, however, remained with the French (*ha quedado con ellos*).

Before Lautrech's arrival I had often written to the Doge of Genoa, warning him of the approaching danger, and requesting him to raise levies and prepare for war. I do not know the reason, but the fact is that there was then and has been since at Genoa, much indolence in this respect. Meanwhile the confederates advanced; Lautrech took Il Boscho; Swiss and Grisons came nearer to us by crossing the Brianzo pass, whilst the Venetians took up positions at Marignano. In this extremity there was nothing left for me but to retreat to Milan, whence I made the successful sally about which I wrote to His Imperial Majesty the other day. Indeed (*cipher* :) this victory came so opportunely that we have been able ever since to maintain ourselves, notwithstanding our want of money, provisions, ammunition or stores of any kind.

(*Common writing* :) It pleased God that in consequence of that attack which, as I have stated above, obliged the confederates to abandon their strong positions, provisions have come in more regularly, but still finding that we were surrounded on every side by the enemy, (*cipher* :) I sent by Captain Rivadeneyra several messages to the Emperor's High Chancellor, and to the ambassador Lope de Soria, requesting them to procure me money for the pay of these troops, promising, if they did, to defend Alessandria, Milan, Pavia, and Como successfully, and even to detach, if required, one thousand men of my small army to the assistance of Genoa.

1527.

No prayers or exertions of mine have sufficed to convince the Imperial ambassador of the necessity of providing me with funds, and yet he and the Doge willingly availed themselves of my offer, and asked for 500 Spaniards and 1,000 Italians to reinforce the garrison of Genoa. My answer was (*cipher* :) that of the former I had but a small number with me, and those I wanted for the defence of Milan and Pavia; but that I would detach the Italians as far as the river Pò, provided the Doge advanced them one half pay on their arrival. This, however, the Doge and ambassador refused to do, and consequently the reinforcements did not reach Genoa in time; not that I think that if they had they could have prevented the fall of that city, closely invested, as it was, by sea and land, and having also inside a powerful party in the French interest.

(*Common writing* :) Thus Genoa was lost on Sunday, the 18th of August, as the Imperial ambassador has no doubt had occasion to write. The Doge withdrew to the castle (*castelletto*), where he still holds out; but the galleys in port were all seized by the enemy. This is an important loss, for Genoa itself can soon be retaken if the army that is coming from Rome is faithful, whereas if the confederates become masters of the sea they may easily stop our communications with Naples and Spain.

After taking Boscho, Lautrech advanced as far as Alessandria, and pitched his tents two miles from that city, in order to cut off the supplies, &c. Immediately sent thither Count Lodovico di Belgioioso and his brother Count Alberico with orders to reinforce the garrison of Alessandria, and introduce a supply of provisions and ammunition. The undertaking was rather a dangerous one, for the two brothers, after passing the Pò, had to march nearly 15 miles, almost in sight of the French camp. Count Alberico, however, after crossing the river, succeeded in entering Alessandria with five companies of Italian infantry, whilst his brother Lodovico with seven more feigned to cross it 10 miles lower down. Lautrech coming up with the whole of his forces to prevent the crossing, Count Alberico managed to enter Alessandria, and his brother, perceiving by signals from the place that the undertaking had succeeded, effected his retreat, and thus outmanœuvred the enemy (*le dejó plantado*). Alessandria has nothing to fear for the present.

About this time Lautrech sent 1,000 men to the Novarese and Lomelina to prevent any supplies coming [to Milan]; but I sent against them Count Filippo Torniello, who with 500 foot and 100 cavalry gallantly met the enemy, defeated him with great loss in killed and prisoners, took three banners, and cleared that district up to Milan. The small number of the enemy who escaped were so frightened that it is not likely that they will come this way again.

1527.

Lautrech is still in the territory of Alessandria. He has commenced throwing a bridge over the Po, some say with the intention of visiting us in Milan, (*cipher* :) others of going forwards and meeting the Imperial army that is to come from Rome, but most likely with a view to keep his eye on Alessandria. Whatever his plans may be, I can assure His Majesty that we shall do our utmost to defend this Duchy and the whole of Lombardy, (*cipher* :) though I must not conceal the truth : the principal elements of defence are wanting ; the cities and towns of this Duchy are so exhausted that no help is to be expected from them, and certainly it has been a sort of miracle to have been able to provision them hitherto. As it is, if the Italians do not fail us, I hope to God that we shall make a stout defence and give time for the army from Rome to come to our assistance. Though I have often written through the Duke of Ferrara and despatched messengers of my own to the Imperial generals in that locality, I am sorry to say that I have been unable to ascertain whether the Imperial army is coming or not. The last news I have is contained in a letter of the 16th inst., in which the Duke tells me of the arrival at his court of one Antonio de Udena (Udine), a retainer of the Prince of Orange, coming from Sienna. On the day that he left that city the Imperial army had not arrived. The Duke sent back the messenger the same day with pressing letters to the Prince and the rest of the Imperial commanders, urging them to come on. Nothing is omitted by George [Fruntsperg], who is still at Ferrara, or by any of us to procure the advance of the Imperial forces. Should they come soon His Imperial Majesty must be certain that we shall speedily rid ourselves of the enemy, because they will be obliged either to accept battle, or to evacuate the whole of Italy, for there is no district or town where they can maintain themselves, having made no conquest of any importance since the commencement of this war.

(*Cipher* :) Long before the French army had crossed the Alps the Duke of Savoy had let no opportunity pass of doing us all the harm he could, despoiling (*desvalijando*) our men-at-arms quartered in the district of Novara, robbing the wheat that was coming to Milan, and making all manner of war-like demonstrations. I have borne all this with patience, out of regard for the Infanta* his wife, whom I know to be ashamed of the Duke's behaviour, and also because I was in hope that a stop would soon be put to such evils, and satisfaction given, &c. But since the French have arrived in Italy his partiality has become more manifest, and his effrontery increased. I consider myself in duty bound to inform His Imperial Majesty of this, that proper measures may be taken, and I myself instructed how to deal with him

* Beatrix, the Emperor's cousin.

1527.

in future, for really there is no standing the injuries daily inflicted upon us from his estates.

I have often written to the Doge of Genoa, requesting him to hold out as long as he can, as we shall soon go to his help. I know not what he will do, but certainly the citadel is strong and capable of a long defence. (*Cipher* :) The ambassador (Lope de Soria) has, I hear, gone to Montegio, in the Flisco (Fiesco) estate, with about 300 Spaniards. I have sent for them, for I greatly want their services, and written to Soria to come also. I wonder whether the latter will come.

Lautrech's army is said to muster 5,000 Switzers, 300 Germans (*tudescos*), and as many Frenchmen, besides 4,000 Italians and 500 lances, with 25 pieces of ordnance, 12 big ones for siege operations, and 13 more for the field.

Writes in commendation of the two Counts of Belgioioso (Lodovico and Alberico), of Count Filipo Torniello, of Galeazzo di Virago, and of his son Cavalier Virago, who with his company of 100 horse was the first to enter Alessandria, of Bartholomeo de' Mazii, and his brother Lodovico, Hieronimo di Castione, president of the [Milanese] senate, Antonio Rabia, Luigi di Galarata, Lodovico di Corte, residing at Milan, all of whom have behaved extremely well on all occasions, and have hitherto resisted the solicitations and tempting offers of the confederates to desert the Imperial cause.

I have only received from Soria up to this day 51,000 cr., and yet His Imperial Majesty may believe me when I say that since I took the command no less than 160,000 have been spent for the support of this small force, which amounts only to 6,000, Germans and Spaniards together. The expenditure can be satisfactorily proved by the accounts, which shall go by next post,* as well as the sources whence the money has been drawn, for the soldiers have been obliged all this time to pay for everything they had, as otherwise it would have been impossible to provision the towns threatened by the enemy. (*Cipher* :) With all this, if the Italians remain faithful (*no me faltan*), I feel confident that we shall be able to defend the Duchy.

(*Common writing* :) To-day, the 3rd of September, the news is that the enemy intends laying siege to Alessandria. If so, it is to be hoped that they will be stoutly resisted.

Letters have come from the Duke of Ferrara of the 27th ult^o, advising that the Imperial army was still at Narni, close to Rome; that the Viceroy (Lannoy) had arrived, and that there was a question whether it would be convenient to restore the Pope to liberty. All the Imperial captains had assembled to deliberate thereupon. The Duke in his letter

* At folio 263 of the volume A 41 is a certificate, signed by Agaccio Burtino, scriuano de' Racione at Milan, attesting that from the 26th of February till the 12th October 1527, inclusive, no less than 130,898 ducats had been spent on the Imperial army.

1527.

showed much concern about this, saying that on no account was the Pope to be liberated, as it would be highly detrimental to the Imperial interests. Would to God the Duke showed his zeal in action as in speech! (*"Plega á Dios que lo haga con este zelo que dize"*). He says further in his letter that Lautrech had sent one of his gentlemen to him to make great offers if he would desert the Emperor's cause, and take up that of the King, his master, and that his answer had been that his engagements with the Emperor were of such a nature that he could not betray him. (*Cipher* :) Indeed he tells me that he has hitherto resisted all temptations.

No one can tell what he may do hereafter. My impression and that of Prothonotary Caracciolo is that he will ultimately join the League. His Imperial Majesty ought to know the truth. The whole force under my command only musters 6,000 men, counting the garrison of this castle of Milan, and others in the Duchy.

With this force I must needs look to the defence of Alessandria, Pavia, Lecco, Trezzo, Piciguiton (Pizzighitone), the castles of Novara, Vigevano, &c. Hitherto we have not lost one, and I trust to God we shall not in future, and if the Imperial army from Rome does but come the war will soon be at an end.

This letter goes by way of Monego (Monaco), directed to the Lord Bishop (Grimaldo). The answer might be sent through him as the surest way under present circumstances.

The enemy gives out that the citadel of Genoa surrendered [on the 20th of August], and that the Doge has capitulated. I have no official advices.

In consequence of the Abbot of Najera's death, I beg leave to recommend Bartolomeo de' Mazii for the post of paymaster-general of this Imperial army. He is already filling that office ad interim, and has hitherto done good service.—Milan, 4th of September 1527.

Signed : "Antonio de Leyva."

Addressed : "To the Sacred, Catholic, and Imperial Majesty."

Indorsed : "To His Majesty. From Anthonio de Leyva. 4th of September."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Partial contemporary deciphering between the lines and on separate sheet.

5 Sept. 188. NEWS-LETTERS from HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 99.

On the 2nd instant, 38 "Hastarenses," a class of people wonderfully apt for sea-fights, arrived at Buda.

Dom. Georgius ab Puestain, with 500 cavalry, heavy and light, occupied "locum Stainam anger (*sic*) vulgò dictum," which is very strongly fortified.

1527.

"Cacianus Capitaneus," with his Bohemian light horse and his infantry, is doing good work; after taking possession of many castles and towns, he is now directing his forces against the patrimonial estates of the Vayvod (*ad occupandum Vayvodæ paterna bona*), who at the present moment has not 1,000 men with him.—Buda, 5th September 1527.

Indorsed: "Ex litteris domini Leonardi ab Vels. (Velzer?), Bude, 3 et 5 Septembris."

Latin. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

6 Sept. 189. DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 30.

Received on the 2nd inst. the Emperor's letter of the 22nd of July.* Is glad to hear that all his despatches have reached their destination. The Imperial letter of the 30th May never reached him (Mendoça), that being the reason why he has not answered it. Among those brought by Captain Habart (*sic*) and by Longueval there was none of that date.

Another letter has been since brought by the Englishman, who came by land, and the duplicate of it by the servant of the King of Bohemia, in the "zabra," so that none appear to have been lost. Has duly answered all of them, and also the two last of the 22nd and 29th ulto., to which he immediately replied, through the Imperial ambassador in France (Perrenot?), but as his answer, which was rather concise, went by land, and the present messenger—a very trusty one—goes by sea, he (Mendoça) will take this opportunity of reproducing part of his former despatch.

As soon as the Imperial letter of the 22nd July was received, the ambassador repaired to Niu hail (Newhall, in Essex), where the King then was, and on being admitted to his presence, told him that the Bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) had declared in Spain the conditions of the French King, but that they were of such nature that they could not possibly be entertained. The Emperor could not fail to observe that one of two things must have happened; either the French ambassadors, whilst in London, had not stated the truth, or else, on their return to France, the conditions had been entirely changed, for it was not credible that when such friendship and alliance still existed between the King of England and himself, the former should have sanctioned the terms lately offered by the French. The Emperor also remarked how little the King of France had done for the King of England on this occasion, for he now made much lower offers than before. He had almost made up his mind to dismiss the French ambassadors from his Court, without entertaining their proposals; yet seeing how very desirous the King of England was of opening the way for conciliation, and being himself equally anxious

* The minute is not in the Imperial Archives.

1527.

for peace, he had decided to wait until better offers should be made. That the English ambassadors might have no doubt as to his real intentions, the Emperor had caused certain memoranda to be drawn up and placed in their hands, showing how much of his own right he was willing to yield out of respect for the King. Having, moreover, learnt from various quarters that the French were boasting publicly of the treaty recently concluded with England, the Emperor had naturally applied for a renewal of the old friendship and confederacy between the two countries [England and Spain]; not that he considered that such bonds could easily be dissolved, but that he might satisfy the cravings and importunities of his own allies and relatives, as well as those of the principal nobility in his dominions, who deemed it but equitable and just that, when an alliance was made between England and his (the Emperor's) enemies, the ancient treaties existing between the houses of Burgundy and Spain on one side, and England on the other, should be renewed and confirmed. By which renewal of the old alliances the King of England might be placed in a better position for concluding the desired peace, being bound to both parties at once, and therefore free from all suspicion of leaning towards either. This proposal the Emperor was induced to make out of consideration for the feelings of others, not because he thought that a renewal of the old alliance was at all needful.

The King having sent for the two Dukes (Norfolk and Suffolk) and the rest of the members of his Council, addressed Mendoza in a way that indicated a stronger feeling of disappointment than he cared to express.

He said that the Emperor had done nothing for him. The terms offered by the Bishop of Tarbes were so fair and advantageous that the Emperor was very ill-advised in rejecting them. He (the King) was weary of complimentary phrases and empty words; he (Mendoza) kept expressing the Emperor's readiness to please him in all matters, and yet the Emperor had done nothing to please him, nor had he shown more consideration for him than for any other Prince.

In reply the ambassador expressed his surprise that the King should not acknowledge the great consideration and regard which the Emperor had manifested for his brother of England at all times, more particularly in these present negotiations. For the King must know that the Viceroy of Naples, the Secretary Comacre (Comacle?), and L'Élu Bayart had all three on separate occasions been commissioned by the King of France to offer the Emperor far better terms than these now proposed by the Bishop of Tarbes. If he (the Emperor) refused to entertain them until reference had been made to the King of England, it was clear that he was willing to waive great part of that right which by all law, human and divine, belonged to him.

The King denied that either the Viceroy or the others had any commission from the King of France to make such offers,

1527.

and that there was no sufficient ground for supposing that such had been the King of France's intention. As to the ambassador's assertion that the Emperor might have made peace had he (the King of France) accepted sooner the terms proposed, the King knew best, for in the matter of the Duchy of Burgundy the Emperor had always persisted in the same declaration which he makes now.

Answered him that the Emperor, in order to convince the King of the justice of his cause, had purposely abandoned part of his right by consenting that the first offers made to the Viceroy should not be taken as basis of the negotiations for peace; therefore it mattered little whether the French acknowledged or repudiated the said offers; it only showed how little those who turned aside from the direct road to peace could really desire to conclude it. That as to the Viceroy and the others not having received any commission from the King of France, he (Mendoza) hardly thought the King of France would deny what he had said to the Viceroy, nor that the others would have been granted a hearing if they had come without power or credentials. That as to the King's statement that in these negotiations the Emperor had only been seeking other ways of settlement, that information must have come from the French, who were trying to insinuate suspicion of all that he was doing for the King of England. Then in the hope of better disposing him (the King) to give a favourable answer about the proposed alliance, as he seemed little satisfied with what had already passed, he (Mendoza) said that he was soon expecting a vessel with despatches, announcing that the French ambassadors had offered more reasonable terms, and that the Emperor had been able to proceed upon them, and that if in what he (the Emperor) had said there should be anything that seemed undesirable to the King, he had only to communicate with the Emperor, who would co-operate with him in any way that was just and honest.

After which, returning to the discussion of the renewal of friendship and alliance between King and Emperor, he (Mendoza) observed that he did not think it advisable that the conference should be public, and therefore requested to speak with the King alone. Upon which, the councillors having withdrawn, the King said at once that there was no occasion for any alliance more binding than that which already existed between the two countries, and had moreover been hardly obtained and badly observed in past years; and thus went on repeating the same arguments which he made when he (Mendoza) first arrived in England. Did not allow the King to proceed with his arguments, as in his opinion they affected but little the present question; said that the King might be satisfied that all needful precaution had been taken to secure the payment of the Emperor's debts, and that the alliance ought to be of the same nature as that which had always subsisted between the King [of England] and the Emperor.

1527.

The King replied that he could no longer ally himself with the Emperor on the same terms as formerly; the treaty lately concluded between the King of France and himself preventing it.

Observed that the Emperor was so bent upon preserving peace with all Christian nations, and giving no cause of offence to any of them, that he would be satisfied if the treaty were concluded only for the mutual defence of their own persons and kingdoms.

The King replied that he did not think he could, without breaking his word, agree even to that, but that since the ambassador was so urgent about the renewal of the English alliance, he (the King) should very much like to know what provision had been made for the payment of the Emperor's debt to him.

... Said this was not the way in which the King's ancestors had dealt with the Emperor's people in old times, when the houses of Spain and Burgundy had been treated with due honour. As to the payment of the sums owed by the Emperor, the King had already been informed that the ambassador had full instructions to offer such securities for their settlement as might satisfy him.

Upon which the King replied that his ancestors had acted very differently. He knew what he was about, and why he was acting as he did. He was altogether weary of delays and fruitless words. If the Emperor really wished to negotiate for peace, let him act and not write. And on *Mendoça* observing that all matters might soon be arranged if both the King and the Emperor were closely allied, as before, the King would give no credit to the assertion, and brought the interview to a close.

From all this it may be inferred that the King holds delay in this alliance as a pledge for the recovery of his money, whatever treaty or articles may be concluded. Were the King once satisfied on this matter of the debt, thinks on the whole that the alliance might possibly be concluded, but is doubtful whether it would be a defensive and offensive one, as he suspects that is forbidden by the new treaty between the two Kings. Were the money within reach of the King, really before his eyes, he might perhaps be induced to change his determination, for he is extremely anxious to recover the amount of his debt.

As regards this renewal of the alliance, if he (*Mendoça*) may venture to give his opinion after so many conferences on the subject, he should recommend no further insistence on that point for the present. And this for two reasons: the first that, judging from the answer given him when he first arrived [in England], he is quite certain that, without being actually sure of his money, the King will conclude no treaty whatever; the second, that he (*Mendoça*) knows for certain, as he has said in former despatches, that in this new treaty with France the obligations are mutual and reciprocal, which

1527.

must needs prevent the King of England from agreeing to the Emperor's demand. Therefore to solicit again this alliance without any probability of success, would be to lessen the Emperor's authority, and show too great a dependence on the King of England, which might render the negotiations still more difficult. As in his last letter, as well as in previous ones, the Emperor desires him (Mendoça) to return to this subject [of the renewal of the alliance], he gives his opinion upon it in obedience to his express commands.

Since his letter of the 16th, sent by the [Imperial] ambassador (Perrenot?) in France, the Queen has written to express her gratitude for what the Emperor is doing for her at Rome. For the present she does not wish him (Mendoça) to speak to the King on the subject, or show his credentials until the Legate's return, as it would perhaps do more harm than good. Thinks that as his letter [to the Legate] will be rather old by the time he returns [from France], it would be advisable to have another of later date. Will for caution's sake abstain from presenting his credentials until receiving the Queen's instructions on the subject. The Queen has been much comforted of late by hearing what he (the Emperor) has done in her behalf, sending the general [of the Franciscans] to Rome, and instructing the Viceroy to write as he has done. She begs that any brief or letter coming for her from Rome may be addressed to him (Mendoça), not to the King or Legate, because, by the advice of the English lawyers, all letters relating to the divorce are withheld or given to them. This business, however, is suspended until the Legate's return. At first it was alleged that the Pope had no power whatever to grant a dispensation for marriage with two brothers; now they insist upon the dispensation itself being faulty, and it had been agreed that the Queen's lawyers should apply to the Pope for a bull by which any defect in the said dispensation might be supplied, but as it now appears that this step would only give greater force to the dispensation, and render the Princess legitimate, they have in their malice stopped all applications for the said bull.

It is by no means easy here to obtain information of what is passing at Rome, as Madame [of the Low Countries] has no means of forwarding her despatches quickly thither, there being no posts [to Italy], and the transit insecure on account of the Venetians. Begs the Emperor to write to the Viceroy by every possible way, and order that all despatches and letters coming from Rome be addressed to him instead of to the King or Legate, such being the Queen's special request for the reasons above mentioned.

Of what the Legate is doing in France the Emperor will be informed by his ambassador in that country better than Mendoça can do from hence; all that he has been able to ascertain here is that the King of France is delaying as much as he can in the hope of seeing the Emperor's final

1527.

answer, intending to regulate thereby his present negotiations with the Legate, for were his offers rejected, necessity will compel him to offer better terms wherever he can find assistance against the Emperor. Thinks, therefore, that this King and Legate do not really wish for peace, because though they might by it recover their money, yet they would gain much more by the prolongation of the war, for by the fact of the King of France being plunged in greater difficulties, and having need of their help, the value of English manufactures will be enhanced.

Sent to Madame a copy of the power which the Legate took [to France], that she might forward it to the Emperor through his ambassador in France. Begged her to observe much caution and secrecy in the affair, because the person who procured him that document said (if he spoke the truth) that it had been obtained with the greatest difficulty and danger to himself. Sends another copy now, in case the former one should have been lost. The Emperor will perceive from its perusal the evil disposition of the King and Legate. Suspects that, should peace not be concluded, the treaty which the Legate is now drawing up in France will be made both defensive and offensive; although in his last audience with the King, the latter distinctly stated that the Emperor had been included in the draft which the French ambassadors prepared here; but on the other hand it is possible that on his return from France the Legate may no longer adhere to such an arrangement.

Last week a proclamation was, by the Legate's orders, read in some of the churches of this capital, commanding that all plate belonging to them should be exhibited for the purpose of selecting that portion which was to be sold for the Pope's deliverance, either through war or otherwise. In the said proclamations and other printed papers, which have been circulated for that purpose, the most exaggerated and incredible account is given of the excesses committed by the Imperial troops, and of the wanton insults offered to the Pope and the Church, none of which ever occurred. This is being done with a view to excite English people, who, however, will not easily consent to this plunder of the Church plate, though should the Legate insist, he will most probably carry his end.—London, the 25th of August 1527.

The ship not having been ready to sail when the above was written, Mendocá has since received the Emperor's letter of the 2nd, together with that of the 31st of May. This last must be the one which was missing. It was forwarded to him by Madame, and seems to have been more than three months on the way. Every point of the instructions contained in it has long ago been carried out, the ambassador trying to satisfy the King in the most flattering terms he could use, assuring him that the Emperor credited none of the reports made about him, pointing out the evils that might

1527.

arise therefrom, and dwelling on what the Emperor had done for the King in these present negotiations out of the great friendship he bore him.

Has not flagged in this work, but finds the King so entirely given up to French interests, that the King of France himself could hardly have spoken of his own affairs with as much warmth as this King has done, and still does. Is convinced that the Legate's visit to France has done great injury to the Emperor's interests, by causing King Francis to withdraw what he would otherwise have granted; because when at their last interview the ambassador remarked that the King of France seemed inclined to retract his words, the King said (though Mendoça took no notice of it), "That may possibly be; the King may think he has now a better opportunity for improving his own cause than he had before." Every day this King is putting himself more in the enemy's power. Is convinced that he will either supply the King of France with money, or keep a certain number of Swiss in Italy, and by so doing inflict all possible injury on the Emperor. Other mischief he (the King) cannot do, for his subjects are so favourably disposed towards His Majesty, that without a great disturbance in the kingdom they would not be persuaded to take up arms against the Emperor. This consideration, however, is of especial importance just now, for this business of the Queen's has now become public, and should the King proceed with the divorce case, he (Mendoça) is convinced that the people's resentment will have no bounds, and that their affection for the Queen and her daughter will be strongly manifested; so that, with the Emperor's assistance, such a flame might be kindled in England that the King would need all his energy to extinguish it, and would have no time left to espouse fresh quarrels.

Wrote three months ago to Madame, as ordered by the instructions. Told her particularly to see to the defence of all the frontiers, both by land and sea, taking care that her preparations were made with the greatest secrecy.

Last week the King sent him (Mendoça) word that the captain of a Spanish ship, Juan de La Renteria by name, had seized English merchandise to the amount of six hundred English pounds, on the coast of Brittany, and that he was very much surprised to hear that his subjects met with such treatment on the part of the Emperor. He was about to send the ambassador the procès-verbal drawn on the occasion, as well as the account of goods and property taken on board, that redress might be immediately obtained. He (Mendoça) replied that he could not imagine how any subject or vassal of the Emperor's could venture upon such an act, whilst the friendship and alliance between the King and the Emperor subsisted, but that, were it so, the Emperor would not only order the merchandise to be restored to the English (if it really belonged to them), but would inflict severe punishment upon the offenders. The King then sent to request that a letter should be written to the captain of the coastguard

1527.

(*corregidor de la costa*), instructing him in case of the vessel and merchandise being taken to a Spanish port, to take possession of the same until it should be decided what was to be done with it. Has written accordingly [to the *corregidor*], inasmuch as the King, in order to excite the English, who, as before stated, are favourably disposed towards the Emperor, is known to have said the other day at Court that the Spaniards were already attacking his subjects at sea.

However, as he (Mendoça) has been told that the English are in the habit of making out false bills of lading, representing French manufactures as their own, his advice is that this business of the English ship be well looked into, and intrusted to some one who really understands it. The Englishman who demands restitution states that he can prove that the merchandise is his own.—London, the 6th of September.

Signed: "Don Iñygo de Mendoça."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty, the Emperor and King, our Lord, &c."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 9.

7 Sept. 190. PROTHONOTARY CARACCILO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 183.

Alessandria, according to all reports, holds out gallantly. It is to be hoped that Lodrone and his Germans will do their duty, as they are abundantly provided with everything. Should the city fall into the hands of the French, Pavia and even Milan would be immediately attacked. We have no money at all, and provisions are scarce; so much so, that we cannot stay the emigration of the Milanese, who, rather than give hospitality to our soldiers, desert their houses, and consent to be fined 10 and 15 cr. a day rather than return home.

Leyva is trying to gain over to the Imperial cause, and secure the services of Count Cesare Scotto, Joan Hieronimo di Castione, and other condottieri.—Milano, 7th September 1527.

Signed: "Il Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Catholicæ et Cesareæ Mti."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. From Milan. From the Prothonotary. 7th of September."

Italian. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

9 Sept. 191. MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING OF BOHEMIA AND HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 184.

On the 1st inst. Castilla* left with letters in answer to those brought by Plus Ultra and himself. Could not despatch him earlier, as the Emperor, being much engaged at the time with the affairs of Italy, and the offers of peace made by

* Elsewhere written *Costilla*.

1527.

the English and French ambassadors, being besides compelled to quit Valladolid on account of the plague, could not then attend to our business.

On the 3rd a courier arrived from Flanders, despatched by Madame [Marguerite], announcing the birth of the Prince, his nephew.* The Emperor was delighted to hear the news, saying that he rejoiced more at the birth of his nephew than at that of his own son Prince Philip. Before Clavijo arrived with the happy intelligence, as communicated by His Highness himself, the Emperor sent for Secretary Lallemand, and bade him send another courier after Castilla, to try and overtake him, that he might be the bearer of an autograph letter showing his great joy at that event.

The Milan business is not yet settled, for although the Emperor is willing to make the grant, and Secretary Lallemand does all he can in Council, yet there are not wanting persons, more or less influential, who are opposed to that measure, their principal objection being, as mentioned in a former despatch, that His Highness has too much work in hand just now to attend to the affairs of Italy. Lallemand thinks that the best way would be for His Highness to cross over to Lombardy under some pretence or other. He is, therefore, trying to procure an order from the Emperor to that effect. Once in Italy, there would be no difficulty in granting the investiture of Milan to the Prince, who had hastened to its defence.

Latur (La Tour) arrived on the 7th inst., and brought His Highness' letters respecting the promised succour. Clavijo, the courier, is to take the answer, which is similar to that sent on a previous occasion. Pressed as he is on all sides, and having to attend to the support of his own armies in Italy, the Emperor cannot really do more for the present.

With regard to the peace there is some probability of its being made, as stated in a former despatch, but there is nothing certain, as matters of this kind are very changeable. The French seem very anxious for it, yet at the same time they are waging war with the utmost fury in Italy.

The Emperor has been told of his Highness having disposed of the estates bought by Count Fustenberg in a different manner from what Don Pedro de Cordova and he (Salinas) had announced. He wishes to know the reason for such a change.—Palencia, 9th September 1527.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3½.

11 Sept. 192.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 185.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

(*Cipher:*) Wrote last on the 23rd and 30th ult.,† and enclosed his despatches to Madame [of the Low Countries] to

* Maximilian II., who succeeded his father, Ferdinand, to the Empire.

† See Nos. 163 and 175.

1527.

be transmitted to Spain, as he knows of no other safe way at present. Encloses copy of advices received from Lautrec's camp.* The writer is evidently a French partisan, and, therefore, there may be some exaggeration in his report. What he says about the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) having sent to the French camp for the purpose of making his peace is perhaps not true, yet his late conduct is rather that of a man who is temporising to preserve his estates. The news of the confederated fleet having left Genoa on some expedition is quite correct, for this Signory has ordered its fleet to be fitted out, and has appointed a new proveditor general for the sea. Whether the destination is to be Naples, or the island of Sicily, is more than the ambassador can say, as the whole affair is kept very secret; the latter, however, is the more probable. It is reported that Andrea Doria is also to go thither with his galleys. If so the enemy is sure to do mischief. Has written to the Viceroy of Naples by four different ways, begging him to write to Sicily, as he (Sanchez) has not the means of doing so.

The Papal Nuncio (Averoldi) who resides here is holding frequent conferences with the ambassadors of the League. Very often he and the French together go to the College Hall, discuss their own affairs, and do all the harm they can to the Imperial cause. If this be done with the Pope's consent and approval, it cannot be denied that His Holiness' behaviour, situated as he is, is anything but honourable. If his (Sanchez's) information be correct, the Pope is doing much harm, though at the same time he complains of the Signory, that besides taking away from him the appointment (*provision*) of bishops, and levying taxes on the Venetian clergy without his knowledge, they retain two of his cities (Ravenna and Cervia), and are trying to possess themselves of others.

The Duke of Ferrara, at the request of the Papal Legate at Bologna, has arranged matters between the Bentivogli and the citizens. The former are to be reinstated in all the property they owned previous to the last revolution. This has given much satisfaction to the people, who, it is added, have written to thank the Duke, &c.

Lautrec is actually besieging Alessandria. No news from the Imperialists at Rome. There is a report that Sarra (*sic*) Colonna has sacked Camerino. It is a pity, for so much sacking of cities does no good to the Imperial cause, and only serves to ruin the inhabitants and make them disaffected.— Venice, 11th September 1527.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. Venice. Alonso Sanchez. 11th September.

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2½.

* No. 173, in date of the 30th of August.

1527.

12 Sept. 193. NEWS from HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 99.

His Royal Majesty [King Ferdinand] has occupied both banks of the Danube, Buda, and other cities beyond. Last Sunday, the 8th instant, he sent the whole of his forces against the Vayvod. No resistance is offered, as the rebel has neither money nor troops to make a stand.

Primi petrus Veyda transsylvaniæ una cum transilvanis et valachis [et] Veyda moldavie Regie Mati. sese addixerunt.

Indorsed: "Ex litteris Erasmi a Borsberg ex Viena, XII. Septembris."

Latin. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

14 Sept. 194. GEORGE FRUNTSBERG to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,553,
f. 170.

He and Andrea de Borgo, the Imperial ambassador, begged the Archbishop Juan de Centellas, who was going to Spain, duly to inform the Emperor of what the [German] troops under his command, after causing the enemy to raise the siege of Milan, had achieved at Rome, "quid cum capitali hoste et authore hujus indignissimi belli, ad querenda debita stipendia Romæ egerit, magno honore et commodo Sacri Romani Imperii." The Archbishop, being one of those who most worked for the Imperial service on that occasion, will be a faithful interpreter of their sentiments of loyalty. For his own part he (Fruntsperg) begs the Emperor to reward his long services, having suffered so many toils, labours, dangers, and wounds. The Count of Nassau and the Provost (Prepositus) of Valdtkirch will be able to point out the kind of reward his long services merit. Begs credence for the Archbishop.—Ferrara, 14th September 1527.

Signed: "Georgius à Fruntsperg."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ Cæsæ. ac Cathcæ. Mti. Domino meo clementissimo."

Latin. Original.*

16 Sept. 195. The CARDINALS in FRANCE to POPE CLEMENT VII.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 202.

The hearts of the faithful have been moved to pity by the misfortunes of the head of the Church. We, ourselves, feel them the more, constituted, as we are, by God members of that very Church. We have been moved to pity at the indignity with which Your Holiness has been treated. Pondering this in our mind, and perceiving the danger in which the Universal Church of Christ at present is, we cannot but mourn and weep at the dire calamities which have befallen

* Two copies in B. M. *Add.* 28,576, ff. 350 & 351; the former in Bergenroth's hand.

1527.

her. Our trust in, and dutiful observance of, the Apostolic Faith, makes us fear that the time has come when, the shepherd being struck, the Christian flock is about to be scattered, and fall an easy prey to the wolves. We can already perceive the chain of evils coming down upon the Church through the instrumentality of those who, desecrating God's sanctuary, and assailing Your Holiness' sacred person, will fully deserve in the 'Dies Iræ' the wrath of God. As Your Holiness' detention still continues, it behoves us to look out for some redress to so many evils, and implore the assistance of the faithful wherever it can be obtained. Taught by many passages of the Holy Scriptures, we have sought, first of all, by public prayers, supplications, and fasts, simultaneously instituted throughout the kingdoms of England and France, to implore divine mercy on the person of Your Holiness, and have prayed the Almighty that the head of his Church and guardian of his flock may be delivered from captivity, and restored to his former glory and independence. This we have done, whilst we entreated and requested His Imperial Majesty not to suffer that Your Holiness' person should remain longer in the hands of his soldiers, to their great infamy and dishonour. We have likewise applied for aid and assistance to the most illustrious and powerful Kings of England and France, to the former as valiant 'Defender of the Faith,' as he is, to the other as 'most Christian' monarch, begging them, for the sake of that religion which they and their predecessors never failed to profess, to protect the Apostolic See—hitherto the object of universal veneration—against the grave injuries inflicted upon it, and since prayers have been of no avail, to effect by force of arms the delivery of the Vicar of Christ on Earth from the hands of a cruel enemy.

Though we have done our duty in this respect, and entertain a hope that, through the continued efforts of the aforesaid Princes, Your Holiness' liberation will be accomplished, yet we cannot but tremble at the idea of the danger of the Apostolic See as long as Your Holiness remains in confinement. We have, therefore, met by the grace of the Holy Ghost at this town of Compendio (Compiègne) to bring about Your Holiness' liberation, sure, as we are, that if this detention were to last longer, incalculable evils might result to the whole of Christendom. We fear that His Imperial Majesty, though without attain to his honour, may yet be like a youth who, misled by his passions, shuts his eyes to reason,* and, therefore, that with a view to increasing his power, and extending his dominions, he may seize the lands of the Church, and prevail upon the cardinals, now prisoners in Sanct Angelo,

* "Y temiendo de la Cesarea Magestad, sin perjuicio de la honra, lo que en razon de un hombre mancebo [se] muestra, en el qual las mas vezes vence y reyna el apetito, y reynando este en todos los miembros no admite ley de spiritu ni razon."

1527.

as well as upon those whom Your Holiness may create hereafter at his recommendation, to confirm and ratify any donation that he may obtain from the Holy See, and thus destroy the old state of the Church, whence much harm would result to us and our successors. We beseech the Almighty God to inspire the Emperor with sentiments suitable to his Imperial dignity, that he may procure the increase and exaltation of the Apostolic See instead of wickedly and audaciously working its ruin, and at the same time to give Your Holiness such courage and strength that should the Emperor presumptuously attempt anything to the dishonour of the Apostolic See, Your Holiness may resist, and come out victorious. But as this exceeds human strength, and Divine Providence at times allows men to persevere in weakness and sin, we wish to protest, not only to Your Holiness, but to the Emperor himself, and to the world in general, that should Your Holiness separately or conjointly with the cardinals now prisoners in Sanct Angelo, through fear or upon compulsion, do anything against the integrity of the Apostolic See by way of grant, alienation, or cession of the lands and ecclesiastical rights appertaining to it, or create new cardinals through the influence and at the request of the said Emperor, then, in that case, we and all the rest of the cardinals now absent from Rome, whom God has providentially saved from the disasters and calamities attending the siege and sack of Rome, representing as we do that form of ecclesiastical dignity, of our own free will and judgment hereby declare that we shall never consent or approve any donations, concessions, or changes made under such circumstances from this day henceforward, but shall disapprove and condemn the same, and try with all our forces to undo them. In the event, moreover, of Your Holiness being taken away from this world—which we hope will be as distant as possible—we intend, without the assistance of the cardinals now in captivity, or of those whom Your Holiness may have thus created, to make a new election at such a sure and safe place of meeting that every one of the absent cardinals may attend. Nor shall we in anywise obey the Pope elected by the said cardinals within Sanct Angelo, were they to make such election. And whereas, as long as Your Holiness is surrounded by the Imperial troops, it is impossible to go to Rome, or wherever else Your Holiness may reside at the time; and whereas that circumstance might be the cause of this present war—which we are all bound to put an end to—continuing with greater fury than ever; as the profits and emoluments of such creations might after all result in favour of Your Holiness' detainer, and consequently retard the much desired liberation, it seems to us a very good and ripe opportunity to look out for a more efficacious remedy for such evils, since such an example might in future times prove injurious to the Roman Church by taking away part of its authority and possessions. We therefore beg and request

1527.

that, taking into consideration the above facts, and the evils that might arise therefrom, Your Holiness may be pleased to provide for the wants and imminent danger [of the Apostolic See], and supply your own absence (*y suplir su ausencia*) by intrusting to another [prelate] your authority and power, that measures may be taken for alleviating rather than increasing present disasters (*su desastrado abuso*).

It is, however, our duty to inform Your Holiness that even in the event of this our request not being, from any apprehension whatsoever, granted, as reason demands, we shall never be found deficient in that solicitude, care, and respect towards the Holy See, and above all for Your Holiness' liberation, which constitute the principal object of our wishes. At any rate we humbly beg that all the profits and emoluments which in similar cases appertain to the Holy See should be entirely reserved for the time when Your Holiness recovers liberty, persuaded, as we are, that in so doing great service is done to the Roman Church and Apostolic See, to Your Holiness in particular, and to all Christendom in general, since taking such profits and emoluments out of the hands of Your Holiness' present detainers will be tantamount to shortening your captivity.

To remove any malicious or sinister interpretation of these our sentiments, we hereby declare that no hope of profit or personal advancement, no enmity, lust of honour, nor any other similar consideration prompts us in giving the above wholesome advice, but that we are only influenced by the respect we bear to Your Holiness, and by our wish for your speedy liberation, by the dignity of the Apostolic See, and the preservation of the emoluments and privileges belonging to it, as well as by the common welfare of Christendom. For which we promise to work henceforward in such a manner that we may not be deemed to have failed in our duty, &c.—Datum in Compendio (Compiegne), 16th of September 1527.

Follow the signatures : Thomas Cardinal Eboracensis Legate ; Jo. Cardinal de Salviatis, Legate ; Cardinal de Bourbon ; Jo. Cardinal de Lorrena ; A. Cardinal Senoncensis (Antoine du Prat, Cardinal of Sens), Chancellor of France.*

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2½.

16 Sept. 196.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 204.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

This morning the Signory received letters from their ambassador, who is with Lautrech, announcing that on the 12th, at the 22nd hour, Alessandria capitulated. The conditions are not stated, but the fact is none the less true. (*Cipher*.) The possession of Genoa thus secured, the enemy is sure to go to the Duchy of Milan, which requires a large force and plenty of stores for a successful defence.

* This letter appeared first in Le Grand III., 4. The Spanish translation is slightly different.

1527.

Knows nothing about the Imperial army. His last news came in a letter of Andrea del Borgo, dated from Ferrara the 9th inst., stating that one Antonio de Udena*, who had left Rome on the 27th of August, had arrived in that city with a message from the Marquis del Guasto and Hernando de Alarcon. Those captains wrote to the Duke (Alfonso d' Este) that on the previous day an agreement had been entered into, in the Viceroy's name, with the Imperial soldiers. On the payment of certain sums in money, and the promise that the remainder of their arrears should be paid at short dates, the men had consented to quit Rome and march wherever they were ordered. Guasto and Alarcon wrote in high glee about it; they expected to start at the beginning of this month, and were confident of victory. The better to ensure success, they had written to the Duke [of Ferrara] to provide food and money for 8,000 more Germans, who were coming down. His informer (Borgo) does not explain whether the expected succour was being sent by the King of Bohemia of his own accord, or had been applied for by the Imperial captains to fill up the ranks of the lansquenets, awfully thinned, as it is said, by the Roman plague. However this may be, it is to be feared that if the Imperialists cannot make their way into Lombardy with their present resources, an increase of their number is not likely to help them much, as it will only create confusion and want, especially if Genoa is not retaken.

He (Sanchez) was the first to convince the King of Bohemia of the necessity of making fresh levies, and therefore is glad to hear that the lansquenets are coming down. True it is that, as there is no money to pay them, new difficulties are in store for the Imperial captains, since German soldiers are known to be quite unmanageable unless they receive their pay regularly. Anything, however, is preferable to leaving Lombardy and other estates in the hands of the enemy. He (Sanchez) does not hesitate to say that, even with this expected succour, the Emperor's affairs in Italy are in a very critical state. The Duke of Ferrara will not lend money unless he sees things improving, and a few thousand lansquenets without pay are not likely to turn the balance in our favour.

At Mantua certain cardinals have held a meeting, at which Ciuo (Cibo) and Fernes (Farnese) are said to have been present. The latter was allowed to come out of the castle of Sanct Angelo on the plea of going to Spain as Papal Legate. What the subject of their deliberations has been he (Sanchez) cannot say for certain, but surely it must have been unfavourable to the Emperor. Has been told that the Pope has lately issued a brief or bull contravening that of one of his predecessors, in which it is established that the election of a new Pope is to take place precisely in the city where

* See above, p. 370; his real name was Antonio da Udine.

1527.

the other dies. The new brief directs that the election is to be held at Venice, Mantua, or Turin, and if it cannot take place in those cities, at Bologna or Florence. If therefore the meeting of the aforesaid cardinals has been convoked for the purpose of giving them cognizance of a brief of this sort, no good can be expected to come therefrom. Will not fail to communicate any information he can get on the subject, but in the meanwhile his opinion is that an honourable peace is far preferable to this state of things, for time presses, the enemy gets stronger every day, the Emperor is too far off, and when provision is at last made it generally comes too late.

The English ambassador (Prothonotary Casale) is gone to Mantua for the express purpose of holding a conference with the cardinals there assembled, and persuading them to go to Avignon. This he does, as people say, by order of the Cardinal of England (Wolsey), who is aiming at the Pontificate, in case of the present Pope dying.

(*Common writing* :) Micer Andrea del Borgo also writes that on the 6th inst. the ex-Doge of Genoa (Antoniotto Adorno) and Lope de Soria arrived at Reggio, where the Duke of Ferrara was staying at the time.

Would have closed this despatch and sent it off yesterday, only that he wanted to hear the news about Alessandria confirmed. It is unfortunately too true. The terms of the capitulation are that the Germans are to go home through the Venetian territory with banners unfurled; the Italians to take service with the French.—Venice, 16th September 1527.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. Venice. Alonso Sanchez. 16th of September."

Spanish. *Original mostly in cipher*. *Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet*. pp. 4.

17 Sept. 197. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 216.

(*Cipher* :) Should Genoa be retaken, the Emperor must at once appoint a governor of his own choosing. This arrangement, which would be agreeable to God, and highly beneficial to the Emperor, cannot fail to meet with the approbation of the Genoese in general, for whenever a chief of one of the two parties, Fragosi or Adorni, happens to exercise the supreme power, justice is not done, but on the contrary the city is destroyed. A trusty warden (*alcayde*) should also be appointed to the castle, that the city may be successfully defended against the enemy and kept in subjection.

Although the Doge did not take the needful measures for the defence of Genoa and the castle, but, as well as the

1527.

citizens, was wanting in energy on a late occasion, yet His Imperial Majesty ought to acknowledge their services, and show them favour, especially to the Doge, who, after all, has always been faithful to the cause. He (Soria) has often heard him say that, should he return to Genoa, he should not like to be Doge as before, but only governor in the Imperial name, for then he would not be responsible for the sums spent in its preservation and defence. But whatever the Doge's wishes may be, Soria is of opinion that, in the event of Genoa being retaken and a governor appointed, a foreigner would be preferable to any Genoese partisan, whether Fragoso or Adorno, and therefore that the former one might be rewarded in some other way.

The Duke of Ferrara, since taking possession of Modena and Carpi, has done absolutely nothing for the Imperial service, though he might have been of much use, especially for the recovery of Parma and Piacenza.—La Mirandola, 17th September 1527.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, &c."

Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. p. 1.

[18] Sept. 198. INSTRUCTIONS to MICER ANTONIO.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 455.

You will tell the Emperor that advices from Genoa of the 14th inst. have been received, stating that Alessandria [della Palla] surrendered the day before. The garrison to go out freely with their arms and baggage to any place except Pavia or Milan. Letters from Savona add that the surrender was brought about by treason, and that the besieged had been allowed to retire to Pavia, but more credit is attached to the news from Genoa.

Micer Ansaldo [Grimaldo] writes from Montogio on the 11th inst., advising the departure from Rome of the Imperial army, and requesting, as the road to Genoa is now occupied by the enemy, that he (the Bishop) would transmit to Spain the despatches from Rome as well as any letters of Leyva. Has done so, as His Imperial Majesty will see by the enclosed.

It is reported that Monsignore di Lautrech has sent for Signor Teodoro Triulzi to consult him as to which city he had better attack first, whether Pavia or Milan, and that Teodoro, in consequence, left Genoa on the 14th, leaving behind him as his lieutenant Andrea Doria, with eight galleys and six more that are to be armed at the expense of that city. This, it is added, has been done by order of the King of France.

Advices from Piedmont state that on the 8th inst. the English ambassador (Casale) arrived at the French camp,

1527.

bringing with him 100,000 angelots of gold. The enemy's forces consisted of 500 lances, 10,000 Switzers, and 10,000 French and Gascons, which number was being daily increased by Italian recruits.

The only way in which the impending evil could be averted was considered by all wise men to be that His Highness the Infante [Ferdinand] should come at the head of a strong army.

His Imperial Majesty should nevertheless send reinforcements from Spain, not indeed in large numbers, all at once, as was done when the Viceroy came (*como fu fatto cum el Sor. Viceré*), thus putting the enemy's galleys on the alert, but gradually, in small detachments, which might easily be sent afterwards to Naples by way of Sardinia.*

Indorsed: "News from Lombardy. 1527."

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

19 Sept. 199. PROTHONOTARY CARACCILOLO.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 220.

Since his despatches of the 26th ult. and 7th inst. Alessandria has capitulated. The Germans are to go home, so that with them and those from Bosco we have lost about 1,700 men. Our forces are so diminished thereby that we shall scarcely be able to defend Milan, Pavia, Como, Trezzo, Lecco, and other places in Lombardy. Leyva, however, will do his utmost to keep his ground. He has here at Milan about 3,300 Germans and as many Spaniards, exclusive of the men-at-arms and light cavalry. Two thousand Italians under Count Belgioioso have been sent to Pavia. The worst is that there is no money to pay and feed these forces, and as to extorting any more from the Milanese, it is quite out of the question. The soldiers are living at the expense of the citizens, whose lamentations and tears are really heart-rending.

No news of the Imperial army.—Milan, 19th September 1527.

Signed: "Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacrae, Catholicae, et Cesareae Majestati."

Italian. Holograph entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

* There is no date to these instructions, drawn no doubt by Agostino Grimaldo, Bishop of Grassa and Lord of Monaco, for one of his Secretaries going to Spain. As they are followed in the Academy's volume (A. 42, f. 456) by an account of the taking of Genoa, on the 18th of August, and mention is besides made of that of Alessandria, on the 13th of September, I have not hesitated to place it here. It must, however, be observed that some historians, like Paolo Jovio and others, place the loss of Alessandria and even the sack of Pavia (5th of October) before the surrender of Genoa, against the opinion of Guicciardini, Du Bellay, Tarcagnola, and the rest, which agrees better with the facts adduced in the correspondence of Soria, Sanchez, Leyva, &c.

1527.

24 Sept. 200. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
 f. 222.

News has just been received that Diego de Figueroa, whom the Viceroy of Naples was sending with despatches to Spain, has been murdered at Porto Ercole. It appears that the brigantine in which he sailed from Gaeta was obliged from stress of weather to put in at that port, where several galleys of the enemy happened to be at anchor. The Grand Master of St. John (Villiers de l'Isle Adam), perceiving the danger, had the Spanish brigantine placed in the midst of his own galleys, which did not prevent her being boarded by three armed barges from Doria's galleys, when the master of the vessel, Figueroa himself, and part of the crew were barbarously murdered. It was in vain that the Grand Master's people, hearing the rumour, hastened to the spot; they arrived too late to prevent mischief; they, however, captured the barges, and would have hanged the culprits had not the crew of the Spanish brigantine interfered in their favour. A new master and crew were then appointed, and the vessel sent to Civittà Vecchia, where she is now lying. Among those saved from the massacre was a servant of the Marquis del Guasto, who left this on the 20th ult. with despatches for Lope de Soria to forward [to Spain]. Among them was one of his (Perez) in date of the 18th, the duplicate of which was to be given to the said Figueroa. Hears, however, that the papers were not lost in the affray, and, therefore, has reason to believe that the above-mentioned letter, as well as another of the 2nd inst., written since, have reached their destination.

Since then the Marquis del Guasto has left Rome for the purpose of visiting the Viceroy at Aversa, and informing him of the terms offered to the Germans. The Viceroy then wrote to Alarcon, enclosing letters for the captains of the lansquenets, requesting them to appoint deputies to go and discuss with him the articles of the agreement. It is yet uncertain whether the lansquenets will accept the proposition; if they do, he (Perez) will not fail to acquaint the Emperor.

(*Cipher*.) Alarcon was further requested by the Viceroy to call on the Pope and inquire what sort of security he was prepared to give [for the money] in the event of his being set at liberty. The answer was that he was ready to give anything that might be required, whether in the shape of hostages or of cities and castles in his estate, besides creating four cardinals [at the Emperor's pleasure]. The Viceroy wishes, naturally, to know, before he comes here, how matters stand. Every day Alarcon writes to him the substance of his conferences with the Pope, and presses him to come to Rome to settle this business at once, and take command of the Imperial forces. Meanwhile we are doing everything in our power to content the Germans and Spaniards, so that they may inflict the least possible harm on the Romans, who feel this quartering of troops upon them almost more than they did the sack of their houses and the horrible excesses that followed it.

1527.

For this reason, and in order to prevent the soldiers from seizing food wherever they can find it, Alarcon and the rest of the captains have determined to issue to each man one and a half "real" per day to buy provisions with. An attempt has been made besides to send the Germans out of Rome, but it has failed, as they would not go without an order from their commanding officers. The Spaniards, however, have consented to go to the Borgho, which has had the effect of quieting in some measure the fears of the Romans.

The commutation of the penance imposed on those who took part in Bishop Acuña's execution has been accomplished at last. The ambassador of Portugal [Don Martin] is the bearer of the briefs?

News from Venice state that there is great scarcity of bread and meat in that city. The Signory in consequence has ordered certain of her galleys to sail to the coasts of Sicily and Calabria, and bring thence all the wheat they can seize on our vessels. Has communicated this information to the Viceroy.

The other day Andrea Doria captured a bark, on board of which were 18 Spaniards. Every one of them was put to the oars, except those who were invested with the orders of priesthood.

A Spaniard named Polanco, whom Master Salamanca despatched some time ago to the King of Bohemia, has come back, bringing very satisfactory news from those parts. The Queen had been delivered of a son. Negro, at the head of 20,000 horse, was waging unrelenting war against the Vayvod, and had promised to march also against the Turk as soon as Hungary was subdued. King Ferdinand, on the other hand, had taken possession of a large city in that kingdom. An uncle of the Grand Turk (Solyman) had revolted and slain upwards of 20,000 of that Sultan's men. Letters from the King of Bohemia had arrived, thanking the Germans and the whole of the Imperial army for their praiseworthy conduct and valiant achievements in the last war, though Polanco says that when he heard of the excesses committed by his countrymen [at Rome] he was anything but pleased.

The Marquis of Astorga has been so ill at Civittà Vecchia that his life was despaired of. He is now better, and is to be brought here for recovery.

The confederates lose no opportunity of injuring us. The other day, whilst the Count of Sanct Segundo, from the Parmesan, and other Italian condottieri, were quartered at an abbey with about 400 of their followers, the Marquis of Saluzzo came suddenly upon them with his bands, routed them, and took the Count and four of his principal officers prisoners. This Count of Sanct Segundo is the same who before the sack of Rome deserted the League, and came over to us.

This castle of Sanct Angelo is being provisioned. The Viceroy sends daily wine and stores, not only for its garrison,

1527.

but also for those of Ostia and Civittà Vecchia. Rome is getting free from the plague, though fever and ague still prevail. Provisions abound, and if it were not for these Germans and Spaniards most of the Romans would willingly return home.

The French are besieging Alessandria,* and intend, before they come here, to attack Leyva at Milan. It is to be hoped that before they can accomplish their plans this Imperial army will pay them a visit in Lombardy.

No further news from Genoa, except that the Doge had surrendered the castle, and gone to La Mirandula. The ambassador Soria was with him.

Has just heard the answer which these Germans make to the Viceroy's proposals. They will not appoint a deputation as requested. They demand, however, proper security for the 250,000 owing to them, besides three months' pay down. If these terms are not complied with, they will go home. Their captains say that they cannot prevent this, and that all they can do is to remain at Rome and not follow their men. An express has been sent to the Viceroy acquainting him with this resolution. Should his answer come before closing this letter, the Emperor shall be informed by this post.

The Duke of Camerino (Giovanni Maria Varana) died some time ago, leaving one only daughter [Giulia], who is heiress to his estate, under the guardianship of his widow, a sister of Cardinal Cibo.† After the Duke's death, the Duchess for greater security sent her daughter to a place of safety, upon which a bastard son of the Duke appeared, took possession of Camerino, and imprisoned the widow.‡ Some time after Sarra (Sciarra) Colonna, colonel of Italian infantry, entered Camerino. Now they say that Guido Rangone, who is in favour of the Duchess, and has hastened thither with some forces of the confederates, is besieging them both, whilst Alarcon is making preparations to assist the besieged, and will most likely soon send to their relief some companies of Spaniards and Italians with a few light horse. There is a report here that 150 beasts of burden (*azemilas*), which Sarra (Sciarra) Colonna was sending out of the castle laden with clothes and valuables (*ropa*), had been captured by armed peasants in the neighbourhood. If the report be true, that would show that Colonna does not consider himself safe at Camerino.

Letters have arrived from the Viceroy, dated Aversa, the 13th ult°. He says in very clear terms that, unless the Imperial army takes a most solemn engagement to march on Lombardy, he will not move from where he is. The French

* It was taken on the 12th. See above, p. 386.

† Caterina Cibo di Massa, widow of the last Duke, and niece of Pope Leo. X.

‡ Mateo Varana, son of Ercole; though the person who accompanied Sciarra to Camerino is generally called *Rodolfo*.



1527.

and Venetian fleets are likely to invade Naples, and he must needs attend to its defence. He writes to Alarcon begging him to go with the army according to the Emperor's orders, and promises to send 100,000 ducats as soon as possible. The 100 Germans who were here at Rome to receive the 100,000 of the Pope went away ill-contented, threatening that all their comrades would soon go to Naples. We wrote to them requesting that they would send a deputation to the Viceroy respecting the securities for the 200,000 ducats [of the Pope] and whatever else was owing to them since they entered Rome. We promised them two months' pay within 15 days, amounting to 52,000 ducats, out of which they have already received 10,000 on account. Cannot say what the Germans will answer, but is very much afraid that they will reject these offers, come to Rome and commit excesses, and then go home or pass over to the enemy, which is still worse.

The Viceroy still insists upon the Datary, Bishop of Verona (Gianmatteo Giberti), and Jacopo Salviati being sent to him, but it is not likely that they will go until the Germans are appeased, and some settlement made with them, for the Pope can come to no decision (*no sabe en que se determinar*), and the above-mentioned cardinals will not like to leave Rome without first knowing his intentions.

The Marquis of Astorga and his uncle, the Bishop, arrived on the 16th; the former, very weak from his late illness, was carried in a Sedan chair. Both lodged at a house which the Bishop of Salamanca (Francisco de Bobadilla) had prepared for them. The Bishop called the next day on the Pope, and was very well received.

On the 19th intelligence came of the arrival at Civittà Vecchia of the general of the Franciscans and of Mons. Millao (Migliau), who immediately after their arrival there started for Naples in search of the Viceroy. Two brothers of the Count of Aguilar, and two more gentlemen whose names he (Perez) does not know, came by the same vessel, but did not confirm the news, at which the Pope is very much disappointed, for when he heard that the general [of the Franciscans] was coming he showed great joy. As Alarcon was the other day informing him of the statement made by the above-mentioned gentlemen, the Pope exclaimed, "For God's sake hold your peace, and do not destroy my last hope." News are expected from the Viceroy from hour to hour. We shall soon hear whether the general has really come, and what commission he has; also what the state of the Viceroy's health is, for they say that he is suffering from fever, and that one of the Pope's physicians, named Maestro Fernando, in whom the Viceroy has great confidence, has gone to visit him.

The Germans have sent in their answer at last. They refuse sending a deputation [to the Viceroy], and insist upon being paid in full and at once. They declare that if within three days' time no money is forthcoming, they will desert

1527.

from the Emperor's service, and look out for another master, or come to Rome to be paid. They complain that no one promise made to them has ever been fulfilled. In order to quiet them, Alarcon is about to send Don Antonio de Ixar (Hijar), who came last from Naples, requesting them to wait 15 days for their two pays, on condition that if by that time they are not paid, he (Alarcon) and Hieronymo Moron will deliver themselves into their hands. The said Ixar takes with him all the money that could be procured in Rome, and orders to allot the Germans better quarters, where they may live more at ease, and have food at discretion, for they complain that the Spaniards have better ones and abundance of provisions, whilst they have to spend daily at least one real for bread. Don Antonio departed on this errand on the 21st. He has not returned yet. He was formerly attached to the Prince of Salerno, but has since had a quarrel with him, in consequence of which he has come to serve in this army. He is a brave and experienced officer. (*Cipher* :) Should he not succeed in his mission, the Germans will inevitably return to Rome and completely destroy the city.

(*Cipher* :) There is some suspicion that Cardinal Colonna is secretly stirring up these Germans to behave as they are doing, for they say he would much prefer the Pope not treating for his ransom, but remaining in captivity, &c.

(*Common writing* :) Alarcon has just informed him that he is about to despatch a messenger to Spain. As he is writing home he (Perez) need not enter into more details, save saying that the Germans are expected in Rome to-morrow without fail, as they would not subscribe to any of the terms proposed by Don Antonio [de Hijar] in Alarcon's name. They come resolved not to stir from Rome until they are paid. To a Spaniard who begged and entreated them not to remove from their quarters, but wait patiently until funds came from Naples, they answered in a passion, "We shall go to Rome and set fire to it, and then sell it to the Venetians or to the League, for we would rather make our peace with the Pope and become his friends than consent to the Emperor profiting by our conquests." These very words he (Perez) saw written down in a letter which a Spanish soldier called Luis de Baeça addressed the other day to Alarcon. The Spaniards are still at their own quarters, and there is no tidings of their coming to Rome. It is believed that if they do come the Germans will be more guarded in their conduct. At any rate Rome is in a fright at their coming.

A servant of the Papal Nuncio, at the Emperor's court, has arrived. He tells the Pope that the Emperor is better disposed than ever to restore him to liberty, and to the possession of everything he had before. The Nuncio writes in the same strain, and the consequence is that His Holiness is full of hope, and anxiously awaiting the arrival of the general of the Franciscans and of Mons. de Vere (Veyre) whose

1527.

landing at Gaeta is now confirmed, though the Viceroy's serious illness is likely to cause some delay.—Rome, 24th September 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527: From Rome. Secretary Perez. 24th September."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering between the lines. pp. 5½.

26 Sept. 201.

The MARQUIS of ASTORGA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 226.

I arrived at Rome in time to share in its misfortunes, though too much weakened by disease to be able to serve Your Majesty as I should have wished.

The lansquenets started from their quarters with the intention of coming here. No entreaties or persuasions of the Imperial ministers have availed to deter them from their undertaking, and, still worse, they are known to have made certain overtures to the Venetians or to the Duke of Urbino, for they have been by themselves (*solos*) on the frontiers of their respective estates. Publicly they say they are coming to Rome to be paid, and live upon the citizens, for which, destroyed as the city is by plague and famine, there is but little provision. If their pay is not forthcoming they will certainly commit still greater outrages than in the past.

The Viceroy of Naples is dead. May God grant that his death be not the cause of fresh troubles in the kingdom. The general [of the Franciscans], Don Ugo, the Marquis del Guasto, and Juan de Urbina are at Naples; here we have only the Marquis [Hernando de] Alarcon, assisted by Geronimo Moron. It is astonishing how both work, and what pains the former has taken, and does take, to set matters to rights. Had the deceased (Charles de Lannoy) believed in him and followed his advice, things would not be in so bad a plight.

My only wish is that Your Majesty could see how matters stand here at Rome. Had I been able to endure the fatigue of so long a journey, I would immediately have set out for Spain, that I might fully inform Your Majesty of the state of affairs in Italy. As it is, I am making my preparations to start as soon as I have completely recovered, as my pilgrimage (*romeria*) is over, and the business for which I came settled. —Rome, 26th September 1527.

Signed: "El Marques de Astorga."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our King and Lord."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From the Marquis of Astorga. 26th September."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

1527.

27 Sept. 202. ADVICES from ROME.

S. E. L. 1,553,

f. 181.

B. M. *Add.* 28,576,

f. 370.

The agreement arrived at with the Germans was principally owing to the intervention of Morono, who was sent to their camp to induce them to accept the money offered, and be content. The conditions agreed to are as follows:—

The Imperialist generals (*i signori cesarei*) engage to give to the Germans, before the 4th of October next, the remainder of the 75,000 cr. (*scudi*) promised to them, discounting from that sum the 10,000 received the other day. This sum is intended as the remainder of the two months and a half stipend promised them by the Marquis del Guasto. Two months later, that is to say, at the end of November, they are to receive the complement of their pay up to the 6th of October. As security for the payment of these sums it has been agreed that the seven hostages, four ecclesiastics and three laymen, whom the Pope offered to give up on the 5th of June last, shall remain under the custody of the lansquenets. These hostages are at the present moment kept at the house of a gentleman called Ricardo Mazatosto, close to the palace of Cardinal Monti, and are not to be released until the whole of that sum be paid, or some other security brought from Naples. The total sum owing to the Germans up to this day (the 6th of October) is said to amount to 150,000 cr. (*scudi*). Whence all this money is to come nobody knows.

No mention is made in the agreement of two months' pay owing to the Germans or Spaniards [before they came to Rome?], namely, from the 6th of October 1526 to the end of November.

Alarcon, fearing that the Germans might reject the offer, march to Rome, and commit excesses, ordered two bands (*bande*) of Spaniards and Italians to come by forced marches, to guard against any mishap (*desastro*). They were yesterday at Monte Rotondo; some even nearer to Rome, for these obedient sons (*questi figlioli di obedientia*) are always willing to extinguish the fire at their neighbours' expense.

The above-mentioned agreement having been made and signed, Alarcon has been trying to make the Germans return to their quarters; he has, however, been unable to convince them, for all would come and see their Rome (*la sua Roma*), as they call it, so filled with Imperialists, and affording such comfortable quarters. On the other hand, the Spaniards, who seem to be more numerous than the Germans, hearing of the agreement entered into with the latter, are beginning to threaten and swear that they will not leave Rome unless they too are paid. Though some ground has been gained one way, it is likely to be lost on the other, as these Spaniards will no doubt mutiny for the sake of being included in the agreement. It is, however, to be hoped that the prudence of these generals will avert any conflict, and that as soon as the Germans are paid, all will leave Rome and go wherever they are ordered.

1527.

The men-at-arms have already promised to depart after they have rested (*refrescati essi si habbino*) for two or three days.

Alarcon is pretty well; he rides almost every day, making his rounds, inspecting the ports, &c.

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 4.

29 Sept. 203.

PROTHONOTARY CARACCILO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 228.

(*Cipher* :) Wrote yesterday evening to say that the French were marching on Pavia. Hears now that the Venetians are also going in that direction, and that both armies are provided with siege artillery, ammunition, pioneers (*guastatori*), &c. There can be no doubt that the intention of the enemy is to attack that city now, or next winter, in the event of our receiving reinforcements. The whole of this Duchy, and Milan in particular, being completely ruined, it will be impossible for Antonio de Leyva to provide for the defence of that and other fortified towns in Lombardy. Well if he can with his small force hold the capital. Houses and palaces are deserted, and rich people fast abandoning the city. Provisions are very scarce, and of money there is none. To prevent emigration we have been obliged to impose fines of seven, eight, nine, and even ten crowns per head on the absentees, and yet such is the fear they have of our soldiers that they prefer keeping away and having their property confiscated to returning to Milan, for in reality the citizens are unequal to bear the burden of an army quartered, as this is, upon them.

Mentions this that His Imperial Majesty may better understand the miserable condition of his army. To meet its most pressing wants Leyva and the rest of the Imperial ministers have been actually obliged to sell or pawn to the Genoese bankers the rest of their jewels and clothes, &c.—Milan, 29th September 1527.

Signed: "Il Protonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ, Catholicæ, et Cesareæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. Milan. From the Prothonotary. 29th September."

Italian. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

29 Sept. 204.

ANTONIO DE LEYVA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 232.

Since the loss of Genoa has written four times by way of Monaco. Hopes that his letters have been received. Alessandria fell into the hands of the enemy in the following manner. Count Baptista Lodron had charge of that city with about 1,800 Germans, two companies of Italian infantry, and 200 light horse. As he was a brave and experienced commander, a colonel

1527.

in the Imperial army, and had served under him at Pavia, Leyva had perfect confidence in him. Provisions being very scarce inside Alessandria, and indeed in the whole of that district, it would appear that when the French invasion took place, part of Count Lodrone's forces were without the city. In disobedience to Leyva's commands, who had ordered him on the appearance of the enemy to concentrate his forces before the city, that commander had left two companies of Germans at Castellazo, and with the rest of his forces occupied Alessandria. The French coming up suddenly, took him unawares (*sin que él lo supiesse ó lo quissiese sauer*), attacked the Germans encamped at Castellazo, and obliged them to retire to Boscho, where after a siege of 15 days they were all taken prisoners of war. A message then came from Count Lodron, asking for a reinforcement of 300 foot, who were forthwith despatched to his assistance under Count Belgioioso, besides 100 horse with another Italian captain named Virago, with instructions to defend the city to the uttermost, but scarcely had Lautrec invested the place, when, although the attack was feebly conducted, Lodron offered to capitulate. Count Alberico did all he could to dissuade him, but in vain. On the plea that his Germans were in a state of mutiny, and refusing to fight, Lodron surrendered the place to the French on condition of the Germans returning home, and of the Italians under Count Belgioioso promising not to go to Milan for six months. Most of those who were inside Alessandria accused Count Lodron of treachery (*ruyndad*) on this occasion; others attribute his conduct to cowardice. He (Leyva) has not yet been able to ascertain the true cause, but if such men as the Count cannot be trusted, who can be? He (the Count) lost his wife and children at Boscho, and Lautrech very generously sent them back free; from which people suspect that, as a grateful return for that act, Lodron made no difficulty in surrendering. The fact is that the enemy's attack was so feeble, and so badly conducted, that there was no occasion whatever for the surrender of Alessandria.

Has concentrated all his forces at Milan, which is being hastily fortified, so as to meet a sudden attack of the enemy. He has with him 2,200 Spaniards, 3,400 Germans, and 1,000 Italians under Count Filippo Torniello and Pietro Botichelo (Botticela). Count Lodovico Belgioioso defends Pavia with 2,000 Italians, 30 men-at-arms, and 100 light horse. He is much beloved by the natives, who sent expressly for him. It appears that on his arrival at Pavia, as he mustered the garrison, he addressed the soldiers in these words: "Now, friends, whoever among you has not the courage to stand a siege, let him go away at once, for it is my intention to defend this city as long as I can;" upon which all bystanders, citizens as well as soldiers, swore to die in the Emperor's service. (*Cipher* :) The city is strong and well fortified, and has provisions for two months. The Count is so brave, and

1527.

has hitherto been so fortunate, that there is no doubt he will allow himself to be cut to pieces rather than surrender.

(*Common writing* :) Captain Aponte, a Spaniard, is at Como with about three companies of his countrymen. He will have no great difficulty in defending that place, for it is strong, and not likely to be attacked by the enemy.

Lecco is defended by Villaturiel's company, and Trezzo by Captain Diego Lopez de Sosa and his men, so that if the expected German reinforcements come they will find no impediment in their march.

With regard to Lautrech's movements, His Majesty must know that immediately after the taking of Alessandria he came here with the whole of his forces, marching through Viagrassa to a church called San Christoval, at about one mile from this city, where he encamped. On Thursday, the 26th inst., Captain Pedrarias went out to meet him with 200 hackbutiers and a few horse, and he gave the French such a hot reception that he obliged them to retreat three miles to a village called Corzo, where they remained the rest of Thursday and Friday. The ensuing Saturday they struck their tents and marched in the direction of Pavia, whither a reinforcement of three companies of infantry was despatched on the same day.

(*Cipher* :) No news whatever from Rome. Ever since the death of the Abbot [of Najera] he (Leyva) has had no letters, except one from Alarcon, informing him of the differences existing between the Viceroy and the Prince of Orange, the Marquis del Gasto (Guasto), and the Spanish infantry commanded by Juan de Urbina. So that it would appear that whilst this state of things lasts no good can come from those parts. He (Leyva) has written many times by way of the Duke of Ferrara and of Micer Fransperch (Fruntsperg), entreating Alarcon and the Viceroy to hasten on with the army; but no use, he can get no answer from them. Should the Duchy be lost, the kingdom of Naples would not fare better. His Majesty must indeed make peace at once, or else give us means to carry on the war with vigour. We have only provisions for two months; after these are exhausted there will be no possibility of obtaining more, as the country is entirely ruined, and neither the citizens nor the soldiers have any. Money we have none, and the Germans mutiny every week. Notwithstanding all this, His Majesty may be sure that we shall do our duty until not one of us remains alive; but in the meantime the Emperor must consider that, together with the loss of so many good servants, all the advantages gained on previous occasions may be irretrievably lost.

Besides the 56,000 cr. received from Lope de Soria, upwards of 160,000 have been spent for the support of the small army under his command, most of it borrowed from Genoese bankers, or from merchants in this Estate. He and

1527.

most of the Emperor's ministers have been obliged to pawn their jewels and valuables. His Majesty may believe him when he says that he has only a vest, a pair of pantaloons, and one horse left, everything else he had in the world being either sold or pawned.

If money is to be sent it had better come through Germany by way of the Fucares (Fuggers) or Belzers.

Needs not add that if the army from Rome would only come now he (Leyva) might still make easy work of our enemies, who are a wretched set of men (*muy ruzyn gente*), and few in number.

The last letter he has from His Majesty is dated the 2nd July. Since then he has not heard from Court.—Milan, 29th September 1527.

Signed: "Antonio de Leyva."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From Anthonio de Leyva. 29th of September. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 6.

30 Sept. 205. DON UGO DE MONCADA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 238.

When Mons de Vere (Veyre) arrived the Viceroy was on the point of death. He died a few days ago. Your Majesty has lost in him a faithful subject and servant. As he (Moncada) was also suffering from fever, De Vere could not then converse with either to inform them of the mission he has brought to Italy.

Since the Viceroy's death, however, he (Don Ugo), the general [of the Franciscans], and the said De Vere (Veyre) have held several consultations together as to the best manner of negotiating with the Pope. Both have already left for Rome.

The Viceroy in his last moments, and the Collateral Council since, decided that he (Moncada) should take charge of the government. His illness, which has confined him to his bed for upwards of 50 days, has hitherto prevented him from attending to business. Is still occasionally visited by fever, and obliged to dictate this letter from his bed. Hopes soon to be convalescent, when he will assume the administration of affairs until His Majesty be pleased to relieve him from a charge which his old age and infirmities prevent his fulfilling as he would wish. Meanwhile the Council attends to the business of war, as well as to the internal administration, but he (Moncada) cannot let this opportunity pass without reminding the Emperor and his ministers that some remedy must be speedily applied to the present dangerous

1527.

position of affairs, either by concluding an honourable peace, or by making such provision in men and money as may ensure our success.—Naples, 30th September 1527.

Signed: "Don Ugo de Moncada."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From D. Ugo. 30th of September."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

30 Sept. 206. COUNT BURRELLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 240.

As Don Ugo de Moncada and the Collateral Council of the kingdom must have informed the Emperor of the Viceroy's demise, he (Burrello) need not refer to that lamentable event. Before his death the Viceroy was pleased to appoint Don Ugo to the government, who, being very unwell at the time, refused at first to accept, though being much pressed by the councillors he consented at last.

Advices from Rome have been received,* explaining the position of affairs in that city, the terms offered to the Germans, &c. It was confidently believed that with the arrival of the general of the Franciscans, and of Mons. de Vere (Veyre), who left this only yesterday, all matters would be satisfactorily settled between the Pope and the Imperial army. Nevertheless, the Collateral Council is about to remit to Rome the rest of the sum promised to the Germans, *i.e.*, the pay for two months and a half. Out of that 41,000 ducats will shortly be paid at Rome, and though this kingdom is entirely ruined, His Majesty may be sure that nothing shall be omitted that may help his cause.

There is urgent need to have this army, cavalry as well as infantry, reformed, especially the men-at-arms, who have for the most part left the service.

In consequence of the attack which the Venetians and Andrea Doria meditate on the coasts of Sicily, the Viceroy of that island (Pignatello) is making preparations for defence. He has asked us for reinforcements of Spanish or German troops, offering to pay them out of the Imperial treasury at Messina, but Spaniards there are none here, and as to Germans we have only those whom Lannoy brought with him from Spain, and they are so shattered and reduced by the plague that they are scarcely fit for service. We shall, however, do everything in our power to assist the Viceroy, who by the latest accounts had hastily formed two companies with the Spaniards residing in the island, part of whom had been

* In date of the 27th. See No. 202, p. 397.

1527.

detached to Melazzo and Messina, and the rest to Trapani and Caragoça (Siracusa).

The scarcity of provisions generally felt in Italy may after all be the only cause for the enemy's maritime preparations, for it is said that his idea in visiting the coast of Sicily is to capture any vessels laden with wheat that may be found in those seas. Instructions, therefore, have been sent to the Viceroy to inform the merchants thereof, and prevent vessels from leaving the ports.

Considers it his duty to inform the Emperor that not all the warders (*alcaydes*) reside, as it is their duty to do, in their castles, which is a very dangerous thing under present circumstances. The Council has tried to correct this abuse, but to no purpose.—Naples, 30th of September 1527.

Signed: "El Conde de Burrello."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ, Cesareæ, et Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From the Count of Burrello. 30th September. Answered."

Spanish. Original. pp. 1½.

30 Sept. 207. DON UGO DE MONCADA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 244.

Has received letters from the general [of the Franciscans] and from Mons. de Vere (Veyre), of which he encloses copy. Both agree that it is most important to make peace, or else to prosecute war with vigour; but this cannot be effected without money from Spain, for in this kingdom there is none the little there was having been sent to the Germans at Rome.

The news from Calabria is that on the 25th inst. the Venetian fleet had anchored before Colonne, a port six miles from Cotrone. It is to be feared that the enemy will also make some attempt upon Sicily, but the Duke of Monteleone (Pignatello) is well prepared, and we hope will repulse the attack.—Naples, 30th September 1527.

Signed: "Don Ugo de Moncada."

Addressed: "Sacra, Cesareæ, et Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. From D. Ugo. 30th September."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

30 Sept. 208. THE SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 246.

In consequence of the death of Mossen Marimon de Plegamans, the lieutenancy of the castle of Trani was conferred by Don Charles de Lannoy upon Knight Commander Don Francisco Ycart, who has done much service and is well

1527.

worthy of the grant. Begs for its confirmation.—Naples, on the last day of September 1527.

Signed: "Don Ugo de Moncada."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ, Cesareæ, et Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From D. Ugo in favour of Commander Ycart. 30th September."

Spanish. Original. pp. 1½.

30 Sept. 209.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No.

The EMPEROR to DON IÑIGO [DE MENDOZA], his Ambassador in England.

We have duly received your despatches, and the letter of the 16th of August in answer to ours of the 29th of July. With regard to the business of the Queen, our aunt, We are waiting to hear from you what has since been done, because the news received at this court is that the affair has blown over, and this We cannot believe until you so advise by your letters. Respecting the progress of the negotiations with France you will see what has been done here, and what efforts We have made, and are still making, for the sake of that King and Legate, and out of affection for their persons, to bring about a peace between the two countries.

On this point you are to insist (*encarecer*) most particularly; and moreover, in order the better to convince the King and Legate (*para que les sepa mejor*) of our sincerity in this respect, you shall read to them the enclosed memorandum of what has passed at the various conferences (*pláticas*). Copies of the same have also been forwarded to the English ambassadors at this our court, our object being that all the world should witness our justification and know our good and righteous intentions.

With regard to the renewal of the old alliance, and the proposed marriage between one of our nieces and the King's illegitimate son, you will see by another memorandum, of which We also enclose copy, what our answer to the English ambassadors was when they spoke to us on the subject. For the better and more speedy resolution of this affair, We have caused certain powers and instruments to be drawn—all of which are enclosed—in favour of the persons whom Madame, our aunt, may be pleased to appoint to treat of the said marriage.

But before sending the said papers, as well as the enclosed letter, to Madame, our aunt, you will try to ascertain by all possible means whether the King and Legate really feel inclined to treat about the renewal of our mutual friendship, as well as the marriage alliance now proposed, informing them that, such being the case, you have our mandate to send to Flanders for some personages of note, with sufficient powers to bring

1527.

the said affair to conclusion. According as the King's answer may be, so you may keep back or send our letter to Madame, our aunt, that she may read it, fill in the names of the persons appointed, and despatch to England those personages who are to help you in this negotiation, which We wish you to hasten as much as possible, so as to obtain a definite answer, *yes or no*, before We set the sons of France free.—Palencia, 30th of September 1527.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

30 Sept. 210. The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224.

Don Iñigo, &c.—You well know what We once wrote to you about bringing over the Cardinal of England to our service. As he has now terminated his business in France, it seems to us as if he could not refuse doing the same towards us that he has done towards the French King. We therefore command you again to offer to the said Cardinal the payment, within the term he may choose to appoint, of all arrears of his pensions, such arrangement being made for the future that the whole of his ecclesiastical endowments, amounting yearly to the sum of 9,000 cr., be punctually paid. Besides, We are willing to assign to him, on that department of our revenue which may happen to be most unencumbered, 6,000 more ducats every year until We have procured him a bishopric, or some equivalent pension in these our kingdoms. In addition to which pensions and payment of arrears, which must amount in all to a very respectable sum, if it be true, as We have been informed, that he has not been paid for five years, We promise him that whoever may be Duke of Milan shall give him in our name a baronial estate within that Duchy, with the title of *Marquis* or *Count*, as the Cardinal may choose, and an annual income of 12,000 ducats.

Should this sum appear to you insufficient, you may raise it to 15,000, promising the Cardinal in our name that whoever may be hereafter Duke of Milan shall take care to have the necessary instruments and deeds drawn so as to ensure him during his lifetime the possession of the above said estate and income, or if he should appoint an heir and successor, for such heir and his posterity in perpetuity.

All this we promise to do, as you will inform His Reverence the Cardinal in our name, if he will only consent to work, as he did on past occasions, and can, if he chooses, do again, for the common and mutual benefit of the King, his master, and our own, as well as for the weal of Christendom at large.—Palencia, 30th September 1527.*

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

* Published by Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, &c., vol. iv., part ii, p. 1569.

1527.

30 Sept. 211.

B. Arch. du Roy^{me}.

J. 965.

B. M. *Add.* 2,857,

f. 374.

INSTRUCTIONS to the GRAND MASTER and PRESIDENT OF
ROUEN, going as Ambassadors to England.

Firstly, they are to present their credentials and letters to the King and Cardinal, and assure them both of the very cordial affection he bears them, which they will find to be sincere, firm, and indissoluble, and which he hopes will be equally so on their part. After thanking them for their kind exertions for the liberation of his children, the ambassadors are to tell them that the King will never forget the favour received at their hands, and that whenever the King of England may want his co-operation and help, he may count upon it, so that he may see that he is not ungrateful. His sons, besides, will never forget their good offices, and the time may come for their proving that they are not ungrateful.

They are likewise to thank the King for his sending the Cardinal of York to France, who has conducted with his wonted prudence and dexterity all affairs pending between them, the liberation of the Princes, his sons, and other matters concerning the honour of God and the welfare of the Church. He has managed matters in the best possible way, and deserves universal praise for it.

They are further to say that the object of their mission to England is to obtain the ratification of the treaties of lasting peace, and others lately concluded between himself and the King, and to witness the solemn ceremony of swearing to the preservation and keeping of the said treaties. To ascertain also what the King's wishes are respecting other matters contained in their instructions, and know what commissioners the King will be pleased to appoint to treat with them.

Respecting the privileges of English merchants in Flanders, this is a matter well worth consideration, and which requires careful examination of the original treaties, in order to ascertain whether such privileges really existed before and after the last war; for it must be borne in mind that the reason why the King of England wishes his subjects to enjoy similar privileges [in France]* is probably because he fears that in the event of war the Flemings may deprive them thereof, and so wishes to guard them against loss of property and damage. Were the English, during this war, prevented from trading with Flanders, they would naturally bring their merchandize to France. For this reason the privilege must, if possible, be granted conditionally; that is to say, either they will no longer trade with Flanders, and therefore will do business with France, or else the Flemings depriving them of their privileges, they will ultimately trade with us. The privilege, therefore, must be granted conditionally or *pure et simple*. In either case it

* "La cause pour quoy le Roy veult que les Angloys usent de semblables privileges en son royaume est pour doubte que les Flamans, &c."

1527.

must be specified in a clause that French merchants, if they choose, are to enjoy the same privileges that the Flemings once had in England.

With regard to the maritime war, and the stipulation that the King is to maintain 1,000 men, whereas the King of England is only to give 500, the ambassadors will try to gain, if possible, some improvement upon this; if not, let them agree to the article, but not to worse terms.

The clause "*sans rien ennover des autres traictez*" must by no means be omitted; on the contrary, all previous treaties must be corroborated and confirmed.

The ambassadors are to insist, as much as is in their power, upon obtaining again two months' pay for the French infantry in Italy, that is for November and December.

They will recover the ratifications of the treaties of peace and others [here] concluded with the Cardinal, as likewise that which was delivered to the Cardinal at Ardres, and of which he himself gave an acknowledgment (*schedule*), which will be immediately returned to him.

They will write often to the King and inform him if anything occurs likely to impede the negotiations.

The Grand Master, who is also a Knight of the Order of St. Michael, will present to the King of England the diploma electing him member of the said order, and exact from him, with the necessary limitations and modifications, the customary oath as chief of the Order of the Garter. It will be the King's pleasure to receive the insignia of the order from the hands of King Henry, so that both Princes may be united under the same bond.—Compiègne, 30th September 1527.

Signed: "François."

Countersigned: "Breton."

French. Copy.

30 Sept.

212.

P.* DE VEYRE to the EMPEROR.

B. Arch. d. Roy^{me}.
Doc. Hist. I⁷.
f. 73.

Wrote from Barcelona and embarked the day after, but as the wind was contrary had to land again. Next morning, by the advice of the pilots, rode to Colibre, there to wait for the brigantines. It was at that port that he first received the disastrous news of the loss of Genoa. Was sadly put out by the intelligence, and began to entertain fears about his own safety, considering that the six vessels hired for his passage were Genoese, and that two of them had left suddenly without taking on board certain soldiers appointed to escort him. Feared lest the other four brigantines, instead of sailing for their destination, should take him to France or to Genoa, or put him in the hands of Andrea Doria. Thank God, the masters

* Pierre de Veyre, Sieur de Migliau, and Baron of Saint Julien, elsewhere called Vere, Bere, and Beere. This letter, giving an account of his voyage and stay at Naples, was first published by Lanz, i. pp. 248-57.

1527.

of the vessels turned out to be honest, and, weather being fine, landed him and his suite at a port in the Island of Corsica called Celin (?). As it happened, some time before their arrival there, three of Doria's galleys had just left the port. Thence, after gathering the necessary information respecting the loss of Genoa, and the dangers of the road, he proceeded by sea, but was soon obliged to return to the coast and anchor at a place called Benvenire, belonging to the sister of the Lord of Monego (Monaco), where they stopped one whole day. That lady having sent him word that the enemy was arming certain galleys and other smaller vessels with the intention of invading Naples or Sicily, he sailed next day, and with favourable winds reached Civittà Vecchia, where he landed, that he might inquire news of the Pope and of the Viceroy. Was told by Don Alonso de Cordova that the Pope was still at Rome, which he (Veyre) was greatly astonished to hear, and that the Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) was no longer at Gaietta (Gaeta), but at Aversa. Cordoba told him likewise that the Imperial troops were encamped 15 miles from Rome, at which he (Veyre) wondered even more than at the news of the Pope. Having obtained the above information, set sail again, and landed at Gaeta, where, as Don Alonso had rightly conjectured, the Viceroy no longer was, his wife, the Princess of Sulmona, having left the day before, owing to the bad state of his health. Wished to take post-horses, but Knight Commander Yquart (Ycarte) told him that the road was anything but safe, and that if he waited until the next day he would take him to Naples in his own galleys, which he did. Arrived there on the 19th inst., and on the ensuing morning took post-horses to Aversa, where he found the Viceroy extremely ill in bed, so much so that he had no opportunity or time to communicate to him the substance of his instructions, as he died on Monday, the 23rd. His Imperial Majesty has lost in him a good servant, at a juncture too when matters are in a most horrible state of confusion, and when nothing but a good and honourable peace can mend them.

As the Imperial ministers at Rome and in other parts of Italy must have fully acquainted him (the Emperor) with the piteous state of his affairs, he (De Veyre) will not dwell on the subject, save to say that immediately after the death of the Viceroy he called on Don Ugo [de Moncada] to ask his advice respecting the manner of carrying out his instructions. For he (De Veyre) expected to see the Pope fairly out of Rome, but now finds that he is still there, which is a great drawback under present circumstances, as one fine day the Germans and Spaniards may take him away with them. Such he hears is now the rumour current in the Imperial camp, and whilst writing these lines letters have come from Alarcon and Jeronimo Moron announcing that the Germans quartered in the neighbourhood of Rome have started for that city with some such intention. This is not to be wondered at if it be true that a messenger of the Duke of Ferrara has

1527.

lately arrived at Rome, and is trying to persuade the Germans to secure the person of the Pope and take him to Lombardy, where they might obtain any sum, however large, for his ransom. Is assured that this is perfectly true, and that the Marquis del Guasto is retaining the Ferrarese messenger at his own quarters for fear of his going to the camp of the Germans and doing some mischief there. Secretary Seron here [at Naples] tells him that the Duke, in the Viceroy's lifetime, had threatened that unless the Imperial army returned to Lombardy he must make his peace with the French, and that he has besides flatly refused taking command of the army, saying, "When the Emperor pays his men, then it will be time for me to accept office, not before."

For God's sake, Sire, make peace with the French as soon as possible, that you may effectually punish traitors like this Duke and others who play Your Majesty such vile tricks! I see no other remedy for Your Majesty's affairs when those who are considered our friends fail in this manner. I beg Your Majesty to forgive me if I thus dare speak out, but the truth is that tears gather in my eyes whilst I write, at the reflection that a Prince so good, so virtuous, so loyal, should be treated in this manner by the wicked people on whom he has conferred so many favours. I again beseech and implore Your Imperial Majesty to conclude peace as soon as possible, to save further loss of reputation (*pour perdre moins d'honneur*), and leave yourself more leisure to chastise those who, instead of helping, do us all possible harm. I hear from Alarcon that Cardinal Colonna is in treaty with the Germans, who are going back to Rome, in the hope that one of these days, if not paid their arrears, they will mutiny, and murder the Pope. To prevent such a misfortune money has been procured here, and shall be sent this very night on board two galleys, in sufficient quantity to issue two pays to the Germans. It has, moreover, been arranged that, should they go to Rome with such intentions, the Pope is to escape down the Tiber to Hostia, where his galleys are stationed, and thence to Gaeta. Your Imperial Majesty may judge by this what the obstacles have been to having His Holiness removed to that city, as was intended at first. The Viceroy had often written to Alarcon to bring the Pope [to Naples], but this he would never do, saying, "God forbid that I should be the man to take the Vicar of Christ to prison."* This the brave Alarcon has done from no bad intention, but because he is over scrupulous in these matters.

With regard to the army, Sire, things are very different from what Your Majesty believed them to be when I left Spain. Your Majesty believed that the soldiers were paid; not only are they not, but there is the greatest difficulty in procuring money for them. The Pope, who according to our accounts was to have contributed 400,000 ducats, has

* "A Dieu ne plust qu'il amenast le corps de Dieu en prison."

1527.

only paid down 150,000, and declares that he cannot give more, as he has no means left. Your Imperial Majesty thought also that the Florentines would contribute 300,000 ducats; not one farthing of it have they paid, though our army was sufficiently strong to force them to disburse that sum. Your Majesty believed that his army had marched on Lombardy, and it is now again marching towards Rome, which is the very reverse. And, moreover, the men behave so badly, and there is so little justice done—in fact none at all—that the captains dare not live among their own soldiers, and have no command whatever over them. The Marquis del Guasto and Juan de Urbina are now here [at Naples], and Don Ugo is trying to induce them to return to Rome. I cannot say whether they will consent to go under the present state of things in that capital; to me they seem most determined not to go back without money to pay the troops, and, most likely, when this is obtained I myself shall have left for Rome. One of the Marquis' servants tells me that his master really intends joining the army, knowing, as he does know, the importance of his presence among the men, but the great difficulty lies in this late nomination of the Prince of Orange to be Your Imperial Majesty's lieutenant-general in Italy. Of the Prince himself I have no news, and therefore cannot say what he is doing, but Your Imperial Majesty may be sure that if there be any remedy for these matters, however inefficient and temporary (*bien debille et de peu de duree*) it may be, it shall be promptly applied.

After Lannoy's demise, Don Ugo, though in poor health himself, owing to his late dangerous illness, assumed the command. This was done in conformity with the wishes of the dying Viceroy, who appointed him to conduct, conjointly with the Collateral Council, the affairs of this kingdom until Your Imperial Majesty should be pleased to name his successor. This must be done as soon as possible, Your Majesty selecting for the Viceroyalty an honest man (*ung homme de bien*), one chosen without regard to party spirit or favour, for certainly these are not times to yield to such pressure. Don Ugo wishes me to add that the election should fall on some personage in Spain, "for all those who are here put together would not constitute half a Viceroy (*ung bon demi Viseroy*), such as is wanted under present circumstances." In repeating Don Ugo's words I only execute his commands; I express no opinion of my own; were I to do so, I would say that he himself is a brave man of good heart and intelligence, and quite capable of doing Your Majesty's behests in these parts.* But Your Majesty is so wise that I need not offer advice on such matters. He (Don Ugo) has been acting with great zeal since the Viceroy's death. I have communicated to him my instructions as I would have done to the deceased, and

* "Que la out est sa personne il ast homme de beaucoup de vailleur et qui ast sens et cueur pour vous sçavoir ferre service."

1527.

it has been settled between us that to-morrow I am to start for Rome.

Enclosed is the duplicate of the list of securities (*seurtes*) which we have resolved to ask from the Pope, following Your Imperial Majesty's instructions. God grant that I may succeed in my mission, but I am greatly afraid that before we can set the Pope free, he may himself give us the slip;* for already, since he knows that the French are prospering in Lombardy, he utters bravadoes and does his worst. I hope, however, to tie him down so tight (*le lier si court*) that, if he has the will, he will not have the power [of doing us mischief]. Your Imperial Majesty will have timely information of all my doings, but my advice is that the prospect of a peace with the Pope ought not to be a cause for neglecting that with King Francis, for I am terribly afraid of the former and his doings. Sire, that I might the better understand Your Imperial Majesty's wishes I have carefully examined the Viceroy's papers, as well as the letters in cipher and those which Your Majesty wrote to him in his own hand. In one of these last express orders were given for the building of certain galleys. Now, as Your Majesty might be under the impression that the work had actually commenced, and thus be deceived, I must begin by stating that not one has yet been placed on the stocks. Don Ugo begs me further to make this statement in his name, and to add that those now in port are in the worst possible condition, their crews literally dying of hunger for want of biscuit and money, as they have not been paid for the last 22 months. In short, so reduced and impoverished are they, that I doubt whether the captains of these six galleys would dare engage as many fustees (*fustas*).

Generally speaking, I have found Your Majesty's affairs in such confusion and bad order that I can see no help but in peace.

Don Ugo has been duly informed on every point of my instructions, which are also those of the general [of the Franciscans]. There is, besides, another set of instructions most secret, and written entirely in cipher, which I dare say Your Imperial Majesty recollects. By the first of those instructions the general and myself are commanded to admit Don Ugo into our commission just as the Viceroy was, and this has been done. We all believe that the greatest advantage to be obtained by the Pope's liberation will be the payment of the 250,000 ducats, which I intend and hope getting out of him as complement of the 400,000 promised by the last treaty.

Sire, news has been received of the taking of Alessandria by Lautrech, who is coming this way. Don Ugo begs me to mention this fact, and also that the Prince of Orange

* "Ja crains que avant que aions mis le pape en liberté, que ne nous fache du cheval escappe."

1527.

writes to say there is no chance of taking the army out of Rome unless it be paid first. The Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg), who is here, has heard that the fleet of the confederates is to set sail for this coast on the 25th inst. At Cotrone, in Calabria, there are 28 Venetian galleys getting ready for a similar purpose. Don Ugo has begged me to write to the Prince about this, and to say that in the event of the French coming to Naples he intends going and serving under him, as he would under Your Imperial Majesty, until a Viceroy be appointed. He (Don Ugo) is now despatching Gropain (Gruppen), the bearer of this despatch, that he may verbally inform Your Majesty of the state of affairs here, as well as at Rome and throughout the rest of Italy, for as he has been an eye-witness of most of the late events he will be better able to report. He (Gropain) is charged to entreat Your Majesty for an immediate answer, which in the present state of things cannot admit of delay.

As soon as I have spoken to His Holiness I shall report thereon. Don Ugo thinks, and I am also of his opinion, that in the powers sent by Your Majesty to treat with the Pope my name ought to be inserted, or fresh ones be sent from Spain. This would certainly give more authority to the transaction, as otherwise the Pope might think that I was considered [in Spain] too young and inexperienced for such negotiation. I am confident that I can do good service to Your Majesty, and besides will never conclude anything without first consulting Don Ugo and the general [of the Franciscans]. The former says that he is not well, and therefore strongly recommends my nomination, which I should never have suggested had not he and the general mentioned it in their despatches. One or both of them might die, and the negotiations with the Pope be suspended.

Private matters. Recommendation of the widow and children of the Viceroy. Juan de Urbina and his services. Archbishopric of Constanza to be given to Hanibal Pinotetti (*sic*). Count Burello, son of the Viceroy of Sicily, now at Naples. It was he who bought the estate of Count Gayaço. He is afraid that some day or other they may refuse to give him back his money (*que lon na lui veuille rendre l'argent quiculque jour*).

The "bailliage des bois" in Henault, now vacant by the death of the Viceroy, in case His Imperial Majesty did not give it to his children—which would be but just—the writer (de Veyre) would like to have for himself. Starts for Rome after dinner. Will execute his commission, but cannot say what the Pope will do after he recovers his liberty.—Castil del Ovo, near Naples, 30th September 1527.

Signed: "Pierre de Veyre."

Addressed: "A Sa Mté. de l'Empereur."

French. Original. pp. 12.

1527.

4 Oct.

213.

ANDREA DEL BORGO to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,553,
f. 175.

On the 29th of September a captain from the German camp at Narni arrived [at Ferrara], and said that his countrymen, the lansquenets, were not disinclined to serve the Emperor, but only stated that they could not live without pay. They would wait until the 25th of September, and if not paid by that time, would march on Rome and ask for their pay. If that remained without settlement, they would employ force. If neither of these expedients met with success, they were determined to ask safe-conducts from the enemy, and return home. Whoever among them should feel inclined to enter the service of the League might be at liberty to do so, without their countrymen having a right to complain.

Thinks the best thing to do under present circumstances is to conclude peace speedily. The Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) shares also this opinion.

Lautrech hearing that Leyva was at Milan, raised the siege of that city, and marched on Pavia.

Muster has been passed [at Narni]; there were 7,500 Germans and 18,000 more troops of all nations. They are not the least afraid of the enemy.—Ferrara, 4th October 1527.

Signed: "Andrea del Burgo."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 1½.

7 Oct.

214.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 248.

Since his letter of the 25th ult^o, Lautrech has approached Milan with the intention of laying siege to it. Having, however, intercepted a letter of Leyva [to the Governor of Pavia], he changed his mind, and took the direction of that city, which they say surrendered to him almost immediately, although it had provisions for two months, and a strong garrison of Italians under Count Lodovico Beljoyosso. (*Cipher*.) The event had been foreseen, for there was reason to fear that Lautrech had intelligences within the city. He (Sanchez) lost no time in informing Leyva of it, but his letter arrived too late, and Pavia was lost in the manner that His Imperial Majesty must already know through Leyva.

Milan will be defended to the utmost, but it is to be feared that Lecco, Trezzo, and other fortresses also in the Duchy may fall into the hands of the enemy, as they are entirely garrisoned by Italians, whom Antonio de Leyva has sent thither in order to bring the Spaniards to the capital, and, as the Emperor will see, soldiers of that nation are not to be trusted under present circumstances.

(*Common writing* :) Hears that Cardinals Cibo or Cortonna, or one of the two, have gone to Lautrech's camp for the purpose of urging him to go to Rome and deliver the Pope,

1527.

and that Lautrech promised to do so as soon as he had taken Pavia. We shall see whether, now the city is taken, he will march that way.

There is a report here that the Imperial army was returning to Rome; that there were dissensions between the Germans and Spaniards, and that the former wished to get the Pope into their hands; that the Viceroy (Lannoy) was dangerously ill at Aversa, in the kingdom of Naples.

Hears from a good source that Prothonotary Gamba, who was Papal Nuncio in England, has gone to Rome for the purpose of intimating to the Pope, in the name of the Kings of England and France, that they will never consent to his making agreements detrimental to the Apostolic See, or to its Cardinals. Cibo, Cortona, Ridolfi, and the newly-made Cardinal of Mantua are at Parma, whence they are in correspondence with Lautrech. Cardinal Egidius is at Padua, and Trani here [at Venice]. Though strongly solicited by their colleagues, they have refused attending the meetings at Parma.

It is also reported that the Cardinal of England (Wolsey) has left France to return to his own country, and that King Francis has made him very valuable presents.

Has duly received the Imperial letter of the 17th of August. No answer is needed, as it only acknowledges his despatches of July last.

(*Cipher* :) Great armaments are being made in Genoa by the enemy, directed, as is publicly announced, against the kingdom of Naples. Is very much afraid, if the news be correct, that great harm may be done there, for if in the last invasion, when Genoa was for us, and the Imperialists prospered in Lombardy, so many towns in Naples were lost, what will happen now that the small army under Leyva is entirely without resources, and almost shut up in Milan?

Andrea Doria took Porto Ercole some time ago. The Siennese are now trying to recover it. That captain, they say, has despatched from Genoa six of his galleys to its relief. — Venice, 7th October 1527.

Signed : "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed : "Sacrae, Cesareae, et Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1527. From Venice. Sanchez 7th October."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

9 Oct.

215.

ANDREA DEL BORGIO to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,553,
f. 247.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 377.

Was about to seal his despatch of the 4th inst., when a trusty person came, and related to him that the sacking and slaughter at Pavia were really dreadful, and that neither the monasteries of men nor convents of nuns had been spared.

1527.

(*Cipher* :) Notwithstanding the entreaties of the cardinals, Lautrech would not lay siege to Milan, and gave orders to suspend the works for throwing a bridge [over the Pò.] He waits no doubt for instructions from the King, his master, whom both the cardinals within Sanct Angelo and those assembled at Parma are urging to send his armies to the Pope's deliverance. They have written that this is a good opportunity for him (Lautrech) to attack us by land, whilst the French fleet does it by sea. For, they say, whilst the Imperialists are at variance together, and there is no money to pay the troops, anything may be attempted. This is unluckily true to a certain extent, for of the sums provided by the Emperor, nothing remains in the hands of his treasurers, and those promised by the Pope do not seem to be forthcoming, for whenever our people press him to pay, he answers that he has not the means. From Naples no money can be expected, the kingdom being completely exhausted by the expenses of this war. The Viceroy is confined to his bed, so dangerously ill that he is not expected to live. Even if he should recover, he could not do much good that way, especially if the fleet and Lautrech make a combined attack by sea and land. The Imperial army, it is added, cannot, from their private dissensions and want of money, hold together much longer.

(*Cipher* :) Such is the advice of the cardinals and also that of the Florentines; the rest of the confederates, the Venetians, and Francesco Sforza want Lautrech to go to Milan, but not to undertake the siege until the 6,000 Switzers engaged by the King of France come to reinforce his army, when they expect he will be able to march on Rome and attempt the conquest of Naples. Meanwhile he is waiting for an answer from France, to know whether he is to lay siege to Milan, or go to Rome at once to free the Pope, and afterwards invade Naples.

(*Common writing* :) The French pretend that their forces amount to 30,000 men, but the general opinion is that they do not exceed 18,000, good, bad, and indifferent.

(*Cipher* :) His (Borgo's) informer further says that the brother of the English ambassador in Venice went the other day to the French camp, and said many things concerning the King of England, who he said was to do wonders, &c. The said King is considered the principal instigator of the war now raging [in Italy] between the Emperor and the King of France. The Cardinal of York (Wolsey) had taken leave of the latter to return to England, loaded with presents. Upon his arrival in England he was to do many things (*facturus multa*); war was to be declared against the Emperor, conjointly with France, &c.

Such is the news brought from the French camp by a trustworthy person. Knows well that intelligence of this sort is not much to be relied upon, as everyone speaks

1527.

according to his wishes ; yet considers it his duty to report what he hears.

(*Cipher* :) The Doge of Venice said the other day in public, as he (Borgo) learns from letters of his own countrymen (*propriorum*) received yesterday, that the Germans had entered Rome [a second time], robbing whatever they could lay their hands upon, and that they intended sacking the city again. Some money, however, had been sent for the pay of the said Germans, but probably not enough to make them abandon Rome.

The Spaniards and Italians were encamped at various places in the neighbourhood. There was a talk of disbanding the Italians, which was not difficult to accomplish, when it would be much easier to provide for the pay of the Germans.*

(*Common writing* :) Wishes to God the Imperial forces could soon return to Lombardy, for then everything would go on well. This Duke [of Ferrara] certainly wishes for the Emperor's prosperity and good success. If he has not done hitherto all he could and would do, it is chiefly owing to the causes mentioned in former despatches. Not, indeed, that the Duke is in any way disinclined to serve the Emperor to the utmost of his power, but that people misrepresented him, or wishing to forward their own particular ends, chose to accuse him. Has no doubt that the Duke will help when required, and will never break his faith, but, on the contrary, do his duty towards the Emperor. He certainly might wish the Emperor to provide differently than he does for the affairs of Italy, so that a good peace might be concluded between the belligerents. He (Borgo) does what he can in this respect ; but the Emperor's ministers and others, with their erroneous views concerning the Duke, will perhaps be the cause of the Emperor's affairs in [Italy] sustaining injury. In this accusation the innocent may suffer for the guilty, but what he (Borgo) says is the plain truth, as he has lately informed the High Chancellor, Mercurino di Gattinara, in one of his letters.

It is very needful that His Imperial Majesty make such provision either through peace or through war, in which latter case the wants of this army must be speedily met, that his affairs may be put on a satisfactory footing. The Emperor has still in Italy many adherents and faithful servants, who wish to see him triumph [over his enemies], but they are afraid that the course now followed will not ensure a complete victory. Certainly reinforcements from Germany and other countries would not be wanting if money were provided for their pay, and if there were besides order and harmony between the Imperial ministers. As, however, this cannot be easily obtained, and as, moreover, it is doubtful whether the Emperor can provide for the emergency as

* "De disolutione Italarum, quod esset facilis ad providendum, si ita faciliter possent providere solutioni Germanorum."

1527.

quickly as is required, the best thing to do, in his opinion, is to make peace, which after all is the surest and most advisable course to follow.—Ferrariæ, Nonæ Octobris 1527.

Signed: "Andrea del Borgo."

P.S.—The news from Genoa is that the [enemy's] fleet will not be able to put to sea as early as was anticipated, and that when once the winter season sets in, nothing of importance will be achieved. Neither are they afraid of Mons. de Lautrech, for should he decide to march on Rome, and attack the Imperial army there, and in the kingdom of Naples, it is to be hoped that the Imperialists, once paid their arrears, would go out against him and obtain an easy victory. If for that time it were possible to get a few thousand men more from Germany, and money for the pay of at least 8,000 infantry, all matters might be satisfactorily settled, for there is at Milan a considerable division of the army, against which neither the Venetians nor the partisans of Francesco Sforza can well make head. The only drawback is that the King of Hungary having to attend to his own dominions, with the coffers of his treasury quite empty, will not be able to give assistance just now. Hopes, however, that some good expedient will be found to avert the danger of the situation. The remedy must be speedy, or else everything will be lost.

Latin. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins and between the lines. pp. 4.

12 Oct. 216.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 253.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

Wrote on the 7th by three different ways advising the loss of Pavia. (*Cipher*.) The enclosed copy of his letter to the King of Bohemia and Hungary, informing him of the present position of affairs, will duly acquaint the Emperor with everything that has happened since. His Majesty will perceive from the tenour of the said letter that the King, his brother, though he has lately obtained a most signal victory over his enemy, the Vayvod, will not be able to send the promised reinforcements as soon as was expected. Hungary was still so disturbed that it could not possibly be left to its fate. On the 27th ult., Count Salm, who commands the Royal forces, surprised the Vayvod, and defeated him with great loss, most of his men being slain or drowned in a river, close to which the battle was fought. The Vayvod fled, no one knows in what direction.

This letter is directed to the Imperial ambassador at the Court of Bohemia, for him to show to the King, and then forward [to Spain].

Has no doubt that His Highness will do everything in his power to assist us. The Emperor, nevertheless, must not neglect his Italian affairs, which are in so dangerous a state

1527.

that if help be delayed it may come too late.—Venice, 12th of October 1527.

Signed : "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed : "Sacrae, Cesareae, et Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1527. From Venice. Sanchez. 12th of October."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 1½.

17 Oct.

217. PROTHONOTARY CARACCILO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 265.

(*Cipher*;) The bearer of this letter has just returned from Lautrech's camp. He says that the French army has marched as far as Belzoiosso (Belgioioso), and must by this time be close to Lodi. The avowed intention of the enemy seems to be to attack Rome, and thence go to Naples, which is to be invaded by sea and land. In Lombardy the Venetians and the Duke [of Urbino] still occupy Marignano and other strong positions, trying to worry and tire us out, knowing, as they do, that we have no money or provisions in store.

The news lately received from Rome is that the Imperial army is very much reduced in numbers, partly by the plague, which has carried away thousands, and partly because many have deserted and gone home. The Germans and Spaniards were still inside the city, insisting upon being paid their arrears out of the Pope's money. The Viceroy was suffering from quartan fever, at a town in the kingdom of Naples called Aversa. By the last advices he was so ill that his life was despaired of. It is doubtful whether the army will ever come to our assistance, or the reinforcements expected from Germany arrive in time to save us.—Milan, 17th October 1527.

Signed : "Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed : "Sacratissimæ, Cesareæ, et Catholicæ Majestati."

Italian. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

18 Oct.

218. ANTONIO DE LEYVA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 267.

His last, which went by way of Monaco, was dated the 30th ulto. Since then Lautrech, after taking Alessandria, came on here to Milan, and on Thursday, the 26th, encamped at a place close by, called San Christoval (San Christoforo), imagining no doubt that we were going to surrender, as the Venetians had led him to believe. Perceiving, however, that we intended to offer resistance, Lautrech joined the Venetians under the Duke of Urbino, and both marched upon Pavia, which they at once besieged with a most powerful artillery.

1527.

Having planted four batteries, they began to fire with one of them against the castle, whose walls soon crumbled down as if they had been dust. The Emperor may believe me that it was the fiercest artillery combat that ever took place. The Italians inside withstood the enemy's assault with great courage, and Count [Lodovico], who commanded them, did his very utmost. We ourselves [from Milan] helped the besieged as much as was in our power; for on the day, and at the very same hour that the enemy made the above-mentioned attack on the castle, I, with 1,000 Germans, 600 Spaniards, 200 lances, and 300 light horse, came suddenly upon them, and cut to pieces the company of men-at-arms (*gendarmes*) of the Duke of Albany, mustering 100 men, who happened that day to be on duty. Meanwhile the inhabitants, unable to resist the attack of the enemy, flocked round Count Lodovico, humbly requesting he would send a trumpeter to Lautrech, and offer to capitulate. The Count refused, and defended himself for two more days as well as he could, until at last the citizens took up arms against the garrison to oblige them to capitulate, which the Count prepared to do after obtaining a safe-conduct. I am told that no sooner did the Count arrive at the enemy's camp than Lautrech ordered another assault to be made on the castle, and, in spite of his plighted word, retained near him the person of the Count, for whom he now asks a ransom of 10,000 cr. (*escudos*). Of course the castle was taken and the city sacked; the Count and Pietro de Birago were sent to Genoa.

After the taking of Pavia, which happened on the 5th inst., the enemy began to brag and say that they would soon come to Milan and take it also from us. They actually encamped before this city, but finding us prepared to receive them, they changed their mind (*cipher*;) and went away. Lautrech with his bands has now passed the Pó, and is marching in the direction of Rome for three different purposes, as he gives out. The first to prevent the Pope and the Florentines from giving the money they have promised us; the second, to threaten the kingdom of Naples from that vicinity; and the third, to hinder the Imperialists from giving us assistance.

The Venetians, under the Duke of Urbino, remain encamped before this city. I am not afraid of them, but I can assure Your Majesty that the sufferings of this small army, destitute as it is of money and provisions, are very great, and though we still fight, we may in the end all die of starvation. It is now full four months that my several letters representing the miserable condition of the forces under my command have remained unanswered. Nor have I during all that time received help or encouragement from anyone.

The loss of Alessandria was entirely owing to the bad management of Count Baptista Lodron. That city once lost, Pavia could not be successfully defended, because neither the

1527.

Germans nor the Spaniards could defend more than one city at a time. At Pavia we were in too large a number, and the city had not provisions for us all. At Milan we are not so numerous as we ought to be. Nevertheless, though all the world is against us, and we have neither money nor provisions, we have hitherto kept, and will hereafter keep, Milan, Como, Trezzo, Lecco, Pizziguitone, and Monza, which are the most important cities and passes in this Duchy. The castle of Novara still holds for the Emperor, and the city will soon be recovered. Pavia is in such a state with its crumbling walls that neither the enemy nor ourselves will be able to retain it long. Whoever has Pavia must be also master of the field.

Your Imperial Majesty ought to consider that three great dangers beset us here. Firstly, we are few in number; secondly, we have no money; and thirdly, we are without provisions. All my efforts to lay in a good store of the latter have been fruitless, because just at the harvest time the enemy was scouring the country. Your Majesty may believe me when I say that I have hitherto done wonders for the defence of this city. The Germans mutiny almost daily for want of pay; the Milanese desert their homes to avoid having to feed my soldiers, and the countryside are completely ruined, and unable to support the burdens of this war.

[Reproduces the paragraph of his letter of the 4th September, and then continues in *cipher*:] Cannot help again reminding Your Majesty that for four or five months I have received no assistance from anyone, and that Milan cannot be guarded with only 6,000 men, Spaniards and Germans, which is all the force now under my command. Never was this Duchy successfully defended on former occasions, except by 10,000 or 12,000 men at least. Had Count Baptista Lodron not divided his Germans not one fortress in this Estate would have been lost. As it is, let us only have money to pay for what we eat, and provisions will come in abundantly. If a reinforcement of 7,000 or 8,000 Germans arrive, I undertake not only to maintain my positions during this winter, but to recover one by one all the places we have lost in the Duchy.

The news from Rome is anything but satisfactory, for although I myself have received no letters for a very long time, I gather from what the enemy publishes that no help is to be expected from that quarter. To prevent the Imperialists from coming to Lombardy, the Pope delays as long as he can the payment of the 150,000 ducats, so often promised to the army. It is he (the Pope) who insists now upon the French going that way, and is doing Your Majesty all the harm he can, as if he were in complete freedom. May God forgive him who was the cause of the Pope remaining at Rome! He would have been better at Gaeta, and Italy would have been spared the many bad thoughts which no doubt assail its people just now. I can assure Your Majesty that it

1527.

is the Pope who kindles this fire, and that he is now more evil disposed than ever.* Little trust can be placed in him. I have often informed the Viceroy and the other captains of these sentiments of mine; but to no purpose for I have never received an answer from them, and what is more, I know not what they intend doing.

(*Common writing* :) The French army is greatly reduced in numbers. It only musters 5,000, with Gascons and Frenchmen. Swiss there are hardly any, as 13 companies of them have lately deserted, and gone home discontented [for want of pay]. Lautrech has besides 2,000 Italians and 1,000 Germans under his banners; his men-at-arms are estimated at 500, though in reality they do not exceed 300. The artillery is both numerous and powerful, the best that was ever seen in these parts, but with all this the least help in men and money will enable me to take the offensive, and make Your Majesty master of the whole world.

The Venetians, under the Duke [of Urbino], amount to 6,000 foot, 500 men-at-arms, and 600 light horse. This force, they say, is soon to be increased to the number of 15,000 men, for the avowed purpose of besieging us in Milan, cutting off our supplies, &c. (*Cipher* :) Between Frenchmen and Venetians, however, there is little or no similarity of opinion; they disagree on most points concerning the war, and mistrust each other. If I only had money and a few more men I would soon baffle all their plans of campaign.

Encloses a list† of noble citizens, who, regardless of danger and privation, have preferred remaining at Milan with their wives and children, and risking their lives and property in his service. Recommends them all to the Emperor's favour. The office of treasurer to the Imperial forces, vacant by the death of the Abbot of Najera, has been given to Bartolomeo di Magis, who, together with Antonio Rabia, has lately done good service, procuring money, &c. Begs for a confirmation of the appointment, which he was compelled to make, as the army could not well be without a paymaster.

At Parma no less than eight cardinals have lately met, for the purpose, as they say, of electing a lieutenant to the Papacy. An ambassador from the King of England is with them. Mons. de Lautrech is also to assist at the conferences,

* "Y certifico á V. Mt. que por lo que puedo entender y alcançar no dexa el Papa de hazer agora todo el mal que puede, como si estoviesse en su entera libertad. Dios se lo perdone á quien le dexó estar alli, que mejor estaria en Gayetta, y seria causa de evitar muchos malos pensamientos á Italia porque el es el que pone fuego en todo y tiene peor voluntad contra Vña Mt. que nunca, y se deve esperar [de él] poca fiança."

† It is appended to the letter, and contains the names of Count Lodovico Belgioioso and his brother Alberico; Count Filippo Torniello; Pietro Botigela (Boticella); Hieronimo di Castione, President of the Senate; Lodovico di Magis (de' Mazii?), chairman of the board of extraordinary magistrates (*magistros straordinarios*); Antonio Rabia, presidente de las Biauas (*della Biada*); Bartolomeo di Magis, treasurer; Lodovico Galarom (di Galarata?), collateral [councillor], and commissary "de las Taxas" (*delle Tasse*?); Marco di Beccaria, and his brother the Provost. See above, p. 371.

1527.

as well as the Duke [Francesco Sforza], who, though almost powerless, is doing what harm he can to the Imperial cause. Cannot say what resolution they will come to. Should he learn anything he will not fail to advise.

A trumpeter, whom I sent some days ago to the enemy's camp, has just returned with a message from Count Guido Rangone, saying that the Viceroy of Naples (Lannoy) is dead.—Milan, 18th October 1527.

Signed: "Anto. de Leyva."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From Antonio de Leyva. 18th of October. Answered."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 5.

19 Oct. 219. NEWS from ROME.

S. E. L. 1,553,
f. 180.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 395.

The following intelligence has been brought by a servant of Madame de Lannoy (*la Viceregina di Napoli*), who left Rome on the 11th, under a safe-conduct of Mons. de Lautrec, to proceed to Flanders, and who arrived here (Ferrara) on the 19th of October [1527.]

The Viceroy (Charles de Lannoy) died about 20 days ago.* Don Ugo de Moncada remains in command till new orders [from Spain]. It is expected that a very heavy tax will be levied on the kingdom of Naples.

The Imperial army is at Rome, doing no harm whatever to the city, except that for want of fire-wood they take the doors, window sills, and wooden vessels (*vaselli*) of the houses to warm themselves with and cook their meals.

The Germans had received two months' pay out of the money remitted from Naples, which had considerably helped them in their wants. More money was expected to come, one pay to the Spaniards, and a trifle to the light horse. As to the men-at-arms, they had been paid part of their arrears some days before.

The Imperial army [at Rome] musters 15,000 good infantry, 500 lances, and upwards of 1,000 light horse.

Letters from Rome state that Mons. de Vhere (Veyre), whom the Emperor had sent to treat for the Pope's liberation, had arrived at the beginning of September, bringing powers from the Viceroy, and from the general of the Franciscans (*Quiñones*), to make arrangements for the Pope's release, provided certain towns were pledged as security for the payment of the sums stipulated.

Had it not been for the Viceroy's demise, the agreement would have been made and signed [much sooner], for he (De

* That is on the 20th of September. A letter of Sanchez says that it took place on the 23rd.

1527.

Veyre) had a special mandate to conclude what he thought best for the Emperor's service, and the Pope besides seemed disposed to grant anything that was asked of him; but on the death of the Viceroy neither the General (Quiñones) nor Mons. de Vere (Veyre) felt disposed to take the responsibility on themselves, and, therefore, the negotiations were suspended. The master of the post, who accompanied the informer, asserts that the agreement cannot fail to take place as intended, as he was going in the Pope's name to the cardinals assembled at Parma, for the purpose of dissuading them from the meeting, they (the Cardinals) being supposed to be rather in favour of the Emperor.

The steward of the Prince of Orange (el Maestro de Casa), who came from Spain with Mons. de Vhere (Veyre), was taken prisoner between Rome and Sienna by certain horsemen of the League; he is still in confinement.

The informer was also detained two whole days in the enemy's camp, which he describes as in bad order and by no means numerous.

The above is the news from Rome. Mons. de Lautrec had passed the river Pò, and was to be at Piacenza yesterday (the 18th). He intends, the French say, to remain five or six days in the Piacentino and Parmigiano, to give time for 4,000 lansquenets to join him. But if such be his intention, he will have to stay there at least 20 days, for no news has yet come of the lansquenets having passed the mountains.

The King of England wishes the French to go to Rome, otherwise he says he will not give any help in money.

Italian. Original. pp. 2½.

21 Oct. 220.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 227, No. 37.

DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET, Governess of the Netherlands.

Has received her letter of the 19th inst. Is surprised to hear that his of the 12th, in reference to what passed between the King, the Cardinal, and himself (Mendoça) at their last interview, has not reached her. Thinks, however, that most likely his letter arrived only two or three days after hers was written. The powers she alludes to from the Emperor, and several letters with names in blank to be filled up in Flanders, as she may direct, are in his (Mendoça's) possession. Has also received from Spain copies of various papers similar to those which Her Highness has now sent him.

The despatch above mentioned, and which he (Mendoça) is to forward to her as soon as he can obtain an answer from the King and Cardinal, is to request that she will immediately send over two persons to treat about the renewal of friendship and commercial intercourse, and also to negotiate a marriage between one of the daughters of the King of Denmark (Christiern) and the Duke of Richmond (Fitzroy), the illegiti-

1527.

mate son of the King. But as the Emperor has ordered him (Mendoza), before sending on the despatch, to inquire of the Cardinal whether he wishes these matters of the marriage and of the renewal of friendship to be discussed at once, he has kept back the Emperor's instructions to Her Highness, for fear that the Cardinal not feeling inclined to entertain those overtures at present, the ambassadors from Flanders should come over to no purpose. Has therefore sent to inquire when he can have audience from the Cardinal, but the latter is so much occupied now with his French friends that he is not likely to fix an early time for it. Will inform her of what is done in the affair, and if the Cardinal's answer be at all favourable send the Emperor's despatch, that Her Highness may at once act upon the instructions.

The [French] ambassadors* made their solemn entry yesterday [the 20th] with a pompous reception which the people of this city, not much pleased at their arrival, had prepared for them. The mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen went out to meet them, which, they say here, is only customary at the reception of crowned Princes. Thus had the Cardinal ordered it to be, and he was obeyed, though with the greatest reluctance (*con harta ruyñ voluntad*).

Has nothing more to advise Her Highness of until hearing from the Cardinal what he has to say about the arrival of these French ambassadors.—London, the 21st of October 1527.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

Addressed: "To the most powerful Lady the Princess of Castille, Duchess of Savoy, my Lady, &c."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

21 Oct. **221.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING OF HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 186.

On the 25th ult^o. the Emperor sent a messenger to France with a memorandum of his own conditions of peace, as agreed with the ambassadors of England and France. A mandate was also enclosed for his ambassador at the court of France [Perrenot], bidding him to acquaint His Highness with the state of the negotiation, and also to transmit copies of any notes and papers interchanged on the occasion. As these last were to go by a sea route, a duplicate was forwarded by land, addressed to Secretary Castillejo.

No news has yet come of what has been done in France concerning peace, but the intelligence lately received from Italy is anything but good. His Imperial Majesty hears that Genoa and Alessandria have been taken by the enemy, and that Mons. de Lautrecq has encamped before Milan. The absence of the Imperial army from Lombardy has been the

* Anne de Montmorency, Grand Master and Marshal of France, and Jean Brinon, First President of Rouen, had landed at Dover on the 14th. See Brewer, p. 1578

1527.

cause of the French general penetrating so far into the country, but the Imperialists had at last agreed to offer the command to Lannoy; the soldiers had received their pay, and were already marching in the direction of Lombardy full of spirits.*

News has likewise been received here of the happy termination of the Hungarian war; of the Vayvod of Transylvania having taken flight and abandoned Buda in carts (*en carros*), taking with him all he possessed. All the rest of Hungary had made its submission. The Turk had been defeated by the Sophi of Persia in a pitched battle, which would prevent him from giving assistance to the Vayvod in future. This intelligence, fully confirmed by letters from all parts, has filled this Court with joy.

The Emperor, who had left Valladolid for Palencia on account of the plague having broken out in that city, has now come to Burgos to join his councillors and courtiers, and be nearer to the French frontier, as there can be no doubt that the news of peace or war must come very shortly from that country. Of the decision, His Highness shall be speedily informed through Latur (*La Tour*), who is to leave at a moment's notice for Flanders.—Burgos, 21st October 1527.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1½.

23 Oct. 222. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 272.

Believes that his letter of the 12th will accompany this. Since that day the Germans have met two or three times for the purpose of discussing the convenience of their leaving Rome, and liberating (*quitar los yerroos*) the hostages, but though very fair promises were made, they have not yet come to any decision, insisting upon receiving first the two and a half months' pay now due to them. Cardinal Colonna, who has great influence over these Germans, is now trying to persuade them to be contented with the one which has just been issued, and another half which the Pope is raising among his own servants, and which will be ready in a few days. It is confidently believed that with this payment, and the promise that comfortable quarters shall be prepared for them in Viterbo and its district, where they can forage for themselves, besides a competent force of artillery to defend themselves in case of need, and Papal commissaries to procure them provisions, they will be induced to quit Rome. If so, the Spaniards will most likely follow them; for although they are now demanding hostages from the Pope for their own share in the 250,000 ducats, and are not entirely agreed

* The writer alludes no doubt to the first evacuation of Rome in July, when the Germans encamped at Narni. See above p. 267.

1527.

as to the dates of payment, yet great hopes are entertained that, this matter once arranged, they will march out of Rome, in order to punish the Abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsino), who, only the other day, took into his head to rob (*desvalijar*) at Anguillara one company of light horse under Captain Miranda, and a number of Spanish foot. Alarcon and the rest of the Imperial captains are of opinion that a nuisance of this sort cannot be tolerated, and therefore every preparation is being made for a competent force, with artillery, &c., to go in search of the Abbot, who is said to be now at Brachano (Bracciano), five leagues from this city. The place is strong, but the Spaniards, to whom some Germans will perhaps be added, have orders to take and dismantle it without sparing any living soul, that it may be an example for the future. There is, however, every reason to think that this attempt of the Abbot has been made at the Duke of Urbino's instigation; it is even added that the latter sent him 100 horse for the undertaking.

The camp of the League is fast breaking up. The Marquis of Saluzzo has gone to Lombardy. The Florentines are on their way home. The Duke of Urbino alone remains with about 5,000 men.

The late Doge of Genoa, who is now at La Mirandola, had sent us one of his household to ask for money, wherewith to pay a certain cavalry force and some Spaniards he has with him. The messenger says that Lautreque (Lautrech) was at Viagrassa on the 5th inst., and that Leyva had strongly fortified Milan and Pavia, and had provisions for four months. News from another quarter is that Count Beljoioso had left Pavia for Milan, at the head of certain forces, but had been met by Lautrech on the road to that capital, and routed with some loss.

The same messenger states that Count Lodron, the one who was once at Boscho,* was expected from Germany with 7,000 men, and would shortly be at Milan. If the report be true, not only would Antonio de Leyva be able to defend himself, but also to take the offensive whilst this Imperial army marched on Lombardy. Cardinal Colonna and Gironimo (Girolamo) Moron are trying to persuade the men to march out of Rome on the distribution to the Germans of 50,000 or 60,000—as complement of the two and a half months' pay promised to them—and of one more to the Spaniards. It is confidently believed that these terms will be accepted, since both Germans and Spaniards are burning for revenge and anxious to chastise the Abbot. The only difficulty now lies with the Spaniards, who demand one month's pay before leaving, and moreover that His Holiness take an engagement to pay them their share in the 250,000 ducats. Unless these terms are complied with they will not allow His Holiness

* "El mismo que estaba en el Bosque." No doubt a mistake for Alessandria. See above, p. 399.

1527.

to be liberated, and Sanct Angelo is to remain in the hands of Alarcon. Their captains, however, are well disposed, and have undertaken to speak to the men and persuade them to go. Cardinal Colonna has promised besides that they shall be paid 15 days after their departure, and thus the matter remains at present.

On the morning of the 18th, as the men were preparing to march to the places occupied by the aforesaid Abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsino), the news came that the army of the League had taken a town called Monte Rotondo, four leagues from this city, and made 14 companies of light horse stationed there prisoners. Later in the day news was received of an opposite nature. It appears that the night before about 20 light horse thought of doing what they had never done before, namely, going out reconnoitring. Such was their luck that they came upon some of the enemy's scouts, who, though they would not tell the truth, said enough to induce them to go forwards. After some time, when it was daylight, they were able to discover the enemy, upon which they despatched a messenger to their comrades at Monte Rotondo to send them more cavalry, intimating that those remaining might come here to Rome with their luggage. The men did as they were asked; they sent 100 of their number, on the arrival of whom they began skirmishing with the enemy's infantry in the vanguard. So resolutely did they charge the enemy that they routed them completely, and put them to flight, the men throwing down their hackbuts, shields, and pikes, in order to run away more speedily. After this, seeing the main body of the enemy advance in good order, our horse retreated slowly towards Monte Rotondo, intending to come to Rome with the rest. Finding 50 of the enemy's horse at a bridge, defended by only 12 Spanish hackbutiers, they joined the latter, and succeeded in making them all prisoners, with the exception of one man who threw himself into the river and was drowned. The prisoners owned that they had come for the purpose of cutting that bridge and others on the road to prevent succours from Rome reaching Monte Rotondo, and the captain, whose name was Farfaçelo, complained bitterly of the Duke of Urbino, who, he said, had promised to come up with his forces before daybreak, and had not done so.

On hearing the first alarming news Alarcon went out with all the Spanish infantry, part of the Germans, and all the cavalry that was at Rome. Orders were sent to the men-at-arms quartered at Tiboli, five leagues from this city, to be on the look-out, and fall back on Rome, assisted by three companies of hackbutiers whom Alarcon sent for that purpose. He, himself, took the road to Monte Rotondo, and met our men coming in triumph with their prisoners.

To-day, the 19th inst., a council of war has been held, at which Cardinal Colonna, the general of the Franciscans (Quiñones), Alarcon, Vere (Veyre), and Moron were present, as likewise all the captains of foot and horse. It has been

1527.

decided that in a couple of days the Imperial army is to go out in quest of the enemy, should they be as close to us as asserted. Should the confederates make a stand there will be a battle (*jornada*), but it is not likely, for they only muster about 6,000 foot, and their cavalry is very bad, as may be gathered from the easy victory which our troopers gained the other day. All of them ride ponies (*hacas*) instead of chargers, and the cavaliers are worthless, with the exception of their captain, who is a veteran.

The Imperial army having decided on going out of Rome is an important point gained, for were it prevented from some cause or other from marching against the army of the League, it is sure to go in search of the Abbot of Farfa, who, as before stated, is fast fortifying himself in Brachano (Bracciano). All the captains are very anxious to do so, and Quiñones says that at the last meeting they all expressed sentiments which honour them, and offered to march unconditionally wherever they were ordered.

The Pope's liberation, and consequent surrender of Sanct Angelo to him, was the next point under discussion. It must be owned that, though the captains who attended the meeting seemed ready to lead their men against the enemy, when the question concerning the Pope was mooted they showed anything but docility, alleging that His Holiness was not to be trusted (*no era de fiar*) in such matters, as there was a strong suspicion that both the Abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsino) and the Duke of Urbino were in secret intelligence with him, and acting according to his instructions. Should the Pope offer securities and deliver hostages for the payment of what was owing to them, as had already been done with the Germans, the Spaniards had no objection to quit Rome, otherwise they could not consent to his liberation. At last, through Alarcon's prayers and entreaties, and his promise to lead them against the enemy, if they only agreed to relieve him from so responsible a charge as keeping the Pope and cardinals in custody, the captains yielded, and offered to communicate the matter to their men.

To-day Juan de Urbina, and some more Spanish captains with him, have come back from Naples. On Monday the Marquis del Guasto is expected. He brings some money, though not so much as could be desired.

News has come that 18 galleys and a number of the enemy's barks (*barchas*) have anchored at Porto Ercole, and that they have troops on board destined for Naples. Sixteen more of the galleys of Venice are also at Baya (Baia), a port of that kingdom, whither they had been driven by contrary winds and a stormy sea, which did not, however, prevent their capturing a galleon laden with corn.

The Marquis of Astorga and the Bishop are on the point of leaving for Naples or Gaeta, after settling their several affairs here. At the cost of 6,000 ducats given to the Pope to hand over to the Germans, the former has obtained per-

1527.

mission to marry whomever he pleases, whilst the Bishop, his uncle, will be able to add the abbacy of Santa Martha to his other ecclesiastical benefices.

There is a rumour afloat that Pavia was taken and sacked by the enemy on the 5th inst. May the news prove untrue.

On the 21st all the captains of this Imperial army, Spaniards as well as Germans, met at the quarters of Juan de Urbina, where Alarcon read to them the instructions he had received respecting the Pope's liberation and the march of the army. Urbina was the first to declare his readiness to obey the Emperor's orders implicitly, in which declaration he was soon followed by the rest of the captains, lieutenants, and ensigns (*alfereces*) of all the companies. A similar meeting was held on the same day at the Colonna Palace, at which the Cardinal [Pompeo], Mons. de Vere (Veyre), Alarcon, and the captains of the lansquenets were present. Each was then requested to persuade his own men to quit Rome, since they had already received one and a half month's pay. Cardinal Colonna again promised that within a fortnight of their leaving Rome they should receive the other month's pay. The captains replied that, as far as they themselves were concerned, they were ready to do the Emperor's service, but their men would not quit Rome unless they were paid. They would, however, collect as much money as they could among themselves and their friends, and hand it over to the lansquenets, provided the Roman bankers stood security for the Pope. Upon which Alarcon went this very morning to the Palace, and persuaded His Holiness to procure such security, as the only means of getting the Germans out of Rome, and recovering his own liberty.

On this last point all the captains, Spaniards as well as Italians, declared their readiness to assent to any measure or agreement which Alarcon might take in the Emperor's name. It was resolved that he should take charge of the hostages as security for what is owing to the men out of the 250,000 ducats. When the money is procured, he (Perez) has no doubt that the whole army will march out, and on their way [to Lombardy] pay a visit to the Abbot [of Farfa], that he may not in future meddle with the Emperor's affairs.

There came to-day a gentleman whom the Duke of Ferrara had despatched to the late Viceroy. He brings letters of credence from Captain George [Fruentspergh] to his own lieutenant and the rest of the German and Spanish captains, as well as to the men, exhorting them to march at once in the direction of Lombardy. It is confidently believed that the lansquenets will be considerably influenced by this message.

News has come from Lombardy confirming the fall of Pavia. The enemy, as it appears, battered the walls of the castle with their artillery, entered through the breach, and after great slaughter made the garrison and its commander, Count Belgioioso (Belgioioso), prisoners of war.

1527.

The news about the whole of the enemy's fleet having anchored at Porto [Ercole] turns out incorrect. It was only two of Doria's galleys that went thither.

The general [of the Franciscans] and Vere (Veyre) will most likely despatch Captain Gayoso to Spain, after they have concluded the agreement with the Pope.

The camp of the League is two leagues from Monte Redondo (Rotondo). It is rumoured that the enemy's attempt, so providentially baffled by our troopers some days ago, was made at the instigation of Mario Ursino, the lord of that place, who must of late have joined the League, for he was formerly in the Imperial army, and almost lost a leg at the battle of Frosinone.

Captain Farfarelo, who was taken prisoner in the affair of Monte Rotondo, says that the Duke of Urbino is suffering from the gout, and ill-pleased that his wife and daughter should be, as it were, prisoners in the hands of the Venetians at Padua, for a guard is appointed to accompany them on all occasions.

Sarra (Sciarra) Colonna married some time ago the Dowager Duchess of Camarino, and has besides betrothed his own daughter to the son of Ascanio Colonna, who came lately to Rome, and is now helping the Cardinal to settle the German claims. Though the Cardinal is known to possess great influence over the latter, he has not yet been able to induce them to release the hostages from their irons (*que quiten los yierros á los ostajes*).

Recommends again Don Felipe Cerbellon, who has served with assiduity and courage for many years, and is now very useful as lieutenant at Sanct Angelo. The Pope has just granted him for one of his sons an ecclesiastic dignity at Tarragona, known as "La Camareria."

On the 22nd pledges (*prendas*) were procured for the German captains, who will pass them over to their treasurer. The lansquenets once paid, there will be no difficulty in the departure of the Imperialists. Alarcon will go with them until the Marquis del Guasto comes from Naples, for some of his suite are already in Rome, and he himself will ride post.

How and when the Pope is to obtain his freedom appears already settled. He (Perez) imagines that besides the conditions stipulated and fortresses demanded on a former occasion, Civittà Castellana, Forlin (Foligno), and Orbiato will now be added. This last is a considerable and well-fortified city near the sea coast. Whether His Holiness will consent to this or not, is more than he (Perez) can say.

Hears that the Pope will not allow the marriage of the daughter of the Duchess of Camarino to the son of Ascanio Colonna, and that in consequence of this the Cardinal and his brother Ascanio have gone to see the Pope. Doubts whether they will be successful, for the Papal Legate [in Romagna?] writes to say that by the Pope's order the army of the

1527.

League had gone to lay siege to Camarino.—Rome, 23rd October 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ, Cæsareæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. From Rome. Perez. 23rd October."

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

25 Oct. **223.** MAXIMILIAN OF TRANSYLVANIA to ALFONSO VALDES.

S. E. L. 1,994,
f. 582.

Has received two letters from him "de pugna ista cucullatorum contra Erasmus." Wonders that he (Erasmus) has found defenders [in Spain]. It is astonishing what success his letters have had. Is glad to hear that the High Chancellor (Gattinara) has been induced to write to Louvain in his favour. His letters will do more good there than those of the Emperor or of His most Serene Highness the King of Bohemia. Already the theologians at Louvain speak of Erasmus in more moderate terms. Here (in Flanders) Erasmus' friends are not so numerous as there [in Spain], where they seem to be many and very illustrious "permulti et preclari." Theologians here [in Flanders] are in general the enemies of Erasmus. Is it that they profess a different religion altogether, or are they jealous of his fame? Is inclined to believe in the latter alternative. Although there is a truce now, the final result [of the contest] will depend from what he (Erasmus) can do in Spain. "Hic utrumque tam est periculosum quam aut Lutherum, aut si quis hereticus Luthero etiam deterior defendere, tam sunt potentes hii Erasmi adversarii, quorum caput decanus Lovaniensis qui horum procerum fihit, magno precio nihil Sapere docet."

Erasmus would willingly come to Brabant if he were only protected from the "Fratres cucullati." Begs him to procure from the Emperor "fidem publicam ut solus Pontifex aut Inquisitor Hispanorum eius liberos judices et censores esse possent." It would be desirable that the Emperor should invite Erasmus to return to Flanders. Thinks that, if invited, he would come with pleasure, as he dislikes his present residence (Basle). The King of France did a similar thing with Jo. Faber Stapulin, when he fled from Paris in order to escape from the attacks of the Parisian theologians, for he persuaded him to return to his dominions.

Is much afraid of the turn affairs are taking in Italy.—Ex Hantem, 25th October 1527.

Signed: "Maximilianus Transylvanus."

Addressed: "Ornatissimo viro Domino Alphonso Valdesio S. Secretario dignissimo."

Latin. Holograph. pp. 2.

1527.

26 Oct. 224. DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 35.

Received by Chateau, who arrived on the 28th ulto., the duplicates of two of the Emperor's letters of the 30th of June and 28th of July, the contents of which were communicated both to the King and Legate, as he (Mendoça) wrote at the time through the [Imperial] ambassador in France, and also by a ship of Anton de Layçola, that left this river on the 6th of September. As both these despatches seem to have reached their destination, the ambassador may perhaps be dispensed from further allusion to the unsatisfactory reply received on that occasion.

Will now proceed to relate that at the end of September the Legate returned from France with all those who had accompanied him on that journey, and immediately after repaired to Richmond, where the King was then staying. On his arrival at that royal residence (*casa*) the Legate sent to apprise the King of his return, and ask where and at what hour he could see him, it being the custom that whenever the Legate has state affairs to communicate, the King retires to a private closet (*camara*) with him. Now it happened that on this occasion the lady called Anna de Bolains, who seems to entertain no great affection for the Cardinal, was in the room with the King, and before the latter could answer the message she said, "Where else is the Cardinal to come? Tell him that he may come here, where the King is." This answer being confirmed by the King, the messenger returned,* and the Legate, though extremely annoyed at a circumstance which boded no good to him, dissembled as much as he could, and concealed his resentment. Though it was thought at the time—and perhaps the Legate himself may have believed so—that this sudden change in the King's manner was indicative of his displeasure, the matter has not gone further, and things remain outwardly as they were. The cause for all this is supposed to be that the said lady, to whom the King is much attached, bears the Legate a grudge on account of his having some years since deprived her father of a high official post which he held here, as well as because she has discovered that during his last visit to France the Legate proposed to have an alliance for the King of England found in that country. Hears that for the same reasons the Duke of Norfolk, who is the lady's uncle, and Milord Boleyn, her

* "Solo diré lo que despues ha passado, y es quel Legado llegó á Richamont donde el Rey á la sazón estaba, postrero de Setiembre, con toda la Compañia que lleuó á Francia, y antes que llegasse á la dicha cassa envió á desir al Rey de Inglatierra que donde mandava que le hablasse, lo qual hizo el Cardenal porque la costumbre ordinaria hera que quando él venia siempre el Rey se passava á su camara. A la sazón que esta embaxada [del Cardenal] llegó al Rey, estava con el, en su camara, aquella dama que llaman Anna de Bolaine, la qual parece que no tiene buena voluntad al dicho Legado, y antes que [el Rey] respondiesse se adelanto ella y dixo que ¿ adonde avia de venir sino alli donde [el Rey] estava? Con la qual respuesta, confirmada por el Rey de Inglatierra, se volvió el mensagero," &c.

1527.

father, a very influential man at Court, with others of their friends and connections, have made a league against the Legate, thinking that his absence [from England] might be a favourable opportunity for working his ruin. This notwithstanding, matters remain in the same state as before, and no change has taken place yet to the ambassador's knowledge; for the Legate, fearing lest by promoting the divorce he should make an opening for the King to marry in France, and that instead of a Queen like the present, incapable of doing him any injury, there might come one who disliked him (perhaps this very lady whom he had so much offended), is not likely to favour any such alliance.* That is the reason why the Cardinal is trying all he can to prevent the dissolution of the marriage; and accordingly, knowing, as he does know, that very few of the lawyers and canonists of this country are likely to decide in this matter against the Queen, he is now trying, before the legal proceedings commence, to get up a great meeting of prelates and lawyers to determine whether the King can rightly, and in conformity with law, both divine and human, carry his plan into execution. There are, however, some courtiers who think that should the Legate perceive that the King is not likely to be moved from his purpose, he will turn round and take up the Lady's cause rather than oppose the King's wishes in this particular.

He (Mendoza) has not yet spoken to the King and Legate on this business, having been expressly forbidden to do so by the Queen. As long as she herself is satisfied—as most undoubtedly she is—with the measures the Emperor is taking in her behalf, the ambassador will forbear from any allusion to the subject, feeling sure that, were he to mention it now, it would only irritate the King, and possibly have a bad effect on the negotiations before they are either more advanced, or quite set aside. As, however, the Emperor commands him (Mendoza) to do all he can for the Queen, he has already written four or five letters to the Viceroy, urging him, at the Queen's own request, to forward here (to London), with all possible haste, a copy of the despatches of which the general [of the Franciscans] took charge. As the Queen's

* "El Legado, aunque sintió novedad en el recibimiento, disimuló lo mejor que pudo, y puesto que se pensó que la novedad passaria mas adelante, fast agora no la ha avido, antes está en el mismo grado y lugar [con el Rey] que antes. La causa por que esto se pensava, hera por saver que la sobredicha dama es harta parte con el Rey, y querer ella mal al dicho Legado, assi por haver quitado á su padre los annos passados cierto oficio principal, que aqui tenia, como por aver savido que en esta jornada de Francia avia hablado en casar al Rey de Inglaterra en aquel Reyno, a cuya causa me dizen quel Duque de Norfort, ques tio della, y milor de Boleyno, su padre, ques agora mucho del Rey, con otros sus aliados se avian juntado pensando que con su ausencia le podrian derocar, pero pareceme que se está como se estava. El qual, como está temeroso que si el Rey se descasase, se casaria con la parte sobredicha, dizenme que por su interesse proprio desvia quanto puede quel casamiento no se deshaga por parecerle que no podria succederle á la Reyna ninguna que tan poco le ofendiese, quanto mas persona á quien por las causas sobredichas tiene ofendida," &c.

1527.

hope is centred in what is to come from Rome, she is most anxious that the Pope's directions concerning her case should arrive here before the legal proceedings commence. Thinks the Viceroy has probably attended to this already, but it would be as well to remind him of it. It would be also advisable if an able lawyer could come over from Flanders to defend the Queen; those of this country are not to be relied upon, and some in whom the Queen trusted are now failing her. Begs the Emperor to write to Madame, that should the lawyer be sent for, she may direct his immediate attendance to the business in question.

Called on the King and also on the Cardinal after his return [from France]. Delivered to the former the Emperor's letter in Latin as soon as it arrived, which letter, as Secretary Lallemand informed him, contains His Imperial Majesty's vindication of the sacking of Rome and imprisonment of the Pope.* The King and Legate retired to a closet to read the letter, and the only remark which the King made was that it was very badly written (*mal scripta*). Replied that he had not read the letter, but knew that its contents were true. Proceeded then to speak about the peace, and knowing beforehand, through M. de Bouclans (Lallemand), that the Emperor would have preferred M. Lachaux coming here for that purpose, rather than his going to any other place,† brought the subject forward. The Legate immediately interrupted him (Mendoza) by saying, "M. Lachaux' presence is no longer required, for unless it were to decide on the appropriation of the Duchy of Milan his coming over [to England] is of no use whatever." Replied that the Duchy of Milan could no longer be a subject for discussion, the French ambassadors having by virtue of their powers ceded their King's rights to it. Exhibited then the copy of a memorandum to that effect, which being read by the Legate, he immediately produced another copy he had by him, declaring however that both were spurious‡ and not to be relied upon, and adding that if the ambassadors had ceded the rights of France to the Duchy, it was on the understanding that it should remain for ever in possession of the Duke Francesco [Sforza] and of his heirs, not otherwise. Replied that this last was out of the question; the King of France had never sought the Duchy for himself, but for the Duke Francesco, and therefore it was evident that if he abandoned his claim he gave up what he had asked for in the first instance, not that for which no demand whatever had been made. This argument of the ambassador admitting

* Though the draft of the Emperor's letter to Henry VIII., dated the 2nd of August 1527, is not to be found in Spain or at Vienna, a translation of it appeared in the *Lettere di Principi*, &c., (Venetia, 1587, vol. ii. p. 76), as well as in Ciaconius and elsewhere.

† That is to say to France, whither he had been ordered to go for the negotiations of the general peace.

‡ "Diziendo esto mostrome otra tal copia qual aquella que yo tenia, pero negome ser verdadera."

1527.

of no contradiction, the King and Cardinal gave him to understand that some new agreement must needs be made respecting the Italian affairs, lest they should become the cause of new disagreement between the parties. After which the Cardinal suggested that he (Mendoza) should write to the Emperor to the effect that, unless in this matter of the Duchy one of the two means proposed by the King of France were adopted, there would be no chance of coming to an agreement. "One of these means (the Cardinal added) is for the Duchy to remain as before in the hands of the Duke Francesco, on his engaging to pay a large pension to the person selected by the Emperor." The King of France would then remit the sum of 200,000 ducats which he says the Emperor has promised as a dowry for Madame Eleonore, and would besides restore certain Imperial galleys taken during the last war. The other means proposed, in case of the above being rejected, was that each party should retain possession of that portion of the Duchy now held by them respectively. Replied that he did not feel justified in bringing either of these proposals before the Emperor, but still both the King and Cardinal particularly insisted on his writing home about them, as they said they themselves intended to do.

Was also desired by the Legate to assure the Emperor that the alliance between France and England was now so closely knit that nothing could effectually loosen it, and that it was in vain for any of the Emperor's councillors to presume that they could sow discord between [the two Kings]. The Legate further said that his assertion was founded on the fact of one of the Emperor's councillors having said to the Bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) that no importance should be attached to the opinion of the English in these matters, for they generally had one sentiment on their lips and another in their hearts, and that the peace which they proclaimed was the last thing they really desired; that for this reason the King of France had sent him a copy of the cipher he used with his ambassadors, and he (the King) had sent his to the secretary of the King of France, that they might thus show they kept no secrets from each other, and were guided by mutual interests in the negotiations. All this, and many other things to the purpose, had the Emperor's councillor declared to the Bishop.

Replied that the Legate must know well how little the Emperor had ever wished to disturb such mutual friendship, since he rejoiced not only in the union of the two Kings [of England and France], but also in that of all Christian Princes. Perceiving the King's earnest desire for peace, he had yielded many points, which he never would have done but out of regard to him. It must therefore be clear to every one that neither the Emperor nor any member of his Council could have entertained such an idea as this. It was far more probable that the Bishop of Tarbes had written this in the

1527.

hope of sowing between the King [of England] and the Emperor that very dissension which he said others were trying to sow between the two Kings. The Legate rejoined that he was certain that what had been written to him on the subject was quite true ;³ after which he took the King apart and conversed with him for awhile in English, relating to him, as far as he (Mendoza) could gather from the conversation, other similar intelligence received from Spain.

Is informed by a person who was present on the occasion, that last week when the Legate was telling the King of the fairness of the King of France's terms, and the unfairness of his (the Emperor's), the Legate said in English, "In one thing, above all others, will your Highness recognize how bad the Emperor's cause is, for he has lately offered me, through his ambassador (Mendoza), a large pension in his kingdom, and a considerable sum of money besides, if I will only serve his interest. These, of course, I have refused, to prove the Emperor's unfairness, and my own freedom from avarice."

The above will show the Emperor how much reliance can be put in the Legate, when he himself reveals that which for his own interest he has always kept secret.* He has returned from France very well pleased, as he well may be, with what he has done there, and now he busies himself in saying and doing all he possibly can to injure the Emperor's cause. Has hitherto used towards the Legate all possible courtesy and moderation, but thinks it will be more advisable in future to let him understand that the Emperor knows him to be such as he is. Will not, however, change his tone until hearing from the Emperor to that effect.

The news received here from Italy is rather favourable to the French ; thinks that which comes through Germany the more reliable. Hears from the latter source that the Imperial army was in treaty with the Venetians, who offered to give it free passage through their territory with flying colours, on condition of the Germans returning home, and the Italians taking service under the French ; but that the Marquis del Gasto (Guasto) was trying to stop them, and it was not known what their decision would be. M. de Lautrec had taken possession of Alessandria, and it was thought he would soon advance upon Pavia, the garrison of which was so small and so scantily provided, that it could not offer much resistance.

The news through France is that Lautrec has actually taken Pavia. Cannot say for certain whether Antonio de Leyva was at Pavia or at Milan at the time. Rather thinks he was at the latter place, but His Majesty is sure to know from his ambassador at Venice (Alonso Sanchez), three of whose letters

* Que por que ayudasse á Vña Magestad le avia yo ofrescido una gruesa peneion, y una buena suma de dineros, lo qual no avia aceptado, assi por ver que Vña Magestad no tenia justa querella como por ser el limpio de toda avaricia. Por aqui verá Vña Magestad el credito que deste Legado deve tener, quando revela lo que por su interesse siempre calló."

1527.

are here enclosed, as in consequence of the changes at Genoa* he has deemed it advisable to send them [to Spain] by this route.

The Queen has sent him the enclosed letter for the Emperor, informing him that Parliament is to meet on the 15th of November, and that her case will then be brought forward. Her only hope lies in the despatch which the Viceroy [of Naples] is to send from Rome, in conformity with the request made by Francisco Felipe, her cup-bearer (*maestre sala*). The assembling of these lawyers is considered a good sign, because if the cause be publicly conducted, there will not be wanting some among them who, for the sake of honour and conscience, will speak the truth to the King. The latter's dislike to the Queen shows itself more and more every day. Mentions this because only last week the King ordered that the said Francisco Felipe, who went to Spain, and has hitherto always been the Queen's cup-bearer, should no longer have that office, thereby showing how much he suspects all those who serve the Queen faithfully.

Hears that the Legate is trying all he can to get the Pope to nominate him Vicar-General of the Church during his detention, and that with this view he has lately sent the Papal Nuncio (Gambara), who was here, to assure him (the Pope) that he will conform himself entirely to his will, and also to persuade him that the Emperor will never restore him to the Papal Chair, and that the commission given to the General [of the Franciscans] was simply to induce him (the Pope) to go where the Emperor was. This latter assertion was made to him (Mendoza) by the Cardinal himself, who said he knew what the general's charge was better than any one else, and that such, and none other, was the nature of it. Cannot speak quite so positively as to the fact that the Cardinal is intriguing to be appointed Vicar-General of the Church, but has been told so by persons of authority, as likewise that he (the Legate), had already, in the expectation of that high ecclesiastical office, appointed Cardinal Salviati for Italy and Maguntino (the Archbishop of Maintz) for Germany to be his sub-delegates, knowing that these two can either help or hinder him considerably in this matter.

Remembers now that besides the two above-mentioned means proposed by the Legate for the settlement of the Milan question, there was a third, namely, that the Duchy should be placed entirely under arbitration in this King's hands. As this is undoubtedly the worst of the three proposals, he (Mendoza) did not consider it necessary to mention it.

The merchants of this city have been to the Legate again about their trade with Flanders. He seems to have neither directly permitted nor prohibited them from going; only he has forbidden them to go together in a fleet (*flota*). Trade there-

* The city and castle were taken about the middle of August. See above, p. 369.

1527.

fore will be carried on much as before ; but the Cardinal is so changeable with his restrictions and permissions that the orders issued one day are generally in direct opposition to those of the previous one ; permission to lade for Spain has, however, not yet been granted. It is said that the Legate has promised to give his final answer within 30 days.

The Grand Master of France (Montmorency) with two other ambassadors, the Bishop of Bayonne (Charles du Bellay) and President of Rouen (Jean Brinon), entered London on Sunday last (the 20th).

(Copies word for word a similar paragraph of his letter of the 6th of September and then continues:)

The object that brings them over is said to be to induce this King to confirm by oath what has been already sworn to by the King [of France] and Legate. They bring also the Order of St. Michael for this King, and are to take back the Garter to Francis. Such are the rumours afloat ; but there is no certainty about them. However this may be, both King and Legate are greatly occupied in entertaining these ambassadors, and it is said that after receiving them in Greenwich the King will invite them to Windsor and other places of amusement. The Cardinal, moreover, has sent orders throughout all the parishes in the kingdom that no one under heavy penalty is to use any abusive language towards the said ambassadors, which order is a good proof of the feeling entertained by this people towards them and their nation.

Since writing the above he (Mendoça) has received a packet of letters dated Palencia, the 30th ulto., and addressed to Brian Tuke, the Secretary. It was delivered to him (Mendoça) later than usual, not from any fault of the said Brian Tuke, but because as the superscription of the packet (*envoltorio*) read thus : *To be delivered into the hands of Nicolas Perrenot,** he (Brian Tuke) did not think there were any letters for him (Mendoça) in it, and accordingly forwarded it to Madame by the usual messenger without any special haste. Madame returned it to the same address, and the Secretary (Brian Tuke) being at that time 20 miles away from London, there has inevitably been considerable delay in its transmission. The two seals are intact ; does not think it has been opened in any way.

The packet (*envoltorio*) contained, 1st, the account of the negotiations for peace ; † 2dly, the answer given to the English ; 3dly, the power and letters for Madame, and his own instructions.

With regard to these last, he (Mendoça) cannot but repeat here the observations made in his former despatches. He is ordered to ask the Legate whether the King and himself are willing to renew the old alliance through a marriage

* "No por culpa del dicho Briantuke syno que vino [para] en mano de Nicolao Perrenot."

† "El discurso de los tratos de la paz."

1527.

between the Emperor's niece and the Duke of Richmond; for if they do not, Madame need not send the ambassadors. Mendoza is besides instructed to offer the Legate as a gift the sum mentioned in the Emperor's letter. With regard to the former point, Mendoza wrote by the courier who sailed in Antonio de Layçola's ship, saying that the King and Legate absolutely refused to hear of an alliance unless the Emperor's debts were first paid. If they were then of that mind it could not be expected that they would change now that the treaty between France and England, as this King has often assured him, prevents the one country from treating and acting independently of the other. Wrote at the time to say that any further insistence on the renewal of the old alliance tended to lower the Emperor's reputation without producing any advantage whatever to himself. But as it seems still to be His Majesty's pleasure that this subject should be introduced, he (Mendoza) will try to ascertain, before sending the despatches to Madame, whether the Cardinal agrees or not to the coming of the ambassadors [from Flanders], and will advise Madame thereof as soon as possible. It will be rather difficult for him to obtain an audience this week, the King and Legate having all their time taken up with receiving and visiting these French ambassadors; will, however, be so importunate as to gain a hearing if possible. Feels certain, nevertheless, that the Legate's answer will be of a nature to render the ambassadors' visit of little avail. Most probably the King will refuse to receive them unless they bring more satisfactory terms for the payment of the Emperor's debts.

With regard to the second article of his instructions he (Mendoza) can only repeat what he said in a former despatch. As the Legate, besides refusing the new pensions and ready money offered to him, has acquainted the King with the fact of such offers having been made to him, it is almost certain that he will again reject any that may be made, especially now that the very considerable bribes, which he is said to have received from France, will make him less desirous to accept ours. Besides which, as the arrears of his pensions are still unpaid, he (the Cardinal) will conclude that if, when his services are so much wanted, payment is not made, much less will it be so when such services are no longer indispensable. Will nevertheless again bring the subject forward in compliance with the Emperor's instructions, but has very little hope of succeeding.

All copies of papers sent him to show to the King and Legate, as well as all instructions concerning what he (Mendoza) is to say to them, generally reach him so late that, when he goes to court for that purpose, both the King and Cardinal know already what he is about to say, and receive him (Mendoza) with the air of people who have previously settled what answer is to be made to his applications. The Emperor does quite the contrary; for whereas the King and

1527.

Legate never acquaint him (Mendoça) with what they write to their ambassador [in Spain], he (the Emperor) informs the English ambassadors beforehand of the instructions he intends forwarding to him, long before sending them, and in most cases such instructions do not reach London till two or three months after. So that owing to this delay in the transmission of letters and despatches, as well as to the excessive confidence placed in these people, the Imperial ambassador can never obtain a hearing under favourable circumstances; for as the King and Cardinal know beforehand what he (Mendoça) has to say, they have plenty of time to write to France, and elsewhere, before they agree as to the answer to be given.

The Queen's case goes on. Whatever is to come from Rome, should come as quickly as possible. Madame [of the Low Countries] should also be instructed to send over an able lawyer.

Yesterday Master Passe (Pace), Dean of London, was arrested by the Cardinal's orders and sent to the Tower, the strongest prison in this kingdom. The said Dean was some years ago principal secretary to the King of England, and one of the chief persons in state affairs, a learned and able man and a good Englishman, therefore favourably inclined towards the Emperor. Whilst ambassador at Rome the Legate offended him (*le hizo cierto desplacer*), which affected him so that he lost his reason. They brought him here a year ago, and now for the last three months he has recovered his mind, and, as it would appear, spoken to the King touching this matter of the Queen and the government of the Cardinal, expressing himself like a good and loyal subject. What else he may have said or done, he (Mendoça) is unable to say, but the Cardinal on his return [from France] instituted a legal inquiry (*inquisicion*) against him, and the result has been that the Dean and some of his servants are now prisoners in the Tower.

Has mentioned these facts concerning the Dean to lead to the better understanding of what he (Mendoça) is about to relate, which is that a fortnight ago the said Dean, meeting some English merchants* [in the street], asked after him (Mendoça), and requested one of them, Master Parmer by name, to tell the ambassador that if he would only send one of his servants to speak with him His Imperial Majesty's interests might be served. He (Mendoça) knowing that the Dean is a learned man, and well disposed towards the Queen, and thinking he might advise well upon her affairs, sent to him Juanin Corchiero, who understands English. The Dean received him in private, and told him that it was very important for the Emperor's affairs that before speaking again with the King he (Mendoça) should have a conversation with him, and named the church of St. Paul as the place of meeting

* "Hablando con unos mercaderes Ingleses," i.e., merchants trading with Spain and Flanders.

1527.

least likely to arouse suspicion. Did not accept the appointment, thinking it possible that as the Dean had been for some time suffering from mental derangement, the same malady might have returned, as is often the case. Besides, as he and the Cardinal did not stand well together, and it was rumoured that the Dean was inciting people against him, knowing also that the latter has spies everywhere, he (Mendoza) declined to meet him at the appointed place.

The Legate knew immediately through his spies in the Dean's house of the said Juanin's visit, and summoned him to appear before him in Council. He was then charged with having taken his (Mendoza's) cipher to the Dean, and told that unless he confessed the whole truth, steps should be taken to prove his guilt. Juanin related what had passed, and how he (Mendoza), thinking the Dean might still be suffering from his old complaint, had declined to meet him at St. Paul's.

The Legate then dismissed Juanin with the injunction that he was again to appear before the Council. What else he may require of him he (Mendoza) cannot guess. Certain it is that the Legate made then every effort to discover whether the ambassador had spoken with or written to the Dean. All his inquiries, however, will end in nothing, for he (Mendoza) has never either spoken or written to the Dean, nor has there been anything more between them than what he has related.

Should the Legate write to Spain on this subject, the Emperor knows the exact truth, and can give a suitable answer ; for this worthy Legate (*este bueno de Legado*) has been trying of late to find some opportunity for persuading the King that he (the Emperor) is fomenting rebellion in England. Such opportunity, however, he shall not find, at least whilst he (Mendoza) is here, as he is determined to avoid giving the smallest ground on which the Legate's treacherous purpose could be based.

Has been kept waiting longer than usual for the ship's passport. No doubt they imagined that he (Mendoza) was writing home on some pressing business communicated by the prisoner (Pace), and therefore the ship's passport has been delayed. Should the vessel (*zabra*) have been allowed to sail without it, Mendoza thinks these letters will return from the coast, as most likely when they reach the port the vessel will have sailed.

Has spoken to the Legate, as desired in the Emperor's letter, respecting the embassy to come from Flanders for the renewal of the alliance, as well as for his own personal business, and the Emperor's offers. The Legate replied, as he has so frequently done before, that he did not think the King, his master, would enter into a treaty of alliance with the Emperor until peace was settled between the King of France and him ; this once accomplished, the King of England could then entertain his proposals, but for the present it seemed to him altogether useless to treat about it. For the

1527.

same reasons he thought that the embassy from Flanders was not needed. With regard to the Emperor's offers to himself, the Legate said he really thought that he was entitled to the arrears of his pensions, but that he declined accepting anything further, as the Emperor would place greater trust in him if his services were given disinterestedly. He then related how he had been the cause of preventing the marriage between the King of France and the Princess, which would inevitably have caused war to break out again, and produced other lamentable effects. Gathered from his conversation that as he thinks peace is concluded, or about to be so, he wishes to keep the Emperor contented with fair speeches, whilst all his good deeds are reserved for the French.

The Legate also cautioned him (Mendoza) against being deceived by certain disloyal subjects of the King, his master. He had been informed that the ambassador was in secret understanding with some such persons in England, especially among the common people (*pueblo*), and although he attached no faith to the report, yet for the Emperor's sake, and in order that he (Mendoza) should not be a sufferer by it, he strongly recommended him not to listen to any of the reports circulated by the Dean of London. Replied that he could not imagine why the Legate should make such remarks to him, as the Emperor and his servants [in England] never thought of any other thing save doing in every respect the King's pleasure and his own, and that if any statement should ever be made to the contrary, or that he (Mendoza) had ever spoken against the interests of the King of England and his own, he was prepared to prove that the accusation was false. Upon which the Legate uttered one of those monstrous lies in which he is known occasionally to indulge, namely, that the Dean himself had confessed that a letter in cipher found among his papers was from him (Mendoza), though (the Cardinal added) it has since been ascertained that it was not. Replied that he thought it very strange indeed that the Dean should have made a statement so contrary to truth, for that he (Mendoza) had never seen or spoken to the said Dean, and only received his invitation to go to St. Paul's, which he had declined. It was not, therefore, to be supposed that the ambassador would write a letter in cipher to a person with whom he desired to hold no communication at all, but that it seemed to him that whoever endeavoured to raise and publish such suspicious reports as these was wronging both the Emperor and the King, for that such accusations should never be made without sufficient proof, and that, as for himself, he was quite guiltless of having ever spoken to the King's prejudice, as he had no doubt the Cardinal had already ascertained through his numerous spies. The King and himself (was the Legate's rejoinder) were fully convinced that he (Mendoza) would never listen to any calumnies against them.

This point once settled, the Legate shortly after addressed

1527.

Mendoça, saying that the King, his master, desired most earnestly that peace should be concluded now. He therefore begged the Emperor to prevent the serious inconveniences that might arise (meaning no doubt the King's declaration in favour of the French), and to decide at once upon one of the three means proposed for the settlement of the Milan question. He (the Legate) thought that the one lately suggested by Mr. de Lachaux might do, *i.e.* that the investiture of the Duchy should be conferred on the first-born son of the King of France, by his second marriage, as such a son would then be the Emperor's own nephew; or if this should not be approved, to let the Duchy remain in the possession of Francesco Sforza, upon the settlement of a large pension on the Emperor, or else let each party retain its own for the present. Replied to each of these overtures as seemed most in accordance with his instructions.

As the Cardinal was already in possession of all the copies of papers now sent him for inspection, Mendoça did not consider it necessary to forward them, knowing, as he does, that he has read and examined them all very carefully.

The divorce is more talked of than ever. If therefore the Emperor really has the Queen's honour and peace of mind at heart, orders should be sent to Rome for a trusty messenger to bring us the Pope's decision, in conformity with the commission given to the Father-General [of the Franciscans].

The Queen's letter to His Majesty will not be enclosed in this packet (*envoltorio*), but will go separately, that it may be safe in case of the other being intercepted.

Yesterday the Legate communicated to Parliament the treaty of peace lately concluded between the Kings of England and France, extending, as it would seem, to their mutual lives and those of their children and grandchildren. Lord Lisle, Vice-Admiral of England, and Grand Equerry Boron (Sir Anthony Browne), with other persons of rank, are shortly to take the Garter to the King of France in return for the Order of St. Michael, which the French ambassadors brought to this King.

Hears that the President of Rouen (Brinon) said the other day in his address [to the King] that whoever took the Pope prisoner was *Antichrist* himself, and that those who keep him in confinement are *Antichristians*. No one seems to have spoken [of the Emperor and his generals] in a more dishonest manner, though many false statements were made on the occasion.

The people [of England] are greatly aggrieved at the arrest of the said Dean; they say openly that he has been imprisoned for speaking the truth, and this is also the opinion of all impartial persons. Was told by the Legate, who spoke in most abusive terms of the said Dean, that the latter should never quit the tower. All the Dean's books have been searched, but nothing incriminating has been found, excepting



1527.

perhaps one which he has written on the irregularities of the Pope and cardinals.*

Public feeling generally, in which all the noblest men in the country join, is now so bitter against the government of this kingdom, that if any one were at hand to fan the flame, such a fire would be kindled as would not easily be extinguished till the government was in other hands. The Legate knows this and fears. Has purposely avoided any intercourse with the people [of England], knowing their good disposition towards the Emperor, and from fear of giving any incentive to the Cardinal's malice.

Wishes his health were better than it is, that he might render the Emperor more effectual service. Has never been well since the day of his arrival in England, and now his indisposition increases daily. Prays for relief, that he may be able to serve him as he wishes to do.—London, the 26th of October.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. (The last paragraph in the ambassador's own hand.) pp. 17.

27 Oct. 225.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 277.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

Since his letter of the 12th the news has come of the taking of Pavia by Lautrech. It is reported that the horrors and cruelties of the sack were comparatively greater than at Rome. Since then, at the instigation of the King of England, and also of the cardinals residing at Parma, or detained at Sanet Angelo with the Pope, Lautrech has decided to march towards Rome. He has already crossed the river Pò, and reached Piacenza, as it is stated.

Andrea del Burgo writes from Ferrara that Lautrech's army does not muster more than 8,000 foot, good, bad, and indifferent, and 300 lances. He expected a brother of Cardinal de Lorraine (Count Vaudemont) to join him soon with 17 companies of lansquenets. Nobody believes, however, that he will go beyond Bologna, since he will probably meet on the road the Imperial army, greatly superior in numbers.

(*Cipher:*) When Alessandria was taken Lautrech refused to give it up to the Duke Francesco [Sforza]. Such, however, have since been the solicitations of this Signory about it, that he has at last consented to let the Duke's men in, much to the disgust and disappointment of his King, who would have retained it, if he could, thus showing that he aims at the possession of the whole Duchy of Milan. Cannot say what he has done with Pavia, although by all accounts it is so utterly destroyed that it is not worth keeping, all the inhabitants having been slaughtered or driven away, so that no one remains in it save the French garrison.

* His letter to Henry VIII., 1527 ?

1527.

(*Common writing* :) The Venetian forces and those of the Duke Francesco are two leagues from Milan. They are only 6,000 strong, but occupy very good positions. The other day Leyva went out against them with 3,000 of his men, all wearing white vests (*encamisados*), but the enemy was on the alert, and he had to go back to Milan without attempting anything. Now he has gone to Viagrassa, where there is a Venetian garrison, with the intention, no doubt, of trying to draw the confederates from their strong positions.

The Imperial army is still at Rome. The Pope had given hostages as security for the money promised to the Germans, but as this was not forthcoming the Germans threatened to hang them. The French spoke of sending a fleet against Naples, but hitherto no preparations have been visible, and besides the season is so far advanced that it is not likely their galleys will put to sea.

Hears that Lautrech has repassed the Pò, and intends attacking Milan. He has already received a reinforcement of 3,000 Germans, and was expecting more, to the amount of 10,000, which was the contingent to be furnished by England.

Death of the Viceroy of Naples. Surrender of Pizzighitone to the Duke Francesco, &c.

(*Cipher* :) Has often written to His Highness the King of Bohemia, and also to the Imperial ambassador at his Court (Don Antonio de Mendoza), representing the critical state of affairs in Italy, and begging for reinforcements. Fears much that engaged as he now is in the Hungarian war, and wanting money for the support of his own troops, His Highness may not be able to send them as soon as might be desired. If no provision is made from Spain, and the Imperial army remains at Rome, all may be lost; for, although Leyva has provision for two months, and defends himself most gallantly in Milan, it is not to be expected that he can protract his defence beyond that time.

Letters from Ferrara state that Lautrech has made great offers to the Duke (Alfonso d'Este) if he will declare for the League, threatening, if he does not, to deprive him of his estate. Seeing the French already on this side of the Pò, and the Imperial army still at Rome, the Duke had sent to Lautrech one of his gentlemen named Taxon (Tassone) with the following message: "He considered himself a good friend and servant of the King of France, as likewise of this Signory; he was besides a near relative of the Duke Francesco. He knew not what other declaration was demanded of him, but this he would say, that on no account could he forget what he owed to the Emperor." Notwithstanding this message, it is publicly announced here (at Venice) that the Duke has already joined the League. He (Sanchez) is not sure of this; all he can say is that Gaspar Contarini, once ambassador of this Signory at the Imperial Court, left last night for Ferrara on a mission; that at the same time Cardinal Cibo and Ambrosio

1527

de Florencia, once French ambassador here in Venice, and who came last with Lautrech and Cavalier Casal as representative of the King of England, are also to be there to negotiate with the Duke. Has written to Andrea del Borgo to keep his eye on the said ambassadors. Should the Duke make an agreement with them, he is immediately to despatch a trusty messenger to Rome, Milan, and Naples to inform the Imperial generals and ministers at each place of the occurrence.—Venice, 27th October 1527.

Signed : "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed : "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed "To the King. 1527. From Venice. Sanchez. 27th October."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

28 Oct. **226.** The EMPEROR to the KING OF ENGLAND.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof- u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 227, No. 36.

Writes by the King's councillor and gentleman of his Chamber, the Sieur de Poyntenz (Sir Francis Poyntz), now returning to England, whom he has found a wise and trusty person. The said gentleman has been present at all the communications held with the King's other ambassadors, and also with those from France, and must have clearly seen all that he (the Emperor) has done and is doing out of love and consideration for the King [of England], waiving a large portion of his own just rights in order to ensure the peace and repose of Christendom, to preserve (*conservar*) the friendship of the King of France, and turn their common arms against the infidels.

Thinks he has thus given abundant proof, first, of his devotion to God's service, and then of his great affection for the King, and if there be anything in which, with the sanction of his own subjects and vassals, he can further content the King, he will do it with more pleasure than for any other Prince living.

Thinks it well to remind him how fairly he (the Emperor) dealt with the King of France [whilst his prisoner], how the said King pledged his faith to him, and the reason for which, of his own free will, he placed the Dauphin, his eldest, and the Duke of Bretagne and Orleans, his second son, as hostages in his power. The King of France, by acquitting himself of his plighted word, could at any time have had his sons restored to him, without plunging the whole of Christendom into a series of ruinous wars and dissensions, such as have ensued from the leagues and confederacies he (Francis) has been forming against him, as the King of England sufficiently knows, and as those who supported him in his unjust cause have likewise found out. In spite of which he (the Emperor) has acted towards him and the rest with all generosity for the

1527.

good of Christendom, and intends with God's help to continue to do the same. Cannot certainly believe that the King of England, who has been entitled "Defender of the Faith," can, knowing as he does the truth of his (the Emperor's) statements, adhere to his alliance with the King of France, the instigator of this present war, the most unjust perhaps that ever was undertaken. Trusts that with the help of God, the just Judge of all, and the assistance of his friends, allies, kingdoms, vassals, and subjects, so to defend himself that the King of France will gain little by his offensive measures (*que de peu luy prouffiteront ses offencions*). Has, as the King of England well knows, completely vindicated his conduct before God and man, and will continue to do the same. Desires to live in the maintenance of the ancient friendship and alliance which has at all times existed between the King of England and himself, and between his kingdoms, vassals, and subjects, as he has fully stated by word of mouth to the said Maestre Poyntz, the bearer of this letter. Begs him to advise him if there be anything in his dominions which he desires.

French. Original minute. pp. 3.

28 Oct. 227. THE EMPEROR to the CARDINAL OF YORK.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 37.

Monsieur le Legat, mon bon Amy,—I have heard of your return to England, at which I am very much pleased, as you must, I have no doubt, have worked there much better than anywhere else for God's service, and the peace and repose of Christendom, as you have done hitherto. I now write to the King, my good brother and uncle, as you will see. Mons. de Poyntz, present bearer, will inform you of all that has passed here, and of the position I have taken in the affair, and in which I consider myself justified before God and man. I entreat you, Mons. the Legate, my good friend, for the sake of the good friendship and understanding which has always existed between the kingdom of England and the houses of Burgundy and Spain, and our mutual vassals and subjects, not only to work for the maintenance and preservation of the said alliance, but have the same renewed and strengthened, to our own common advantage and the discomfiture of all disturbers of peace, who shall thereby the sooner be called to reason; and if there be any matter in our kingdoms, or elsewhere, in which you desire my assistance, let me know at once how I can help you, and I shall do it most heartily, as the said Mons. de Poyntz cannot fail to tell you in my name.

French. Original draft p. 1.

29 Oct. 228. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 359.

Received on the 6th inst. the Emperor's letter of the 17th of August, advising that orders had been given for a supply of wheat to be sent to Genoa, and for Don Alvaro de Baçan's galleys, and those of Naples to come to the assistance of the

1527.

beleaguered city. Had the intended succour come in time, Genoa might have been saved. Now, alas! it is too late, as His Imperial Majesty has already been informed. The 3,000 ducats which the Emperor ordered to be given as an indemnity to the Lord of Monaco (Grimaldo) have been remitted to him.

(*Cipher* :) Has written several times by sea and land since he left Genoa, through Genoese merchants having correspondents in Spain, also through Don Joan Centellas, though this last is still at Lucca, owing to the difficulty of finding passage. The present is partly a duplicate of one he sent by way of Lyons.

Pavia was taken on the 5th. Though the garrison capitulated, the city was most cruelly sacked, Count Belgioioso remaining prisoner in Lautrech's hands. After taking Pavia, the latter was strongly recommended by the English ambassador, and also by the cardinals assembled at Parma, to join his forces with those of the Marquis of Saluzzo (Michael Antonio) and Duke of Urbino, and undertake the Pope's liberation at Rome. The Venetians and the Duke Francesco were of a different opinion, and wanted him first to achieve the conquest of the Duchy. Lautrech decided on the former of these plans, crossed the river Pò, and took up his quarters at Piacenza, to wait for the brother of [Cardinal] Lorraine (Vaudemont), who is to join him with some forces, and then all together march on Rome and Naples. All the friends of the Empire throughout Italy are most wonderfully struck with the culpable blindness of the Imperial soldiers and commanders at Rome, who will thus allow every advantage to be lost through their waiting for the Pope to fulfil his promise, whereas it is well known that he purposely delays payment to prevent their marching against the enemy. There must be treachery here.

Maitre Piero Netural, who went to Lautrech's camp to ask for a safe-conduct for the widow of the Viceroy to go to Flanders, left Rome on the 11th inst. He says that on that day the army had received money from Naples, and that arrangements were being made for its departure, but that the news of the Viceroy's death, which happened on the 23rd of September at Aversa, was likely to prove an impediment, as the Pope suggested that it would be necessary to wait for fresh orders and instructions [from Spain], all of which is but an excuse to delay the settlement of affairs, since it is a known fact that both the General [of the Franciscans] and Mons. de Vere (Veyre) took to Rome ample powers to conclude, &c.

It is imperative for His Imperial Majesty to appoint a new Viceroy for the kingdom of Naples, or confirm Don Ugo's nomination, and name also a Commander-in-Chief for the Imperial armies [in Italy], which are in a state of confusion and insubordination hardly to be described.

The Venetians and the troops of the Duke Francesco are quartered at Guarnino, close to Milan, but Leyva keeps them

1527.

in a state of agitation and fear through his frequent sallies, so that they are not likely to make much progress. Trezzo, Lecco, and Como we still hold; the rest of the Duchy is in the hands of the enemy.

The Prince of Orange is still at Sienna waiting for the army at Rome to come this way.

Received at Ferrara on the 6th inst. the Imperial letter of the 17th August. Whilst there, he had occasion to see the Duke, who told him of Lautrech's brilliant offers, and the fear he had that his non-acceptance of them would bring down upon him the whole of the confederated army. In such an event, the Imperial forces remaining inactive, he could not defend himself against so many enemies. He (Soria) believes that the Duke will hold out as long as he possibly can, and that in the end he will either remain neutral, or comply with the wishes of the confederates.—La Mirandola, 29th October 1527.

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, &c."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

2 Nov. 229. Paragraph of a Letter from KING FERDINAND.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 317.

The Hungarians at the diet generally called Ragütse (*sic*) have decided to furnish to His Majesty two ducats for each house, and one light horse (*unum equitem levis armature*) for each 20 inhabitants, to be paid at the expense of the kingdom. The King and Queen had left Buda for Alba Regalis (Sturk Weissemburg), where they were to be crowned the day after, or the 3rd inst.—Vienna, 2nd November 1527.

Latin. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

3 Nov. 230. ANDREA DEL BORGO to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,55.
ff. 194-6.
B. M. Add. 28,576,
f. 398.

The agent (*factor*) of the Duke of Ferrara came yesterday to see him (Borgo) at the fifth hour of the night. Told him that Lautrec had lately received a new commission from France, according to which the French ambassador was to demand from the Duke 200,000 ducats, one third down, the rest in two instalments. The Duke was furious when he heard of this, and remonstrated strongly against what he called want of consideration on the part of the French. Upon which the ambassador insisted and threatened to break off the negotiations. The ambassadors of the League then sent the Duke certain articles, and a brief from the Pope, dated December of last year, advising him to reconsider the proposals of the League before he rejected them. At last the Duke asked to see the King of France's powers concerning the proposed marriage and other matters. Seventeen more days will be gained by this stratagem, during which the Duke hopes that the Emperor will make peace. After many nego-

1527.

tiations and much threatening language from Lautrec's ambassador, the Duke has consented to give free passage [through his dominions] as well as provisions to the army of the League, but positively refused to help it against the Emperor. The French offer to make the Duke's son, Hercule, captain-general of the force, if he will declare for them.—Ferrara, 5th of November 1527.

Signed: "Andrea del Burgo."

Italian. Original. pp. 2.

4 Nov. 231. ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the
 M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. EMPEROR.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 292.

In his letter of the 27th September, when mentioning the names of the foreign ambassadors who had repaired to Ferrara, he (Sanchez) said that Ambrosio of Florence was one of them. Has since ascertained that it was not he, but one Joachin [Passano], who used once to reside in England for the King of France. As this Joachin was sent here by Lautrech, and had an audience of this Signory conjointly with the French ambassador (Bishop of Bayeux), took his leave for Ferrara on the 28th, and joined on his way to that city Gaspar Contarini, the Venetian ambassador, who was waiting for him, the intelligence seemed to be correct. The remaining deputies were Cardinal Cibo, in representation of the cardinals who are at Parma, Cavalier Casale for the King of England, and Count Massimiliano Estampa (Stampa) for the Duke Francesco.

About that time letters came from His most Serene Highness the King of Bohemia and Hungary addressed to Miçer Andrea del Burgo, ordering him to speak to the Duke of Ferrara in his name, and exhort him to persevere in his duty to the Emperor; also for the Germans at Rome to make haste and march on Lombardy. Immediately on the receipt of these despatches I sent a trusty messenger to Ferrara, who delivered them to Miçer Andrea, together with a memorandum of his. The Duke then showed him the answer received from Lautrech, which was to the following purpose: "The Duke's excuses cannot be admitted; he must say yes or no, declare for the League or for the Emperor." Miçer Andrea asserts that the Duke is in great tribulation, not knowing what to reply. He is very well inclined, but says that the army of the League invades his estate; he has not the power of resisting them. He will do his utmost to gain time, but unless he hears soon of the approach of the Imperialists, or of peace being made in the meantime, he cannot see how he can possibly avoid taking part with the League. Such is also Miçer Andrea's view of the matter. He (Sanchez) has always been of opinion that the Duke will seize the very first opportunity of declaring in favour of the confederates, now that he has got all he wanted from the Emperor.

1527.

It is reported here (at Venice) that the Pope has made an agreement (*concierto*) with the Emperor, though the conditions are not stated. On the receipt of this intelligence, which was said to be most authentic, he (Sanchez) despatched a messenger to Miçer Andrea, that he might communicate it to the Duke and prevent his joining the League, as there could be no doubt that his affairs with the Pope had been taken care of in the negotiation, &c. May the Pope long persevere in this mood and fulfil his engagements. Many here say that he will not, and that Lautrech has gone from Piacenza to Parma. This would prove that His Holiness is in secret intelligence with Lautrech, for the French getting possession of those cities will be a sufficient excuse for his not delivering them as agreed. Has seen letters from Parma and Piacenza stating that Florence had strongly protested against that invasion, saying that they would not contribute to the expenses of the war unless Lautrech withdrew from the Roman estates and marched upon Milan. On the other hand, the English ambassador (Sir Gregory Casale) who resides here, has been heard to say that his brother, the Prothonotary, was the one who led the dance in the Ferrarese negotiations (*es el que lleva el bayle de aquella negociacion*). It is also reported that Lautrech had a long conference with Cardinal Freneses (Farnese) at Citadella, near Piacenza, and that the cardinals who are at Parma are constantly plotting against the Emperor.

Said in his last that Lautrech had repassed the Pò, in the direction of Milan. It was not so; what Lautrech did was to detach his Gascons to the assistance of the Venetians and of the people of Sforza, whom Leyva was pressing very hard indeed, for he had taken Viagrassa, and after carrying away every valuable, returned to Milan.

It is asserted that the brother of Cardinal Lorraine has arrived before Milan with 3,000 Germans; also that the Imperial army has actually gone out of Rome.

(*Cipher* :) Certainly all this coming of reinforcements to the camp of the League does not look much like peace, and yet everywhere do the confederates announce that the negotiations in Spain advance, and that a treaty is soon to be concluded between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France. His (Sanchez's) impression is that no reliance can be placed on such statements, and that they are only designed for the purpose of preventing the Emperor from making proper preparations. The French King is every day informed of the progress of his arms, and according as this may be he causes his ambassadors to make more or less concessions in his name. Lautrech is intriguing busily just now, and what with his late success, what with the disorderly state of the Imperial forces, which neither the Emperor nor his brother the King [of Hungary] seems able to remedy, is no doubt drawing to his master a most favourable picture, and writing as if the whole of Italy were in his power (*que lo tiene todo en*

1527.

su puño). His (Sanchez's) zeal for the service prompts him to say that if His Imperial Majesty decides for the continuance of the war, something must be done towards the reformation and maintenance of his Italian army. With money, an able commander-in-chief to restore discipline, and perhaps, too, some reinforcements, things are not yet so far gone but that they can be retrieved.—Venice, 4th November 1527.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. From Venice. Sanchez. 4th November."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 5.

6 Nov. 232. ANDREA DEL BORGIO to the EMPEROR.

S. L. 1,553, f. 196.
B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
f. 398.

Some of the ambassadors of the League admit that Lautrec is dealing too harshly with the Duke. It is probable that the 200,000 ducats will be reduced to one half, and perhaps less. The Duke in his turn asks,—

1°. The most ample protection. 2°. Absolution for all injury he may have done to the present Pope or his predecessors. 3°. Restitution of Ferrara as well as cession of all signorial rights which the Pope and the Papal See claim to have on Modena and Reggio. 4°. A cardinal's hat for his own son. 5°. Restitution of the Polesino, now occupied by the Venetians. 6°. "Quod habeat mare liberum." 7°. That he may be allowed to raise salt at Comachio (Comaccio) 8°. All stipulations to be ratified by the Venetians and by the Pope, and the rest of the confederated powers. 9°. The Duke's son to be Bishop of Modena, and Archbishop of Ferrara.

The Duke nevertheless persists that he wishes to remain true to the Emperor, and hopes that this will not cause the loss of his estate.—6th November 1527.

Signed: "Andrea del Burgo."

Latin. Original. pp. 1½.

6 Nov. 233. Summary of Letter from the MARQUIS DEL GUASTO to the EMPEROR.*

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 329.

Lautrech, after leaving part of his army in front of Milan, has taken the road to Naples. His artillery goes by water (*poragua*).

* On the margin of this paper, which forms part of a "Sumario de las cartas del Marques del Gastio y otros," drawn for Gattinara's inspection, is a minute of answer in that Chancellor's hand, referring the Marquis to the memoranda sent to Don Ugo, as well as to the verbal instructions whereof Castaldo had been, or was to be, the bearer.

1527.

Don Ugo has expelled from Baja the Venetian fleet, which had effected its junction with that of Doria.

The rest of the confederated forces maintained their positions, with the intention of coming to Rome, if the Imperialists march on Florence.

Great want in the army, and provisions very scarce in Rome and its neighbourhood.

The men-at-arms very diminished in numbers, most of them having retired to the Abruzzo.

Should Lautrech invade Naples by sea and land, as he announces, no great resistance could be made; and if this army goes to its help, Lombardy must fall into the hands of the enemy.

There are only two means of defending the Emperor's possessions in Italy, and recovering what has already been lost, namely, a good and honourable peace, or a vigorous war. If the latter is adopted, there will be urgent need for us to have money and reinforcements from Germany.

Has come to Rome, though not yet recovered from his late illness, at the express desire of Don Ugo, and done all he could conjointly with Alarcon, Vere (Veyre), and the General [of the Franciscans] to bring about the Pope's liberation.

Is trying to take the army out of Rome and lead it against the enemy. If the Germans consent (*queriendo los alemanes*) he intends attacking Florence, but that will very much depend on the enemy's movements.

Has written to the Prince of Orange [Philibert de Chalon] requesting him to come to Rome and take charge of the army. The Prince in reply has asked for an escort, which shall be sent to him. On his arrival the Marquis will deliver the command into his hands, and retire to his own estates in Naples. He cannot consistently with his honour do otherwise. Should he tarry, it is his intention to resign and leave Juan de Urbina in his place. Before his departure, however, will introduce certain reforms in the Spanish and Italian infantry, as Juan Baptista [Castaldo] will explain.—Rome, 6th November 1527.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

10 Nov. 234. MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING OF BOHEMIA AND HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 186, v^o.

On the 22nd of October Francisco de Llanos arrived with His Highness' despatches, the contents of which were exceedingly agreeable to the Emperor, as might have been anticipated. Not so the news from Italy, of the same date, for the loss of Pavia and Alessandria in Lombardy, and the state of things in those countries, were anything but reassuring.

This is the moment, now that in consequence of the late victories the campaign of Hungary must be at an end, for

1527.

His Highness to come to the succour of Milan and the rest of Lombardy, thus securing the object of his wishes.—Burgos, 10th November 1527.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

10 Nov. 235. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 186, v°.

Owing to his own letters being generally addressed through Micer Enrique Velzer [Belzer?], who is for the time the surest conveyance, he (Salinas) thought he might dispense with the formality of sending duplicates by another route. However, as experience shows that no precaution is superfluous in these times, he will now repeat the substance of former despatches. The Emperor is doing all he can to raise funds, and with the advice of his councillors the following taxes are to be levied on the inhabitants of his several kingdoms. Each parish or baptismal font is to serve His Imperial Majesty with one mark of silver; the cathedral churches with a proportionate sum of money. The grandees [of Spain], the nobles in general, the prelates, &c. are to give large sums as a loan, and the towns that are represented and have a vote in the Cortes are already selling property to the amount of 400,000 ducats. Moriscoes and Jews (*confessos*) offer to give upwards of one million of gold, on condition of not being disturbed by the Inquisition. Out of the above sums His Imperial Majesty purposes sending in about a fortnight 100,000 ducats for the enterprise of Lombardy, and 300,000 more for the pay of his Italian armies, since it has been found that the soldiers, for want of pay, are not doing their duty. Should His Highness be unable to go to Italy in person, he is to make such provision and send such reinforcements as may be deemed sufficient to reconquer what has been lost, and initiate the offensive.

Certain men of business offer to pay in Italy the 400,000 ducats which are to be raised here out of the parish tax (*pilas*), so that if His Highness decides to cross over there can be no difficulty in transmitting the money.

It appears that Antonio de Leyva still occupies Milan and other towns in Lombardy with about 6,000 Spaniards and Germans. Should Milan be lost before the arrival of His Highness, its castle would still be left, which is a strong position, easy to defend. Leyva with his forces might then join, and the campaign be prosecuted with such vigour as to gain the prize for which His Highness has been so long striving. The opportunity is at hand, and ought to be seized forthwith, for if His Highness is to wait for further and more explicit declarations on this subject than those contained in the Emperor's last letters, all will be in vain. The King of France, the Venetians, and the rest of the Italian potentates

1527.

have formally declared more than once that they very much prefer the Emperor retaining the Duchy of Milan for himself than that it should be given to His Highness. In his (Salinas') opinion the present moment is the fit time to cross over to Italy. His Highness has already won most important victories over his enemies in Hungary, and cannot but be successful in Lombardy, and deserve his brother's gratitude.—Burgos, 10th November 1527.

Addressed : "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

11 Nov. 236.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 319.

MICER ANDREA DEL BORGIO to the Ambassador of the KING OF HUNGARY at Venice.

Lautrech is already in the Parmesan, and part of his forces in the Duchy of Ferrara. His artillery on barges, beyond Parma, to be conveyed by water. The ambassadors of the League urging this Duke to declare in its favour. The ambassadors from England arrived yesterday by post, in order to remove certain obstacles which stood in the way of an arrangement. The Duke is delaying the conclusion as much as he can, but will be obliged in the end to accept the conditions offered, only that he will neither give money, nor engage his own person and estate, but merely furnish a small contingent of horse and foot for a certain length of time. As to his marriage with one of the King of France's relatives, the Duke is doing all he can to put it off. In all other matters he remains faithful to the Emperor. Begs him to communicate the above intelligence to Sanchez, that he may secretly and by means of his cipher inform Perez at Rome. The latter is to warn Alarcon and the Prince of Orange not to heed this resolution of the Duke of Ferrara, but make haste and come this way with all their forces.

Latin. Cipher. Contemporary copy of cipher. p. 1.

12 Nov. 237.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 314.

The Secretary of the DUKE OF FERRARA to ALONSO SANCHEZ.

I am very much astonished at your Lordship no longer addressing me his letters, as before, to be forwarded to Spain. If your Lordship thinks that the presence at this city of so many ambassadors of the League is an obstacle, I can assure him that there is not the least danger, and that he can direct to me, as before, and that I shall be most happy to forward all letters sent to me.—Ferrara, 12th November 1527.

Indorsed : "Copy of letter of Bonaventura, the Ferrarese Secretary.

Spanish. Original in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. p. 1.

1527.

13 Nov. 238. The EMPEROR to SECRETARY PEREZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
 f. 198.
 B. M. *Add.* 28,577,
 f. 1.

His despatches of the 18th Aug., 2nd July, and 24th Sept. have come to hand. Whereas the suit at law pending between the Marquis of Astorga and the Count of Benavente is being tried at Rome, let the affair remain as it is, and each party do his best, without interference with their proceedings. He (Perez) is not to move from Naples until an ambassador be appointed to represent him [the Emperor] at the Papal Court.

Is sorry to hear of the death of the Archbishop of Cosenza. He was an affectionate servant, and one who could be relied upon.

With regard to the filling up by His Holiness of that archbishop's See and others that have since become vacant, full instructions shall be given [to the ambassador] after the agreement resulting from the public negotiation with His Holiness is made known.

Respecting the census of Naples, the matter shall be arranged with the Pope at the time that the other secret and more important negotiation is brought to a close.

Cannot attach faith to the report that some of the Germans are in treaty with the enemy. Should it be so, it would be advisable to have them replaced by new levies.

(*Cipher*.) 400,000 cr. in bills of exchange are about to be remitted to Italy.—Burgos, 13th November 1527.

P.S.—Don Pedro de Castro, once a priest, is a prisoner here, owing to certain violence (*ciesta violencia*) offered to a widow at Saragossa. Since the judicial proceedings began he has tried to resume his former clerical habit, and thus exempt himself from the royal jurisdiction. On his papers and titles, of which a copy is enclosed, being examined, it appears that besides being a spurious son (for he was begot by a nun and a married man), he himself has been twice married, the second time to the widow of two husbands, he being the third. He first obtained from the Penitentiary at Rome a dispensation to enjoy the title and privilege of the sacred orders of priesthood, and lately a bull from the present Pope, allowing him to marry a widow or virgin without losing thereby his former clerical character. On the strength of which bull the said Castro now pretends that the marriage, which he says he has contracted with the said widow at Saragossa, is valid, and that in case of prosecution he must be arrayed before the Ecclesiastical Court, and not in any manner subjected to the civil tribunals. As this petition of Castro, who is said to have appealed to Rome, might, if attended to, cause great injury to our royal jurisdiction, and favour bigamy in these kingdoms, he (Perez) is desired to go to the Pope, and request that his application may be disregarded.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 3.

1527.

15 Nov. 239. Copy of Letter from LOPE DE SORIA to DON UGO DE MONCADA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 308.

Has written many times since he left Genoa. Wonders whether his letters have reached, for not one has been answered.

Our army of Lombardy still holds Milan, Como, Trego, Leco, and Monza; all the rest the enemy has taken. If the army comes from Rome Leyva will recover all this in less time than the confederates took to possess themselves of it, and war will be averted from that kingdom [of Naples] which Lautrech threatens to invade.

Three days ago, on the 15th, the terms of the agreement between the confederated powers and the Duke of Ferrara were published in that city. They are as follow:—

The Duke promises to help the League with 100 men-at-arms, and 6,000 ducats during six months, to begin the very day that the ratification of the terms arrives from France, as well as the powers for the marriage between his son Ercole and Madame Renea (Renée of France).

The Duke to have the protection of all the members of the Italian League, besides the investiture of Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, and other fiefs of the Church, the salt of Comacho, &c.

With regard to that of Carpi, which the Duke received from the Emperor as a marriage portion for Don Ercole, the King of France will do everything in his power to enable him to retain it.

The marriage of Don Ercole to Madame Renée.

A cardinal's hat for the other son, together with the archbishopric of Ferrara and bishopric of Modena.

Absolution for every sinful act he may have committed against Pope Clement VII. or his predecessors, which absolution and granting of investiture, as above said, the King of France engages to procure from His Holiness as soon as he recovers his liberty.

Andrea del Borgo wishes this information to be transmitted severally to all the generals and ministers of the Emperor in Italy. He excuses the Duke of Ferrara, and says that he could not do otherwise, and that if the Imperialists go that way he will prove by his deeds that he is still the Emperor's friend. He (Soria) is much afraid that Miçer Andrea is mistaken in the Duke, and that all this is mere talk, though it is possible that our army taking that direction he will turn round and desert the League, which at any rate will show us how to deal with him in future.

The ambassadors of the League who are at Ferrara have requested Count della Mirandola to expel him (Soria) from his estates. Imagines that the Count, who is a good servant of the Empire, will not attend to their request. Should he yield at last, it is Soria's intention to take refuge at the Court of Mantua, though there is every reason to suppose

1527.

that the confederates are trying to win him over as they did the Duke of Ferrara.—La Mirandola, 15th November 1527.

P.S.—To-day, the 18th, news has arrived that Lautrech was at Parma, and his army in the neighbourhood. He is waiting for some Germans, and part of his infantry is encamped on the road to Pontremoli, as if he intended going to Florence, which route the ambassador of that Republic, now at his camp, is daily pressing him to take, as he says that at the sight of his army the Florentines will declare for him.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

15 Nov. 240.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 70.

DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA, Imperial Ambassador in England, to M. DE BOUCLANS.

Has forwarded the following letters for the Emperor. Does not know whether they have been received. One written on the 6th of September, sent by Antonio de Layçola; another to him (M. de Bouclans)* towards the end of the same month sent by Olo de Braça;† two by the Imperial ambassador in France; one more by the vessel (*zabra*) which sailed on the 26th of October; and the last by an English vessel on the 6th inst. In all of which letters he (Mendoça) has fully replied on all points mentioned in the Emperor's despatch of the 30th of September, dated from Palencia. Has sent his answers by every possible route. Thinks some must have reached the Emperor; repetition will therefore be needless.

Last Sunday, the 10th inst., the King was presented with the Order of St. Michael, and in the evening entertained the French ambassadors at a grand banquet. The King, Queen, Princess, and Cardinal were at one table; at another the Grand Master of France (Montmorency) took the head, and with him were the other ambassadors, the two Dukes of this kingdom, and some French noblemen. Dancing began after the banquet, the Grand Master of France dancing with the Princess. Then came the play (*farsa*), which represented the King and Cardinal supporting the falling Church by their writings against Luther, and also procuring the Pope's liberation. In which play the Spaniards were called *barbarians*, and the Emperor a *tyrant*. The two sons of the King of France were introduced, imploring the help of the King and Cardinal, who agreed to challenge the Emperor, should he not consent to release them. Then the Emperor's Chancellor (Gattinara) came forward to conclude peace, and so the performance ended, the whole argument tending to show that the Emperor was the enemy of England.

The answer publicly given to the French ambassadors by

* Jean Lallemant, the Emperor's secretary.

† Thus in the original, perhaps Ochoa de Isasaga.

1527.

the Bishop of London the day before their departure was that the King (of England) would assist the King of France to the extent of his power, both in obtaining the liberty of the Pope, and regaining possession of his sons. Writes this without cipher, because the thing is too public to require any.

As regards the Queen's affairs secrecy is for the same reasons equally needless. The present report is that next Tuesday all the prelates and lawyers of the realm will assemble to give their opinion upon the matter, and it is thought that some will stand up for truth and justice. Will write all that he can learn about it. In the meanwhile it would be well that the despatch which the general [of the observants] was charged to procure at Rome should come at once. Has written frequently about this, but from the imperfect means of communication between Flanders and Italy fears his letters did not arrive before the death of the Viceroy of Naples, which is reported here just now.* If so, letters should be sent from Spain urging haste in the transmission of this despatch, for which the Queen greatly longs.

News has come from Italy this week that the Pope has been already set at liberty by the Emperor's command, and that the Germans and Spaniards are more cordial than usual towards each other, that they have received two months' pay, and that it was hoped that they would march to the relief of Milan. It is also said that the Doge of Genoa is preparing troops. But the Emperor will of course have had earlier and more certain information of all this.

It is also said that the King and Queen of Hungary [Ferdinand and Anna] were to be crowned at Buda on St. Simon and St. Jude's Day. Does not know whether the coronation has taken place. God grant it may have been so, for if peace should not be concluded, the King will be able to help effectually to the Italian war.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2½.

17 Nov. 241. The EMPEROR to LOPE DE SORIA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 371.

His letters of the 3rd and 17th August advising the loss of Genoa have been duly received. The news came first by way of Monego (Monaco). It cannot be helped, but every effort must be made to recover the city from the enemy, either by peace or war. He (Soria) is right when he says that our losses by sea must be immediately repaired; a number of galleys is now being built at Barcelona. Leyva must also be provided with money; bills of exchange shall be procured as soon as possible, or a remittance in specie sent through our brother of Hungary. In the meantime Soria is to give Leyva the rest of the 100,000 ducats which is still in his hands. But Georgio

* He died at Rome on the 20th of September.

1527.

de Franspergh (Fruntsperg) must first be paid the sums which he lent, or stood security for, in Mons. de Bourbon's time for the pay of his Germans.

It is not probable that the cardinals alluded to in his despatch will go to France, though they may still meet in some Italian city for the purpose of providing for the administration of ecclesiastic affairs on the plea of His Holiness' detention, and that of the cardinals who are with him. This might after all be the origin and cause of a schism through the favour and assistance which the Italian cardinals would give to those assembled in France, the Cardinal of England (Wolsey) having of his own free will, and without any commission from His Holiness, conferred that high dignity on the Chancellor of France (Antoine de Prat); but it is to be hoped that God will overrule this as befits his service and the Holy Catholic Faith, and that all intrigues shall cease the moment the Pope's liberation is accomplished, as it must have been by this time.—Burgos—November 1527.*

Spanish. Original draft in Gattinara's hand. pp. 2.

22 Nov. 242. The EMPEROR to the POPE.†

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Muñoz, A. 80.

Has heard of his delivery through letters from France. Though his ministers have not yet informed him of it, he (the Emperor) is sure that they cannot have failed in the execution of his orders. Nothing could afford him greater pleasure than to hear that his detention, in which he (the Emperor) had no part, had been put an end to, and especially that his delivery had been accomplished by his own ministers and servants. Can assure His Holiness that if he will be in future, as he hopes, a good father to him, and a good shepherd to the Christian flock, his behaviour and acts shall be those of an humble and dutiful son, attending rather to the restoration and increase of the Apostolic See, and of its dignity, than to the glory of his own Empire, as he has fully declared to his Nuncio, and as His Holiness will soon learn from the lips of the person whom he (the Emperor) has deputed for the purpose, and who is shortly to leave for Rome. Wishes for nothing so ardently as to be able to give His Holiness pleasure and satisfaction in all things, and, therefore, begs him until the arrival of his said ambassador not to allow himself to be deceived by those who, led away by their bad passions, will by false reports contrive to lead him astray.—Burgos, 22nd November 1527.

Latin. Original draft. pp. 1½.

* The date is not filled up, but as the draft is placed between Don Inigo's despatch of the 15th, and another one of Salinas of the 23rd, it is natural to suppose that it was made out and closed between those dates. The Emperor arrived at Burgos on the 18th, and remained until the end of the year.

† A French translation of this letter of Charles to Clement VII. was given by Lantz (*Correspondenz*, i. 256), and may also be found, in Italian, in the *Lettere de Principi*, ii. 80.

1527.

23 Nov. 243.

MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING OF BOHEMIA and HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 187, v^o.

Wrote on the 10th inst. Does not enclose the duplicate, as the conveyance is not a very sure one. The Emperor is still making active preparations for the Italian campaign. He is about to remit 100,000 ducats for the expenses of the war. Should His Highness be unable, owing to other business in hand, to cross over in person, in that case he is requested to make such provision and raise such new levies of men as to ensure victory to the Imperial arms. Leaves it entirely to His Highness' well-known prudence to dictate the measures required to deliver Lombardy from the French.

Peace is as far off as ever; not that the Emperor is less desirous of it, but because King Francis, though he uses very pacific language through his ambassadors, is carrying on war as briskly as ever.

The Emperor has decided to go to Valencia to be sworn, and thence to Aragon to hold the Cortes, as he hopes to obtain a considerable sum of money from that kingdom. He will not stay there long, as he intends to appoint a person to represent him, and will return to this city (Burgos), where the Empress and the Prince actually reside, and the Council of State is sitting.

His Highness' letters of the 5th of October have come to hand. The intelligence contained in them respecting the Vayvod [of Transylvania] and Count Christobal [Frangipane] has given much satisfaction.

Respecting Miçer Andrea del Borgo all the members of the Council have been spoken to; various opinions prevail, some of the Councillors being in favour, others against, and it is doubtful whether the Emperor will accede to his petition.

As His Highness has frequently written to inquire about news from the Indies, he (Salinas) takes this opportunity to enclose the memorial of Pedrarias Davila, one of the Emperor's captains. All other papers of the same sort shall be sent in future.

Laxao (La Chaulx) requests with urgency the payment of his pension. Has no other answer to give to his application but that he must take patience and wait, as he himself (Salinas) does, and he too is considerably in arrear.—Burgos, 23rd November 1527.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2½.

25 Nov. 244.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF BARI [FR. GABRIEL MERINO] to ALFONSO VALDÉS.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Cart. de Erasmo,
etc., f. 62.

Is glad to hear that the Grand Chancellor Gattinara has returned, and been so well received by the Emperor.

Has received the transcript of the letter which Erasmus wrote to him (Valdés). Begs him to send information of what-ever relates to Erasmus.

1527.

(*Holograph* :) The latter has applied to him for assistance in his case. Wishes to know what the Archbishop of Toledo (Fonseca)* and others intend doing in his behalf, as he is desirous to assist him with all his power.—Jahen,† 25th November 1527.

Latin. Original, and partly holograph. pp. 2.

28 Nov. 245. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 306.

B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 7.

Duplicate of his letter of the 15th with the following postscriptum:—

Lautrech is still at Parma, and his army encamped in the neighbourhood. Part of his infantry on the road leading to Pontremoli; an evident sign that he intends marching on Florence. Indeed it is said that an ambassador of that Signory, now with him, is urging him on, pretending that his countrymen will otherwise declare for the Emperor.

Novi has been delivered to the Duke of Ferrara by Lautrech's order. Leonelo,‡ the brother of Count Alberto, was inside the place, and certainly has not gained much by his French predilections, since the whole of his estate has been quietly handed over to Ferrara.—La Mirandola, 28th November 1527.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

28 Nov. 246. ANDREA DEL BORGIO to the EMPEROR.

S. Arch. Gen. E.
L. 1,551,
ff. 199-202.

Sends this note by a messenger of the Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga). Hears from Rome that a peace has been concluded, though it is not yet known for certain whether Don Hugo de Moncada has signed it or not. The army of the League is still at Cassano, &c. On the 16th inst. a proclamation was publicly read [at Ferrara], stating that the Duke had joined the League at the request of Cardinal Cibo, and signed it. The treaty, it is asserted, contains 17 articles, as follows:—

1. The Duke to give the army of the League free passage through his territory, and provisions besides.

2. During six months after the ratification of the treaty by the King of France the Duke to maintain 100 men-at-arms (*equos gravis armaturæ*), and to contribute 6,000 cr. (*escudi*) every month.

3. Not to allow the passage of the Imperial troops through his dominions, but to stop all couriers and intercept all letters, and in general do all he can for the Pope's liberation.

Many other similar services were then required of the Duke which he refused to perform.

* Don Alfonso de Fonseca, Archbishop of Santiago, and at this time of Toledo, was Erasmus' friend.

† Jahen is intended for Jaen in Andalusia, now the capital of a province and the see of a bishop, filled at this time by Fr. Gabriel Merino, Archbishop of Bari.

‡ Probably the brother of Alberto Pio, Count of Carpi.

1527.

4. A marriage between Hercules [d' Este], the Duke's son, and Madame [Renée] of France.

5. Full protection from the League, and the promise of the Pope's absolution for all the harm he (the Duke) may have caused to the Church.

6. The investiture of Ferrara.

7. The abandonment by the Pope of all his rights to Modena, originating in the sale and pledging of that estate by Emperor Maximilian.

8. The Duke is at liberty to take salt at Comaccio (Comaccio).

9. Another of the Duke's sons to be created cardinal, and to have besides the bishopric of Modena and the archbishopric of Milan.

10. The Venetians and Florentines to give back all former property of the Duke's now retained by them.

11. The King of France to stipulate in his next treaty with the Emperor that Hercole [d' Este], the Duke's son, is to remain in possession of Carpi.

12. The Venetians to give back Catiguolani, whilst Francesco Sforza is to renounce all rights he may have upon that place.

13. The Duke to be one of the contracting parties in the treaty of peace.*

For 18 consecutive days the Duke has sustained a contest with the ambassadors of the League. He says that he could not be of use to the Emperor if he were to hold his estate through the favour of those who have inflicted such serious losses upon the Emperor.

The Prince of Orange returns to Rome.

The French and Venetian fleets are at a port in the Siennese territory; Don Hugo de Moncada at Naples.

The Imperial army is stronger than that of the confederates, but the errors committed are very grave.

Roman news. The treaty with the Pope not yet signed. His ministers ask 200,000 ducats indemnity.

Lautrec intends taking the Imperialists at Rome by surprise.—Datum die 28th Novembris 1527.

P.S.—News concerning the movements of Lautrec's army.

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial Majesty."

Latin. Holograph mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 8.

29 Nov. 247.

SECRETARY PEREZ to the ARCHDEACON OF BELCHITE.†

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 324.

Received on the 9th inst. two of his letters dated 3rd, 9th, and 16th August, which Lope de Soria addressed to him from La Mirandola. Though they were rather old, having reached

* As only 13 articles are mentioned out of the 17 which the treaty is said to have been composed of, the omission must be attributed either to an oversight of the writer, or to the articles themselves being of minor importance.

† Alonso de Soria, one of the Emperor's secretaries.

1527.

him in such roundabout way, he was glad to hear from Spain, and learn that all his despatches to the Emperor up to the arrival of Knight Commander Figueroa had reached their destination.

Soria could not send by the same opportunity a large packet of letters addressed to the late Martin Degues,* but as he promises to forward it soon, we shall open them when they come, and act accordingly.

Archbishopric of Granada, and pensions reserved on that see. Distribution by the Pope of those which the late Cardinal Rangone possessed on the archdeaconry of Belchite. Encloses list of members of the Papal household to whom the pensions have been granted.—Rome, 29th November 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To his Signory, the Archdeacon of Belchite."

Indorsed: "Duplicate of the 29th November. From Perez."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

30 Nov. 248. HERNANDO DE ALARCON to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 330.

Rome is utterly destroyed, and the Imperial army fast falling to pieces, which will be the cause of the loss of Naples. On all other matters refers to Vere's despatch, and to the memorandum now taken by Captain Gayoso.†

Begs that the commandership vacant by the death of Aguilera‡ be given to Captain Amendaño,§ an excellent officer, who has served well throughout the present campaign.

Begs also for the archbishopric of Cossenza for his brother, Lope de Alarcon.||—Rome, 30th of November 1527.

Indorsed: "From Alarcon. Rome. 30th November. Relacion de Cartas."

Spanish. Contemporary draft. p. 1.

30 Nov. 249. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

to 1 Dec.
M. D. Pasc. d. G.
Pa. r. a. l. Hist.
d' Esp.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 9.

Since the 23d, the date of his last despatch,¶ much negotiation has been going on respecting the Germans and the settlement of their arrears. No settlement, however, has been made up to this date (1st of December), except that they insist upon being paid before they quit Rome; refuse to release the hostages (*quitar los hierros á los obstages*); and are dissatisfied with the pledges (*prendas*) offered to them.

* "Escriuiome Don Lope de Soria que le quedava un grand pliego de letras de v. m. pã min de gues (?) que Dios aya."

† See the next paper, No. 249.

‡ He died on the 18th.

§ Elsewhere written Auendaño.

|| He became Bishop of Bitonto in Naples, and was present with his brother at the taking of Tunis in 1535. *Comentario de los Hechos del Señor de Alarcon*, Madrid, 1655, fol., p. 425.

¶ See No. 222, p. 425.

1527.

On the 28th, Secretary Seron arrived from Naples with a memorandum of the stipulations which Don Ugo thought might be proposed for the Pope's liberation. Negotiations were accordingly set on foot, and though His Holiness found the conditions rather harsh, he agreed at once to almost all of them. Don Ugo was to be consulted thereupon, and the Secretary (Seron) to go back to Naples for that purpose.

As the Emperor must by this time be fully informed of the state of the negotiations, he (Perez) will but slightly allude to them. Respecting the securities to be given by the Pope for the payment of the 250,000 cr., there seems to be no great difficulty. He (the Pope) offers to give besides to the Germans a month's pay, amounting to 30,000 ducats, as soon as he recovers his liberty, and 30,000 more 15 days after, neither of those sums to be deducted from the 250,000. The Germans to keep the hostages during three months as security for the 150,000 ducats, to be paid by the Pope in instalments of 50,000 each month. Similar hostages to be given to the Spaniards for the remaining 100,000, though who, and how many, the hostages are to be has not yet been ascertained, nor has the time of payment been fixed. Between this and to-morrow this matter is to be settled, and it will also be known whether the Germans agree to those conditions or not. Cardinal Colonna has summoned their captains and officers to a meeting, and if they approve of the conditions, the negotiations with the Pope will be proceeded with.

The Pope is willing to grant the Emperor the tithes of the temporal estates of the Church in Naples, on condition of his retaining one half. With this half His Holiness intends paying the 250,000 ducats, as the proceeds of the whole are calculated at 550,000. Don Ugo asked for a similar concession for Sicily, the whole to be exclusively for the Emperor, but this the Pope refused to grant. Cannot say whether he will do so in the end.

Out of the proceeds of this tithe His Holiness is now to give two months' pay to the Germans; for although several means of procuring ready money have been pointed out to him, such as the sale of certain ecclesiastical offices in Naples, which might easily bring him 300,000 ducats, or the creation of four Neapolitan cardinals, each to pay 20,000 ducats, he has rejected them all, saying that he is not at liberty yet, but will think of it in future.

Yesterday, the last day of November, the negotiations were on the point of being suspended or entirely broken off; upon which a message was sent up to the castle for His Holiness to prepare at once for a journey to Naples, and besides give the Spaniards three cardinals as hostages, namely, Campeggio, Triulzio, and Pisani.* The message had the desired effect, for although the Pope seemed at first determined to follow the army to Naples rather than grant the conditions demanded, he at last gave way through fear. He (Perez) saw him come out of

* Francesco Pisani, Bishop of Padua.

1527.

the Cardinal's Hall (*Congregacion*), and enter his own private apartments (*camara*), crying like a child, and saying that he would never consent to such humiliation. At last the above-mentioned cardinals themselves, from fear of being sent as hostages, persuaded him to grant the conditions, which he reluctantly did.

Cardinal Colonna is doing all he can for the Emperor's service, without however forgetting his duties as an ecclesiastic and a high dignitary of the Church. He is working incessantly for the Pope's liberation, and offers his person and fortune for that purpose.

Ascanio, his brother, has been here lately, but has now gone to Naples on the summons of Don Ugo, who wishes him to be by his side as being High Constable of the kingdom of Naples.

Cardinal Armellino died on the 23rd ult^o. The Pope gave his archbishopric to Fr. Geronimo de Monopoli (Monopoli), whom the Emperor had formerly presented on Lannoy's recommendation.

The Marquis del Guasto is doing all he can to get the Spaniards out of Rome. He thinks he shall succeed, though the greater part of them are in great distress.

The Marquis and Bishop of Astorga left yesterday, the 30th of November, for Gaeta, where a vessel (*nao*) is waiting for them.

The Pope no longer objects to the daughter* of the Duke of Camarino marrying the son of Ascanio Colonna.

It is said that Mons. de Vadamonte (Vaudemont) and Renzo de Cheri (da Ceri) are coming down through Revena (Ravenna) to invade the kingdom of Naples by way of Aquila, and that at the same time the French fleet will show itself on the coast.

Has frequently tried to obtain a prorogation of the term for the delivery of the white steed (*hacanea*) as census of Naples, but Secretary Seron writes to say that the Council of that kingdom have decided that there is no need to ask for further prorogation, as the Pope, being now the Emperor's prisoner, cannot receive the said steed or the 1,000 ducats which ought to accompany her. When the time comes both shall be sent.

The German captains have told the Cardinal (Pompeo Colonna) that they believe their men will agree to the conditions proposed, and quit Rome immediately, provided they are paid; but that now they ask for another half month's pay, which will make three. Every effort is being made to satisfy them by means of securities or pledges placed in their hands.

News from Piacenza of the 20th ult^o. state that Lautreque was still there, but intended to come this way. Most of his infantry had already crossed a river there, and was close upon

* Julia, daughter of Giovanne Maria Varane and of Catharina Cibo.

1527.

Forlin (Forlì). Eighteen galleys and two carraks of the enemy had arrived at Porto Ercole. The forces on board amounted only to 1,200 men, and their intention was to go to Sicily, and try if they could find wheat, of which there is now great scarcity in Provence. Renzo da Ceri was also expected there [at Porto Ercole] with more vessels and men.

Of the Venetian galleys, which Don Ugo repulsed at Baya (Baia) with so much loss to them, nothing has been heard since. Nor do we know the whereabouts of certain ships laden with Sicilian wheat, which another set of Venetian galleys captured between Otranto and Brindisi. The last news from Lautreque is that he was in the Parmesan. Having heard of the arrival of the Germans, and of the late successes of Leyva, who is said to have taken the artillery of the Venetians, he had decided to remain where he was. Others assert that he is gone to Piacenza, where he still was eight days ago.

Guasto and Alarcon had agreed with the captains of the Spanish infantry that on the payment of one ducat per man they should all quit Rome. Accordingly to-day, Wednesday, the 6th inst.,* six months after their entering Rome, the artillery and ammunition, the light horse, and innumerable carts went out, so many that no one could have formed an idea of their number unless he had seen them. The infantry, with their standards unfurled, were already assembled at a piazza called Nagon (Navona), that they might all leave the city together. Everything was in order for the departure when the men, who were mostly hackbutiers, suddenly rose in mutiny, crying *Paga! Paga!* most of them refusing to follow the standard bearers of their respective companies, who, attended by the drummers and by a few well-disposed and honest soldiers, had already left Rome with the Marquis del Guasto at their head. The rioters then went out by another gate and took the road to Naples, but Juan de Urbina ran after them, and after a good deal of talking persuaded them to return [to Rome] the same night. Meanwhile the Germans, seeing the Spaniards fairly out of Rome entered some of the lodgings they had just left, and began plundering their contents, until their colonel, being informed of the fact, had a certain proclamation, threatening with death whomsoever should be found stealing, read to them. It is to be hoped that the Spaniards will soon obey orders and go out, as well as the men-at-arms, to whom considerable arrears are owing. Guasto with the few men who followed him, and the baggage went that very day to sleep at Imula (Imola), seven miles off. The artillery is outside Rome, not far from the city bridge, under a good escort, ready to follow the rest of the Spaniards when they choose to go out.

*That is, of November, for the despatch, which was not closed until the 1st of December, contains the news of one whole month.

1527.

Has just heard that Lautreque is coming this way, and has reached a place called Il Borgo di Sant Donnino, on this side of the Parmesan.

The Marquis del Guasto, perceiving that the Spanish infantry did not follow him out of Rome, and also that Cardinal Colonna, Alarcon, De Bere (Veyre), and Moron were of opinion that he had better come back, did so the other day. Already ere his arrival most of the mutineers were beginning to join their standards, persuaded by Juan de Urbina, who had gone from house to house begging the men to stand to their duty. Meeting their comrades on the road, the mutineers returned, when all met in the piazza of San Pietro, and again broke out, entering Rome by the bridge of Sanct Angelo, firing their hackbuts and crying *Paga! Paga!* No sooner did the Germans hear of this than they also ran to arms. The Spaniards then retired to their lodgings, and remained quiet the whole day. What will be the upshot of all this he (Perez) cannot say; his opinion is that unless one month's pay at least is given to them they will not stir out of Rome, and that if they do, it will be to go to the kingdom of Naples, for which upwards of 1,000 of them, who would not return with Juan de Urbina, have already started. Alarcon has written to the mutineers, saying he wants to speak to them. Will they wait for him?

The artillery and ammunition has returned to where it was previously. The light horse are quartered at certain villages in this neighbourhood.

Thinks that the news of this mutiny must be welcome to the confederates, though they say that the Duke of Urbino has already started for Lombardy, and quitted the camp of the League.

Juan de Urbina has been, and is still, working very hard to persuade the Spaniards to return to their duty. The men generally love him, and those who do not dread him immensely. He sometimes inflicts severe punishments on the soldiers, and has been more than once in danger of his life. Only the other day, whilst he was addressing his men, and upbraiding them for their conduct, one of the hackbutiers stepped out of the ranks and aimed his piece at him. Very luckily for Urbina the match fell to the ground, and he killed the soldier with his own hand.

Don Ugo's answer is hourly expected. Until then we shall not know what is to be done concerning the Pope's liberation.

8th.—Up to this day no answer has come from Don Ugo. An estafette has been despatched requesting him to give it as soon as possible, and informing him that Cardinal Colonna and all those who look to the Emperor's affairs in this city are of opinion that it is far more important to maintain and feed this Imperial army than to have the satisfaction of seeing the Pope detained at Sanct Angelo; that since the Spaniards refuse leaving Rome without being paid at least one month, the Pope

1527.

has necessarily been informed of it, and advised to provide for their wants if he wishes to obtain his liberty soon. The Pope, accordingly, is willing to create the four Neapolitan cardinals mentioned in Secretary Seron's memorandum, and to employ all the money proceeding therefrom, besides the 25,000 ducats of the tithes, in getting the army out of Rome. This implies, of course, that Don Ugo should make the cardinals pay, if possible, at the rate of 25,000 ducats each.

Has heard that His Holiness sent a message to the German captains by means of an interpreter, asking them for help and advice at the present juncture, as he said the Spaniards had drained all his resources both at Rome and in Naples, so that he had nothing left with which to pay them. The captains' answer was that they would meet the next day, and let His Holiness know their answer; after which they called upon Cardinal Colonna and told him the message received from the Pope. The Cardinal went to speak to His Holiness about it. He owned having sent the interpreter to the Germans, but denied having given him the aforesaid message; he had only told him to represent the stress he was in, and request them to come to his assistance and treat the hostages well.* If the first part of the message be true, as the Pope himself admits, it is natural to presume that the whole was deliberately sent, more with an intention to embroil the Germans and Spaniards together than to promote peace between them.

On the 8th inst. the 1,000 Spaniards who took the road to Naples returned, having lost about 15 men in killed and wounded in an encounter with the inhabitants of Veletri, who stood up for the defence of their town and would not let our people in. Cardinal de la Valle,† who was inside, seeing the Spaniards approach, left the place in haste. On their return to Rome they joined their comrades, and determined not to move without one month's pay. They were to have a meeting to-day, but have not met yet. The men-at-arms, however, have done so, and agreed to remain six days [here at Rome] on the payment of six ducats per man. Has an idea that their terms will be accepted, and also that the Veletrians will pay the whole or part of that sum rather than have them quartered in their town, and that in the meanwhile they will procure them quarters elsewhere.

Lope de Soria writes in date of the 21st of October that Pavia had been taken by Lautrech, who, at the instigation of the cardinals assembled at Parma, is, they say, about to march this way for the Pope's deliverance. He had left the Venetians and Sforzini to prosecute the siege of Milan, and the fleet of the confederates was to attack Naples or Sicily.

* "Que le ayudassen en lo que pudiessen y que *tentassen* bien los ostages." Instead of *tentassen*, as in the original, "*tratassen*" must be meant.

† Andrea, Bishop of Mileto.

1527.

Don Ugo's answer arrived on the 11th. He approves of the terms of the treaty with the Pope, provided effectual means be taken for the evacuation of Rome and the march of our troops on Lombardy, or wherever they may be most wanted. To effect this we calculate that 200,000 ducats will be required immediately, or a fortnight after the Pope's liberation; but if the latter consents to create four or five cardinals at Naples, the proceeds of such a creation, besides the 25,000 ducats he has there, and what money he may collect here [at Rome], will be sufficient to pay the troops and induce them to leave Rome. Don Ugo has been written to to hasten this business and remit the money.

Has received through Lope de Soria, who is still at La Mirandola, His Majesty's letters of the 17th of August. Is glad to hear that his own despatches of the 18th May and 11th June, which Knight Commander Figueroa took, have been received. Has no reply to make to the Emperor's letters, as his own contain all the information required.

Presentation of bishops—Licentiate Sebastian Ramirez for the sees of Sancto Domingo and La Concepcion.

Letters have been received from Palencia, where the court was on the 28th of September last, stating that a treaty of peace between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France had been concluded, but that before its ratification the French had invaded Navarre, owing to which it was thought that the negotiations would be suspended. It was further stated that His Imperial Majesty had granted the investiture of Milan to his brother the King of Hungary, and appointed the Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) commander-in-chief of all his armies in Italy. Whether this last intelligence be true or not, it is highly unpalatable for the Emperor's enemies.

As soon as the money comes from Naples the Pope's liberation will be accomplished. Don Ugo is doing all he can to collect it; he writes to say that six or seven more Neapolitans wish to become cardinals on this occasion, but cannot find the money required (20,000 ducats) as soon as needed.

Death of Auditor Casador, Bishop of Alguer.

With regard to the message said to have been sent by the Pope to the Germans, it appears now that it was a little exaggerated (*no fué tanto como se habia dicho*).

The Prince of Orange is coming from Sienna; a force consisting of 200 light horse and three companies (*banderas*) of infantry has gone to escort him through the estates of the Church.

Prothonotary Del Gambaro (Umberto di Gambara), once Apostolic Nuncio in England, arrived on the 15th. He passed through Piacenza and saw Lautreque there; he does not say for certain that he is coming this way, but only that he heard it so stated on the road. He asserts that peace between the Emperor and France was almost concluded; the only question unsettled being the Duchy of Milan, which King

1527.

Francis wished to be returned to Francesco Sforza, without any previous trial of his case; whereas the Emperor insisted upon its being submitted to impartial judges. Gambara further adds that the King of England contributes 40,000 ducats monthly for the expenses of this war, and will go on paying the same sum until the Pope is liberated, but not afterwards. In England it was thought that the liberation had already been accomplished. Lautreque had with him 5,000 Gascons, 2,000 Switzers, and 3,000 German lansquenets, besides 350 or 400 lances, and good artillery. He was expecting Mons. de Vadamon (Vaudemont) with more troops. When Gambara saw him he was encamped at Florenzola (Firenzola), on this side of Piacenza.

These Germans are every day increasing on their demands. To-morrow, the 16th, they will be addressed categorically by the commanders, so as to ascertain what their intentions really are, and see what had better be done for the Imperial service. They have made up the account of their arrears, and find that, till the end of September only, they are owed upwards of 297,000 ducats. If so, they must have included in that sum (*han de tomar en cuenta*) the 150,000 promised by His Holiness.

Don Ugo writes to say that he can only find two ecclesiastics willing to take cardinals' hats just now, and that they refuse paying the money before the Pope is liberated. Had he been free, Don Ugo thinks that five more might be found to take cardinals' hats.

Sanchez sends word from Venice that the ambassador of the Signory (Navagero), who is at the Imperial Court, had informed the Doge that peace was on the point of being concluded. He (Navagero) had not been invited to take part in the conferences, at which the Signory was anything but pleased, imagining that if not included in the treaty they are sure to have to pay money. He (Perez) went to call on the Pope by order of Alarcon, and communicated this intelligence, at which His Holiness seemed pleased.

It is rumoured that the Duke of Ferrara is very much pressed (*combatido*) by the ambassadors of France, England, and Venice, as well as by the cardinals residing at Parma, to desert the cause of the Empire. He (the Duke) resists as much as he can, but it is generally believed that as the French are gaining ground in Lombardy, he will in the end be obliged to accept any conditions that may ensure him the possession of his estates. He has already furnished them with provisions, artillery, and ammunition.

Don Iñigo de Mendoza writes to Don Ugo in date of the 1st of November, advising that Mons. de Laxao (La Chaulx) was expected at the Court of France, with full powers from the Emperor to conclude peace. He (Don Iñigo) believed that La Chaulx would afterwards repair to London to assist at the peace being ratified and signed there through the instrumentality of the King and Cardinal.

1527.

Hitherto the Germans have not sent in their answer respecting the money which we propose giving them; namely, one month and a half's pay before they leave Rome, a similar amount a fortnight after, and lastly 50,000 ducats monthly for three months. Their answer is hourly expected, and in the meantime every effort is being made to procure money to meet our engagements, and issue also one portion of pay to the Spaniards, who are willing to quit Rome on such conditions. The hostages remain as they were.

The last news from Don Ugo is that three Neapolitans have been found willing to pay each 20,000 ducats for a cardinal's hat, on certain conditions and guarantees.

Lautreque is reported to have abandoned his design, if he ever had it, of coming this way, and to have taken the road to Milan. On the 20th news came that the French fleet, consisting of 21 galleys, was in sight of Civittà Vecchia. Troops were sent in that direction, and, if necessary, more shall be detached.

The Germans persist in their former demand, and threaten that unless they receive immediately two months and a half's pay they will execute the hostages. If the money expected from Naples comes in soon, we shall be able to make them abate a little of their demands, and promise to pay the remainder within a fortnight. The Pope knows all this, and as much for his own sake, as for that of the hostages, whom he wishes to see fairly out of the hands of the Germans, is doing all he can to raise funds, in which work he is assisted by Cardinals Monte* and Sanctiquatuor,† each of whom has a nephew among the hostages.

Sarra (Sciarra) Colonna, who is at Camarino, sends to say that unless succoured in time he will be obliged to join the League, as he is closely invested, and has no provisions. Ascanio came here the other day to confirm Sarra's statement, but with the insubordination now prevailing among the Germans, it is considered by the Imperial captains that nothing can be done. Ascanio then went to see the Pope, and promised that if he would only order the confederates to raise the siege of Camarino he would prevail upon his brother [Sarra] and upon his retinue to set the Duchess and her daughter‡ at liberty, in obedience to His Holiness' commands. This proposition has been accepted with pleasure, and the Pope is about to send a message to the Leaguers; but Sarra will most probably hold out some time longer, in hope of being relieved by this army. With regard to the intended marriage of Ascanio's son to the daughter of the Duchess, of which he (Perez) gave notice in his despatch of the 23rd October, nothing has been done yet; nor is it certain, as asserted, that the Duchess has married Sarra, only that they are living together like man and wife at Camarino.

* Giovanni Maria da Monte, Archbishop of Manfredonia (Sepontinus).

† Or Sanctorum Quatuor; his name was Lorenzo Pucci.

‡ The Duchess' name was Catharina Cibo; the daughter's Julia. Perez, however, makes a mistake when he says, at page 428, that this last (Julia) was the daughter of Sciarra Colonna.

1527.

On the 21st Don Ugo wrote, sending 15,500 ducats, and saying that three Neapolitan ecclesiastics were willing to give each 20,000 for their hats. They were ready to pay 10,000 down on condition of that sum not being delivered into the hands of the Pope until he was absolutely free, and themselves created cardinals, the remainder to be paid on the day of their creation. He (Perez) went to the Pope with Don Ugo's message, when it was settled that 10 days after the arrival of the money from Naples the Pope would be prepared to give 49,000 ducats to the Germans. Cardinal Colonna was to go and persuade them to be contented with this allowance, and to promise in his name that within a fortnight 68,000 more ducats, making together two months' pay, should be delivered. After some difficulty the Germans consented to these terms. It has therefore been settled that on the payment of the above sum, and proper securities being offered for the rest, the Pope will be liberated. As to the Spaniards, to whom one month's pay has also been promised, Mons. de Bere (Veyre) is now starting for Naples to persuade the three candidates for the cardinalship to come here and deposit the 30,000 ducats so that on the very same day of the Pope's liberation the sum may be distributed to the men. The Germans, moreover, have been requested to treat the hostages better, and remove their irons (*quitarles los yerro*s). Cannot say whether they will or not.

Colonna's offers have been rejected. The Germans insist upon having one half month's pay more, amounting to 17,000 ducats. No sooner did His Holiness hear of it than, though by no means prepared to take such an engagement, he authorised Cardinal Colonna to promise the Germans that additional sum. The whole matter has since been settled in the following manner: The captains to go each to his respective company, and assure the men that they will be paid their 66,000 in full; the captains and officers (*dobles pagas*) not to have any of that money now, but to be paid out of the one month and a half's pay promised to the soldiers 15 days after the Pope's liberation. The men have signified their acquiescence with this arrangement; they will quit Rome when ordered, and will, moreover, send on a deputation of their own to see what sort of quarters are provided for them.

Thus the agreement stands for the present; if no obstacle intervenes, the Pope's liberation will soon be accomplished, and the army march out of Rome. And yet it must be said that in the discussion of the articles of this treaty with this Imperial army—not of the particular one with the Emperor, for about that there seems to be no difficulty—incidents daily occur, which to a certain extent endanger the negotiations. Only the other day, whilst discussing the article stipulating that whoever (German or Spaniard) should own houses or property at Rome, taken in exchange for ransoms (*tallas*) at the time of the sack, might retain possession of the same without

1527.

being in any way molested, the Pope became quite furious, and, rising from his chair, went into his own apartments, saying, "I will not go on with this treaty, or speak any more about my liberation;" and, though some of his cardinals and others present tried to appease him, he persisted in his determination the whole of yesterday, the 23rd of November, though it is believed that to-morrow he will be more quiet, and that everything will end well.

His Holiness has had news from his Legate at the confederated camp before Camarino. It appears that Sarra Colonna, perceiving that no help was coming from hence, surrendered to the enemy, on condition of having his own person, property, and family safe. He accordingly left Camarino and the Duchess to their fate.

On the 24th the article of the treaty to which the Pope so strongly objected the day before was again put under discussion, when he was made to understand that if the soldiers received houses, lands, or vineyards in exchange for ransoms, it was more for the purpose of accommodating their prisoners than to benefit themselves, and, therefore, that it was unjust to make them give back what they had gained on the occasion. His Holiness, therefore, allowed the article to pass, and after a few slight changes introduced in others, it was agreed by the cardinals there present to have a fair copy made for the Pope's signature, and for Mons. de Bere (Veyre) to take to Naples for approval. This as regards the Pope's treaty with this Imperial army; for the other between His Imperial Majesty and him only requires Don Ugo's ratification. He (Mons. de Veyre) takes also with him the three cardinals' hats, and such securities as they have applied for.

Cardinal [Pompeo] Colonna and his brother Ascanio wished to be named in the treaty with the Emperor, but the General [of the Franciscans] was of opinion that they had better not, as people might imagine that the Emperor wished to exercise a sort of pressure on His Holiness, and make it appear as if his liberation was made subservient to that clause. Instead of this, an article has been inserted stipulating that His Imperial Majesty shall order all estates and lands of the Church to be restored [to the Pope], except those cities and towns which are to be delivered in pledge, and those which they (the Colonnese) hold by *motu proprio* of His Holiness. With this clause they appear more satisfied, though at first they gave signs of discontent. The Cardinal has since devoted himself sincerely and with much ardour to the troublesome task of reconciling these Germans, who seem to trust in him thoroughly.

Leyva, it is said, has routed the Venetians under Fragosso, and taken 16 pieces of ordnance from them.

Nothing new about Lautreque. The intelligence of his having gone to Milan turns out untrue. It is asserted, on the contrary,

1527.

that his artillery is already on this side of Parma, and that at the instigation of the Florentines, who offer him provisions and ordnance, he is about to attack Sienna. He, himself, was at Parma on the 11th, waiting for a gentleman of the King of France's chamber, who was to bring him, as he expected, news of the general peace.

On the 26th, at night, the treaty was signed by His Holiness and the cardinals, as well as by the General [of the Franciscans]; that with the army by the Marquis del Guasto and Don Hernando Gonzaga, and Alarcon and Juan de Urbina; and though before signing this last, some objections were started, it was ultimately signed by the Pope and the above-mentioned generals and commanders, His Holiness showing so much impatience that he was heard twice or three times to say, "Give me the treaty, I am ready to sign it as it is." God grant that he may fulfil it, and be as good a father to His Imperial Majesty as the Emperor is a dutiful son to him.

Cardinals Triulzi and Pisani are to remain as hostages until the nephews of the Pope come to fill their place. Disliking the proposed substitution, the former tried to escape from Sanct Angelo immediately after the treaty was signed. He left the room after the Marquis del Guasto was gone, and putting on a civilian's dress and cloak, determined to try his luck. He was recognised and arrested and taken to Alarcon's apartments. The Pope is said to have laughed heartily at the cardinal's pusillanimity (*liviandad*) and discomfiture, and to have sent a message to Alarcon to let him (Triulzi) go freely about the castle as before, which has been done.

On the 27th Mons. de. Bere (Veyre) left for Naples with the treaty ready for Don Ugo's signature, and the cardinals' hats also. On the same day the Marquis del Guasto too went away on private affairs of his own (*de su casa*). He was to inspect on the road certain men-at-arms who for want of money and provisions, which could not be procured here, started some time ago for Naples, and are still quartered at a place 12 miles from Rome. He (the Marquis) intends returning here as soon as possible.

On the same day (the 27th) the Germans again took it into their heads to rise in mutiny. They imprisoned two of their own captains, Coradino (Conradin) and Gaspar, and threatened to kill them. The former had a sabre cut in his face, and the latter, who acts as treasurer, was also wounded and had a very narrow escape. Having inquired what was the cause and origin of the riot, we find that the Germans said they had been promised nine and a half crowns (*escudos*) per man, and were only to receive three. The mutineers, however, were decidedly in the wrong, since the time has not yet come for their receiving the above sum.

An officer has been sent to take possession of Civittà Castellana with a Papal brief, but it is feared that the governor

1527.

in command of that place will not obey orders in a hurry. Nevertheless, nothing shall be left undone to obtain it, as well as that of Forlin (Forlì).

There is a report that the Duke of Ferrara has gone over to the League, and made a treaty with France. His ambassador, who resides here, says that he does not believe it, and is about to send an express of his own to ascertain the truth.

The Germans still insist upon having the nine and a half crowns (*escudos*) per man, and moreover will not promise to quit Rome, which, they say, must be left entirely to their own choice (*deliberacion*). He (Perez) thinks that unless they promise unconditionally to go out, they ought not to have their money. To-day, the 28th, they (the Germans) went to the Colonna Palace, took out the hostages, and, chained as they were, led them through the streets to Campo di Fiore, where they had erected a scaffold. They were about to hang them without remorse, when the cardinals promised that if they were taken back to their prison in the Colonna Palace they (the Germans) should be paid in full to-morrow. Far from taking part in these excesses, the captains of the lansquenets have fled to the Spanish quarters. Most of them are now staying with Juan de Urbina, and have offered to assemble the officers of their respective companies, and such of the soldiers as will follow them, and, together with the Spaniards, go and chastise their riotous countrymen, compelling them by force to quit Rome on the payment of the nine and a half cr. per man promised to them. Cardinal Colonna no longer enjoys credit with them, and will have no more to do with such people (*y los da al Diablo*); but after all he is the only man capable of managing them. The captains whom the mutineers arrested the other day, they allowed to depart free, though both were wounded in the riot.

To-day, the 29th, a captain leaves this for Civittà Castellana. As Fabricio Marramao is there in the neighbourhood with his 2,000 Italians, he will be able to help in case of the inhabitants refusing, as it is stated, to give up the town. His Holiness is also sending an express to the governor of the castle.

The Pope wishes to give the bishopric of Alguer to Doctor Solis, about whom Don Juan Manuel will be able to report at court.

It has been resolved that the captain who is to take charge of Civittà Vecchia shall remain here until the result of the message sent by His Holiness to the warder (*alcayde*) of the castle be known.

The German captains went away to an abbey called Grotta Ferrata, 10 miles from this city. There they will remain until their men return to their allegiance.

To-day (the 30th) the ensigns, corporals (*cabos de esquadra*), sergeants, and other [non-commissioned] officers met at the Colonna Palace, when a resolution was passed to the effect that upon the privates and common soldiers receiving nine

1527.

and a half crowns (*escudos*) per man they (the officers) would engage to take the men to any quarters outside the city, there to obey orders and march against the enemy. They also offered, after the men were paid, to show how the number of captains and companies could be reduced so as to economize more effectually for the Emperor. They themselves and their captains consented to wait for their money, but suggested that in the meanwhile the hostages should be placed in their hands, and a short date fixed for the payment.

His Holiness having been duly informed of all this, said, "Had the German officers granted us some respite we should have been glad to accept their proposals. As it is, the term being so short, we are quite unable to pay the sum demanded." He (the Pope) is consequently very much put out, as he sees that every day and hour that passes new obstacles are raised in the way of his liberation, which he much desires, as it stands to reason that he should do. The Pope, nevertheless, is doing all he can to content these Germans, although he knows well that unless the 60,000 ducats for the three cardinals' hats come from Naples he has no means in his possession to pay the sums demanded within the time fixed; but he fears lest the Germans should kill the hostages as they threaten. Were they to hurt any of these he declares that he will not abide by the treaty he has signed, but will rather remain a prisoner at Sanct Angelo, commending himself to God, and waiting for what His Imperial Majesty may wish to do with his person.

An express has been despatched to Don Ugo, acquainting him with the Pope's last resolution, and begging him to remit as soon as possible the money from the new cardinals, to whom all proper securities shall be offered both on the part of the Pope and of these commanders.—Rome, the last day of November 1527.*

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. From Perez. Rome. 30th November."

Spanish. Original. pp. 22.

1 Dec. 250. The EMPEROR'S DECLARATION respecting the DUCHY OF MILAN.

S. E. L. 1,458,
f. 49.

B. M. *Add.* 28,577,
f. 32.

Be it known to all parties, &c. Whereas, notwithstanding our strenuous efforts to conclude a general peace, We have hitherto been disappointed, chiefly through the suspicion

* A postscriptum in Perez's hand states that this despatch was definitively closed and sealed on the 1st of December. Indeed, like most of the despatches written by the Emperor's agents at Rome, Genoa, and Venice, it constitutes a sort of diary of all the events in that city until the capitulation was finally signed.

1527.

which the confederated powers seem to entertain that We intend keeping the Duchy of Milan for ourselves, or giving it to our brother the King of Hungary and Bohemia, We hereby declare in the most solemn manner that, far from any such ambitious design, it was our intention, after the said Duchy had at our own expense and by the force of our arms been reduced to obedience, again to restore it to the illustrious Francesco Sforza, though he might have, as he really has, forfeited all his rights to it by his treasonable acts, &c. Indeed We fully intended on the payment of a moderate sum, as indemnity for the expenses of the war, before the new investiture and customary oath of fidelity to the Empire, to restore the said Francesco Sforza to his former position. However, instead of showing gratitude for our generosity and forgiveness, the late Duke tried to destroy us and our army, entering into a confederacy with our enemies, carrying on war on the Duchy, and doing all possible harm to the Empire.

Matters being in this state, and perceiving that the investiture of the Duchy on any other prince but Sforza might prove a serious obstacle to the negotiations, We proposed to the Apostolic Nuncio at this our court that should he (Sforza) be juridically deprived of the Duchy, and the fief return, as of right, to the sacred Roman Empire; should His Holiness consider it more advantageous for the peace of Italy and of the Christian world at large that the estate of Milan should be divided into portions, entirely dismembered and given away, We were prepared, for the better furtherance of the peace We had in view, without retaining for ourselves, or for our brother the King of Hungary and Bohemia, any portion, however small, of the said estate, to have it divided between various lords, princes, potentates, and other private persons, “*jure feudi disponere, debitasque investituras sub rationabili pretio seu servitio juxta rerum et personarum qualitatem unicuique concedere, taliterque providere ne de cætero quispian ad ipsius status occupationem, illius ampliacione disjuncta atque suppressa, verisimiliter aspiraret, seu Italiam propterea turbare presumeret.*”

Hearing that this plan was likely to meet with His Holiness' approval, and that the principal obstacle to the settlement of peace might thus be removed, We appointed Don Ugo de Moncada, the Prince of Orange, and Mons de Verey (Veyre), our chamberlain, to be our orators and ambassadors at the Pope's Court, and negotiate with him conjointly, or separately, two out of the three, the terms and conditions of the said division, as well as the designation of the lords, princes, potentates, and private persons to whom the investiture of the said Imperial fiefs was to be granted, &c.—Burgos, 1st of December 1527.

Latin. Original draft. pp. 9.

1527.

1 Dec. 251.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
 f. 1.
 B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
 f. 286.

INSTRUCTIONS of the MARQUIS [HERNANDO DE] ALARCON
 to [GAYOSO].

What you [Captain Gayoso]* are to say to the Emperor respecting this army (*felicissimo exercito*) is as follows:—

1st. That the commander-in-chief ought to be the same person holding at the time the viceroyalty of Naples, as he will thus be able to provide better for its wants, and also to reward the services of those Spanish captains and soldiers who have done, or may do, service during the present war. Many gentlemen (*muchos caballeros y gente de bien*) are daily coming from that kingdom to serve here as volunteers at their own expense, and if the commander-in-chief is ignorant of their qualities and position no adequate reward can be offered to them.

2nd. That there are too many captains in the army, two or even three for each company, which naturally increases the expense by one third.

3rd. Orders should be sent to the commander-in-chief not to give companies of infantry to men known to be rash and self-interested (*ligeros e interesados*), for though very brave men, they may be led away by their interest or passions (*locura*), and cause the ruin of this army in an hour's time.

4th. That His Imperial Majesty be pleased to bear in mind that he owes it to God (*lo que se deve á Dios*) and to his own reputation and fame so to provide for the wants of his army that there be no excuse for the murders, violence, and plunder which have been committed by his soldiers, and are likely to continue and increase. God will not permit that the Emperor's greatness and power be maintained by such wicked means, nor is it just that Christendom (*el mundo*), having the remedy in its hands, tolerate it for any length of time.†

5th. The Emperor should take into consideration the services of such captains of Spanish infantry as Rodrigo de Ripalda, Luys de Avendaño, Machin de Haya (*sic*), Fernando de Figueroa, Don Sancho de Alarcon, Don Pedro de Cordoua, Francisco de Alarcon, Lope Alvarez Osorio, Machin Cao (*sic*), and others whose names he does not recollect.

6th. To speak in favour of Captain Hieronymo Moron,‡ extolling the many services he has done, and is still doing, for the Imperial cause, and the great virtue and courage (*valer y esfuerzo*) of his person, and his claim on the Emperor's mercy, through which he might be enabled to pass the remainder

* There is a blank in the draft, as if to fill up the name of the messenger, who was no other than Captain Gayoso.

† "Por que ni Dios permiera çufrillos ni es razon que el mundo, pudiendolo remediar, lo dexe de hazer."

‡ "Item suplicar á su Mt. por el capitan (*sic*) Hieronymo Moron." Most probably a mistake of the copyist, who read *capitan* instead of *commissario*, which office he obtained after the death of the Abbot of Najera. He may, however, have been both captain and commissary, for in subsequent despatches he is mentioned as a leader of troops.

1527.

of his old age in quietness and ease, and thus leave an encouraging example to his posterity.

7th. The men-at-arms must be reformed, and orders issued for the captains not to intrust the command of their companies during their absence to private individuals, their friends or relatives, who very often have seen little or no service at all, and cannot manage or command* their men as they ought.

8th. Whereas great arrears of pay are owing to the said men-at-arms, and likewise to the Spanish infantry, it is imperative to procure the means of paying them. It would be indeed a hard thing for the Emperor's conscience to have to bear the responsibility of any excesses that might be committed by his troops; nor would it be compatible with his greatness that his armies for want of pay should destroy the whole world.† The numbers of the Italian infantry should be fixed (*cerrado*), and no more enlisting allowed, because though Spaniards are destructive enough, experience shows that 4,000 Italians waste and destroy more in two months than 10,000 of any other nation in four.

9th. Should the war continue in Italy His Imperial Majesty must look to his sea forces, and order such armaments to be made as to ensure him the superiority there, as his estates cannot well be preserved without a navy.

10th. To ask the commandership [of Alcantara], vacant by the death of Captain Aguilera,‡ for Captain Avendaño.§

11th. With regard to the Germans Your Worship knows full well how matters stand. Notwithstanding the securities that have been given that they shall be [paid all arrears up to the end of September last (so that in reality nothing is owing to them except the months of October and November), they persist in their fractious and rebellious spirit, breaking out into continual mutinies, and causing by their stubborn disobedience the ruin of the Emperor's authority and power [in Italy], the loss of the Duchy, and, even more, the total destruction of this city. Since His Imperial Majesty can increase or reduce his demands at will, it is far better to do so at once than remain at the mercy [of shameless people who aim chiefly at his dishonour.]

* The verb used is *governar*, which at this time was used to express the exercise of any command *ad interim*. The lieutenant of a company was *gobernador* in the absence of the captain. In later times the President, by age, of the Council of Castille was designated by the title of *Gobernador del Consejo*.

† "Que su exercito haya de yr robando y destruyendo el mundo para su sostenimiento, especialmente siendo el Emperador de la grandeza que es."

‡ See above, p. 366, where the death of this officer is recorded.

§ Some times written *Mendaño*, which is also a common name in Spain.

|| "Por esto Su Md. debe mandar mirar quanto mas cumple á Su Imperial servicio de aquietar las cosas con los terminos que se pueda, pues puede quitar y poner á su modo, que no estar á discrecion de una gente que con tan poca verguença han querido destruyr y deshonnrr á Su Md. y perder, como arriba digo, el Ducado de Milan."

1527.

12th. Your Worship is to inform the Emperor of the great scarcity of provisions, principally of wheat, throughout Italy; there is in fact hardly any but what comes from Sicily. For this reason it is absolutely needful that the island be kept in a state of defence. The Viceroy's son, Count Burrello, has been written to, that he may inform his father of the danger in which that island is, as the enemy's fleet is sure to make an attempt, and perhaps also effect a landing for the purpose of carrying away the wheat. Orders have been sent for the corn (*granos*) to be conveyed to strong places distant from the coast, and for the garrisons to be on the alert against any attack of the enemy.

13th. Considering the late treasonable plots of the confederates, it might be advisable to make some agreement with France, for although the Emperor has still the two sons of the King in his power, he no longer insists upon the cession of Burgundy, and therefore an honourable peace might be concluded, by means of which the affairs of Italy could be settled between the two sovereigns, so that the Emperor would not be obliged to stake the treasure of his kingdoms, the lives of his knights and soldiers, and the substance of his subjects, at a dangerous game, in which Venetians and Florentines, with their treacherous practices, can be the only winners.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 5.*

Dec. 252.

MEMORANDUM.—The measures advised by the Imperial ambassador for preventing the King of England from forming an offensive League with France.†

Should the King of England enter into an offensive league with the King of France against the Emperor, it will be under colour of the two following reasons:—The first on account of the debt of the indemnity and other loans made in past times to the Emperor, and to his predecessors, and for which the King can, at any time, demand payment; for although the King of France has engaged to pay to the King of England on the Emperor's account the whole of the said indemnity, still this does not lessen his (the Emperor's) responsibility for payment of the said indemnity, nor alter the fact that the King of England holds him responsible for such payment. The second reason is that His Imperial

* Though undated, these instructions must have been drawn out early in December, and addressed to Captain Gayoso. See *Comentarios de los hechos del Señor de Alarcón* (Madrid, 1675, fol.), p. 341.

† The original draft of this memorandum [*Discours de Chapuys concernant le fait d'Angleterre*] is in the Vienna Archives. It bears no date, but being placed among papers of December 1527, I have not hesitated to calendar it here, inasmuch as Eustace Chapuys, at this time *maitre des Requêtes de l'Empereur* in Flanders, was consulted, as well as Perrenot, Hoochstraten, and others, on the best means to detach Henry from his French alliance. Yet as Chapuys did not come as ambassador to England until 1529; as the writer of the memorandum alludes to his residence in London, and to the ill-will which the Cardinal bore him, it must be concluded that it was drawn up by Don Íñigo, not by Chapuys himself. The clerk in Belgium whose duty it was to translate it into French (Don Íñigo wrote always in Spanish) might wrongly have ascribed it to the latter.

1527.

Majesty having by his marriage with the Empress broken the treaty of Windsor, he has subjected himself to the penalties to be incurred thereby.

Under colour of these two reasons, the King of England, in combination with the King of France, who would take as his ground of complaint the detention of the Queen (Eleonor) his consort, has it in his power to attack the Low Countries, viz., Flanders, Zealand, Holland, &c., both by land and sea, take their ports by surprise, or flood their dykes; and as the Low Countries are not sufficiently powerful to resist the combined attack of two such Princes, in any case their trade and fisheries, on which they entirely depend, would be destroyed, and their towns and villages given up to plunder by whichever army came nearest to them.

To render this alliance still firmer, it is quite possible that the Cardinal of York may advise a marriage between the daughter of England and the Dauphin [of France], or [his brother] Mons. d'Orléans; if to the latter, on condition that immediately after his release the said Mons. d'Orléans be sent to England, [there] to be educated by King Henry, and learn the customs and language of the country before the time should come for his taking possession of the kingdom. If the marriage were to be effected with the Dauphin, though this is less probable, and would not be so advantageous for England, then, in that case, the Cardinal, knowing the King his master's great love for his own illegitimate son [the Duke of Richmond], might promote the said marriage, and have the Princess removed from England, hoping that in course of time the said illegitimate son might be appointed to the succession of the Crown. In either of the above cases the King of England would, both for the recovery of the aforesaid debts, and for the deliverance from captivity of his future son-in-law, aid in compelling the Emperor to give up the hostages, and desist from his claims on Burgundy, &c., as in case of the Princess marrying the Dauphin, those countries would fall to the lot of his said son-in-law.

Whichever of these courses might be chosen, the French would be great gainers thereby, as they would not only recover their hostages, and obtain a different settlement in the matter of Burgundy, but might also perchance conquer a great part of the Low Countries. To induce the King of England to make war upon the Emperor, the French may possibly offer to maintain a portion of his army, or to pay a certain sum of money monthly, in liquidation of their actual debt, which would be to the King of England so much fresh money coming in, quite independent of his revenue. And although it is clearly apparent that such schemes [of war and marriage] would, in course of time, bring great evils upon this kingdom of England, still the contingency is much to be feared, seeing the change that has suddenly come over

1527.

the English, the Cardinal's influence with the King, and the disposition of the people in the Low Countries.

To obviate all which evils aforesaid, the following course is open to adoption.

First to bribe the Cardinal. This must be accomplished by paying him all the arrears of his pension of 9,000 cr. on the bishoprics of Palencia and Badajoz. Should the Emperor not have the ready money with which to make the said payment, then, in place of the arrears of such pension, let a larger one of 12,000 or 14,000 cr. be settled on him upon one or more rich bishoprics in Castille. True that the Emperor has pledged his word to the Cortes of Castille not to dispose of any benefices in that kingdom, except to natives of those countries; but this promise being in violation of the liberty of the Church, is by no means binding. Besides that, the measure, tending, as it does, to the preservation of the peace of the said kingdom, and to the welfare of the people, could not be found fault with, provided all the circumstances of the case were sufficiently explained. It is most probable that Spaniards, or at least the intelligent part of the nation, would willingly subscribe to a measure of this kind, calculated to ensure peace; nor would it be wise in the contrary case, for the sake of a few malcontents, to reject so advantageous a plan. Should the Emperor find that this is not feasible, then it would be well to look out for some bishopric in Aragon, Catalonia, or Valencia, upon which the said pensions might be settled.

Item.—To pay the whole or part of the arrears due to the Emperor's pensioners in England, and to make some present to Master Brian Tuke, over and above his annual pension of 300 crowns, for the reasons which M. de Praet fully explained to the Emperor during his embassy to England.

The Emperor's ambassadors [in England] should be instructed to represent to the King the great love which the Emperor has always borne him, the near relationship between them, and the ancient alliance ever existing between the kingdoms of Spain, England, and the Low Countries, as well as the long-standing hostility between England and France. Also the great failure of integrity in the King of France towards the Emperor, and the little faith that can be put in him after such conduct towards His Imperial Majesty, who has always dealt so well and uprightly with him, having given him his life, restored him to his kingdom, &c.

They ought to tell him that a King who has always had the reputation of defending the good and just cause cannot now, without displeasing God and injuring his own character for integrity, support one so notoriously bad as the King of France.

The King of England should also be reminded of the offers which the King of France, when in prison, made to the Emperor, in order to induce him to forsake the English alliance, which offers the Emperor would never accept, but

1527.

on the contrary has taken his measures for the payment of the indemnity as stipulated in the last treaty. Also that it is not surprising that during the present war the Emperor has not been able to pay the said indemnity, the calls upon his Imperial treasury having been so incessant, and the expenses and burdens to support so heavy, but the inability to meet his engagements has always caused him sincere regret.

With regard to the matter of the Emperor's marriage, the ambassadors should take care to represent how candidly the Emperor has acted towards the King of England in this affair, not taking any conclusive steps about it until the King's consent was obtained, the Emperor himself wishing to wait until such time as the Princess [Mary] should be of sufficient age to be married to him, though for the satisfaction of his subjects, and the good of his kingdoms, he had been compelled to take a contrary course.

Also that there is not at the present time any pretence whatever for going to war with the Low Countries, or any portion of them, and that should the King of England make any conquests there, they would only serve to increase the King of France's power, and diminish his own, for that he would not be able to hold the conquered territory long, and the English conquest would only turn to the advantage of the French, who would of necessity endeavour, as they have done on other occasions, to drive them off their coast, which they could easily do, being so much stronger than the English on their own side of the channel. In short the maintaining of such conquests would, besides entailing a very heavy expense on the King of England, be at times impossible, especially whenever the weather happened to be unfavourable for the passage of troops.

The King should besides be told how greatly his kingdom would suffer from the loss of the woollen staple at Calais, and the various other articles of trade between England and the Low Countries. Also that besides losing his fresh territorial acquisitions, if any were made, and the booty thereof, he would soon lose Calais and Guisnes, for the French, once masters of the Low Countries, could besiege the former city with a comparatively small force by land, if the great vessels of the Low Countries could effectually blockade its port by sea. In such case the King of England could not send in supplies. The French, in case of discomfiture, could at any time retreat to Normandy or Flanders, or to the Dunnes,* and wait there for a better opportunity to renew the attack; whereas the English would have no ports to go to in case of need, all those in Flanders and France being in possession of the French. Nor is it to be supposed that the French would keep faith with the English as regards such conquests, considering what they are now doing, and how ancient and bitter is the enmity between the two nations.

* "Se retirast aysement a sauveté soit en Normandie, ou en Flandres ou aux Dinnes (*sic*)."

1527.

Let the King also be reminded that the Emperor can at any moment make peace with France by giving way on the subject of Burgundy, and that should he find himself in real danger, he might be compelled to do this, and revenge himself upon the King of England for having deserted him and gone over to the King of France without any previous provocation or offence, which resolution on the part of the Emperor might cause the destruction of his kingdom, owing to the hatred and animosity existing of old between the two nations; as in the case of an alliance with the French the Emperor might help them to take Calais and the rest of the English possessions, along the French coast, as above described.

Should the Emperor find himself still more dangerously situated, he might promise the King of England not to give up the French hostages until the town and castle of Boulogne were fairly made over to the English.

The King of England should also be reminded that King Francis is mortal, and not likely to reach any great age, as his own physicians have declared; which consideration might possibly slacken the King's present ardour for an alliance with France. Besides which Mr. d'Angoulême* also might die, and then the Emperor could assist the King [of England] in recovering the whole or a part of the French territory to which he lays claim.

Item.—For the Emperor to write cordial letters to the King and Cardinal; also to the Queen, begging her to maintain a friendly feeling, &c.

Also that the Emperor should keep up a good understanding with the Pope and the Venetians, and induce them to instruct their ambassadors [in England] to represent strongly to the King and Cardinal that the very foundation of peace lies in this point. The Pope could use his authority with the Legate [Cardinal Wolsey], both as regards his office [of Legate] and on other grounds. The Emperor has all the more reason for making this request of the Pope, because it was principally out of respect for His Holiness, and in the hope of securing peace for Christendom, that he (the Emperor) agreed to set the King [of France] at liberty.

Item.—To endeavour by every possible means to foment discord between the Kings of England and France. This could be better effected here were another ambassador to go [from Flanders?] besides himself (Chapuys), who might communicate more freely with the English ambassadors, which he has never been able to do on account of the Legate's dislike to him.†

* Francis' eldest son, or the Dauphin, Duke of Angoulême.

† "Item faudroit aussi trouver par tout moyens de bouter diffidence entre les dits Roys d'Engleterre et de France et s'il y avoit icy aultre ambassadeur que moy, il le povoit bien faire en hantant beaucoup les ambassadeurs François, ce que je ne puy faire pour le malcontentement que le dit sieur Legat à l'encontre de moy."

1527.

It might also be still advisable to temporize with the King of France, keeping him in hope of some modification in the article respecting Burgundy, as well as in that relating to the restitution of his children, so that his ardour for treating with England might abate, or until, by gaining time, some opportunity for raising mistrust between the two Kings should be found.

The French should also be reminded that were they to invade the Low Countries with the help of England, the sons of France would not be restored to them, and that the strength of the towns in the said Low Countries is such as to afford them very little chance of success. The King or Mr. d'Angoulême might die in the meantime, and then their country would be ruined, for it needs but little effort at any time to stir up a feud between the English and them. Even under the most favourable circumstances, such as those of conquest, and so forth, there would still be this disadvantage, namely, that the English will claim and must have their share of the conquered territory, an event that the wisest heads in France have always greatly deprecated; that their Queen [Eleonor] is the Emperor's eldest sister, and that stranger things have happened in the world than the accidental succession of the said Princess and her children to the dominions of the Emperor and Archduke, by which event the safety and grandeur of France through all future ages might be ensured.

The French ambassador should also be reminded that the cause for which they fight is an unjust one, and that God Almighty is the best Judge, &c.; also that in case of the King's death, or that of Mr. d'Angoulême, the Emperor would be greatly assisted in his projects by Mr. de Bourbon, who is the declared enemy of those now in power.

Should, however, war become inevitable, the Emperor's subjects both in Spain and Flanders must be carefully informed of all that the Emperor has done to establish general peace in Christendom, and the reward that he has met with for having shown himself so humane, Christian, and virtuous a Prince. By so doing the inhabitants of the Low Countries will be roused to a sense of their wrongs and of the justice of their cause, and will defend themselves to the uttermost.

Similar statements should be made also to all other Christian Princes, so as to draw them to the Emperor's side, and attested copies of the engagements entered into by the King of France at various times sent to all the Imperial ambassadors at foreign courts, whilst the originals themselves, signed by the King or by his ambassadors, should at the same time be exhibited to all the foreign ambassadors residing at the Emperor's Court in Spain.

His Imperial Majesty might also have the whole or part of the said treaty printed and appended to the original, and

1527.

send his letters forthwith to all the principal towns of France, showing how much their King is in the wrong. This should be done also at Antwerp, in Germany, in Italy, and even in Switzerland, that all the King's subjects and friends in those countries may be rendered averse from war, and slow in offering their help towards it, or sending their soldiers to fight for so bad a cause, and one which must give great displeasure to God.

French. Original. Partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins. pp. 10.

5 Dec. 253. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 332.

(*Cipher* :) All the passes are taken by the enemy, so that it is almost impossible for him to communicate with Spain. His last despatch went by way of Genoa, thence to be addressed to Lyons under cover to a trusty merchant of that city; doubts whether the present one, which goes by the same route, will reach its destination, for the enemy is on the alert, and there are spies everywhere.

The Emperor must have heard how the Duke of Ferrara, at the instigation of Cardinal Cibo, and of the ambassadors of France, England, Venice, and Florence, has concluded a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with the most Holy League (*Sanctissima Lega*) under the following conditions [copies certain paragraphs of Miçer Andrea relating thereto, and then adds]:

Hearing that this Count of La Mirandola could no longer give him hospitality, owing to Lautrech's threats, he wrote to the Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga), inquiring whether he would give him shelter. His answer has been that he could not offend the French by receiving him. Knows not whither to go, nor what he is to do with his person when obliged to quit La Mirandola. Will try, however, to remain where he is, for although he could go again to Ferrara, he thinks the Duke would not be glad of his visit.

The French and Venetian fleets were some days ago at Liorna (Leghorn), with the intention of molesting the Siennese coast, and carrying away any corn they could find, for both their army and fleet are very badly off for provisions.

The last advices from Rome are of the 8th ult^o. At that date the Pope had made an agreement with Alarcon, Vere (Veyre), and the General [of the Franciscans], the draft of which had been sent to Don Ugo at Naples for approval. Immediately after the signature the Pope was to be liberated, and the army to march on Lombardy. The Prince of Orange had been sent for to take the command of the Imperial forces; he had left Sienna on the 10th, and was shortly expected at Rome. The Marquis del Guasto, who had brought some money from Naples, consented to serve under the Prince, so that things did not look so gloomy as before. The Imperialists

1527.

were in very good spirits, and ready to march against the enemy. If they advance at once on Lombardy, there can be no doubt that the whole of the Duchy, and Genoa itself, will soon be recovered, for such an army as the Emperor has now, if properly commanded and disciplined, is quite capable of conquering the world.

Leyva was no longer surrounded by enemies, as the Venetians had raised their camp to go to Bergamo and Brescia, whilst the French occupied Parma and its immediate neighbourhood. That captain could go freely in and out of Milan, but provisions were scarce, and there was no money to pay his troops.—La Mirandola, 30th of November.

P.S.—On the 2nd inst., as the Duke of Ferrara was laying siege to Novi, a castle belonging to Alberto di Carpi, and which a brother of the latter defended, a message came from Lautrech bidding him surrender the castle to the Duke, as otherwise he would cut off Alberto's head. In consequence of this message the castle surrendered to the Duke, much to the astonishment of the confederates, who cannot understand why Alberto is so badly treated by the French.

5th December.—To-day the news is that the Venetians and Florentines are discontented with Lautrech, who remains at Parma inactive. He has, however, sent to Mantua the ambassadors of France and England to persuade the Marquis to join the League. They are to offer him the command in chief of the army. It is to be presumed that he will accept the offer, and do as the Duke of Ferrara has done.

Addressed : "To His Sacred, &c."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1527. From La Mirandola. Soria. 5th December."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

6 Dec. 254. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. D. P. d. G.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 40.

After sealing his letter of the 30th ult^o, that very night the hostages whom the Germans had in their power fled from prison. Some say that they succeeded in bribing their keepers; others that they invited them to a good repast (*les hicieron buena aera*), and had thus leisure to pass [the sentries] unnoticed. However this may be, they have escaped, at which their friends and relatives are greatly rejoiced, and the Germans themselves sadly disappointed. This loss of the hostages, however, has rendered the Germans more exacting and mutinous than ever, and the consequence has been that after repeated conferences with the Pope the following articles have been agreed upon.

The Pope to pay the Germans within 15 days, to be counted from the first of the month, 110,000 ducats, and the Spaniards 35,000. The captains and officers not to receive anything for

1527.

the present. As security for three payments two cardinals are to reside at the Colonna Palace under Pompeo's custody. Instead of the Datary and Jacopo Salviati, who fled, the Pope to give one more cardinal to go with the other two to Naples or Gaeta, in lieu and place of His Holiness' nephews. The two last to remain also in confinement at the Colonna Palace until six more hostages, all of them related to cardinals, be given as security for the 150,000 ducats payable to the German captains and officers now at Grotta Ferrata, and who have just received from their men a safe-conduct to return here.

Under these conditions the Pope's liberation will take place in a couple of days. Don Felipe de Cervellon will remain in guard of Sanct Angelo, after swearing fidelity to the Pope, until His Holiness decides who is to be warder (*alcayde*) and appoints a garrison.

When the capitulation was signed it was presumed that the Pope would remain in the castle until the army had evacuated Rome, as it is agreed that the very moment the soldiers have received their pay they are to go out, but it would appear that his intention is to go to Orbieto, about 20 leagues from this city, under the impression that he will there have better means of procuring money. Were he to remain at Rome people might think that he (the Pope) was still under restraint, and perhaps funds could not so easily be collected, &c. The Imperial generals and Fr. Alvaro de Quiñones, the Franciscan, approve of this measure, and have offered the Pope a competent force to escort him thither. He may still decide upon remaining here; but at any rate, should he go to Orbieto, it is believed that the delivery of Civittà Castellana will take place before his departure. Hitherto, he says, it has not been his fault if the town has not been surrendered. There was inside the castle a captain of the League with 30 men, who would not hear of it; lately, however, the captain has died [of the plague], and some of his men also; the remainder have gone away, so that the castle is free, and His Holiness can dispose of it as he pleases. There is therefore every probability that the delivery will take place almost immediately, and that proper securities of bankers and merchants will be offered for the payment of the 65,000 ducats to be paid to the Spaniards. Before giving back Sanct Angelo, where, as afore stated, Cervellon is to remain with a company of Spaniards, the Pope is to place as hostages in the hands of Cardinal Colonna and of Alarcon five cardinals, namely, two, Ursino and Cesis,* with Colonna, and three, Triulzi, Pisani, and Gadi, with Alarcon. He is to give besides six more hostages into the hands of Colonna, as security for the payment of the 150,000 ducats in three months to the German captains and officers. All this being accomplished

* De Cæsis. There were two cardinals of this name, Federigo and Paolo.

1527.

to-day, on the 3rd of December the castle is to be delivered to His Holiness according to the capitulation signed on the 26th ult^o, a copy of which is herein enclosed. God forbid that the three Neapolitans, who wish for cardinals' hats, change their minds in the meanwhile; if they do, the Pope will have no means to pay these Germans, and the whole arrangement may fall to the ground.

Most likely Alarcon will take the hostages as far as Gaeta, and return here immediately.

A servant of the late Doge of Genoa (Antoniotto Adorno) has just arrived in town to ask for the army to march immediately upon Lombardy, which he says is in great danger. There only remains in the Duchy Milan itself, Como, Trezzo, and Lecco; all the rest is lost.

The news from Hungary is good. Letters from those parts of the 12th of November state that the Vayvod [Zapolsky] had fled to Poland, accompanied only by 40 horsemen. The King had appointed a new Vayvod [over Transylvania],* who had brought him the very crown which the old Kings of the country used at their coronation; he had brought likewise things innumerable, and plenty of excellent horses, which cost the King nothing.

3rd of December.—The castle of Sanet Angelo has not yet been delivered to His Holiness, owing to his having been unable to procure the required pledges and guarantees for the payment of the 65,000 ducats, or the hostages for the 150,000 for the German [captains and officers], and also owing to a placard having appeared this morning in the Spanish quarters, indicative of some riot or mutiny likely to arise among them. The said paper summoned the soldiers to a meeting to be held at a place there named, in order to punish certain captains of theirs, and other people who did not do their duty towards the men, and were continually deceiving them. The Pope, when he heard of this, was somewhat alarmed from fear of the Spaniards stopping the effects of the capitulation. There is, however, reason to believe that these marks of discontent will disappear, and that the Spaniards will fulfil their promise to Guasto, and march out when they have received one month's pay. Six companies (*banderas*) of them are to go to-morrow towards Civittà Castellana, which is a proof that the intended mutiny was ineffectual, for otherwise they would have refused to go. Whatever else may occur before the actual closing of this despatch, His Imperial Majesty shall be duly informed of it.

5th December.—When this despatch was began we all felt sure, and the Pope himself believed, that his liberation would take place on the 3rd, at the latest. But the impediments on the part of the Germans and Spaniards have been such that

* Carlo Dolce, in his *Vita di Ferdinando, primo Imperadore di questo nome* (Vinegia, 1566), says that Stefano Balore was appointed Viceroy of Hungary on this occasion.

1527.

up to to-day, Thursday, the 5th of December, it has not yet taken place; for although the Spaniards have sent in their agreement to the conditions, and accepted the pledges and securities offered, and the Germans, moreover, have also agreed to receive hostages for the 150,000 ducats, the latter ask so many things besides that it is quite impossible to satisfy them. They are to meet to-morrow, Friday, the 6th, precisely seven months since the Pope has been a prisoner at Sanct Angelo, and resolve thereupon. The Pope, who counted upon his liberation, and intended leaving for Orbieto to-morrow, was very much alarmed and discontented the whole of yesterday, but Cardinal Colonna and those who have charge of this business have assured him that, whatever may happen, he (the Pope) shall be free to-morrow. He is now more tranquil, and has this day ordered 48,000 ducats to be handed over to Cervellon for the pay of his men, that he may take them out of Sanct Angelo the moment he (the Pope) recovers his liberty. It appears that Don Felipe [Cervellon] refuses to remain in the castle, though His Holiness, they say, has requested him to continue until he (the Pope) should appoint a proper garrison and governor. That money, of course, is to be deducted from the 65,000 ducats payable to the Spaniards in 15 days' time, but there remains at the castle some wheat, wine, and other provisions for which the Pope will account.

Hears that the Legacy of the Marks, a very honourable and lucrative post, has been conferred by the Pope on Cardinal Colonna.

Cardinal Campeggio remains as Legate in Rome. He is now suffering from gout.

The Prince of Orange is at Civittà Vecchia, but is expected in town to-morrow, as he has written asking for apartments (*aposenito*).

Most people think that the moment the Pope deems himself free at Orbieto he will go and join the League. Were he to do the contrary of that, we should all marvel at it, for we have our misgivings that he will not, if he can help it, fulfil his promises. This notwithstanding, his liberation has been accomplished according to His Imperial Majesty's wishes, with such securities as the Imperial ministers were able to obtain.

Has been told that the Datary (Gianmatheo Giberti) has determined upon going to his bishopric [of Verona], and not seeing the Pope again. Cannot say whether this intelligence be correct. All the hostages are said to be at Orbieto.

God be praised, this morning [the 6th of December] the Pope's liberation was effected, the Spaniards going out of Sanct Angelo, and he remaining inside with his own people. He is very much rejoiced at it, and says he will start for Orbieto to-morrow. May he fix his court there, and not do as many people suspect he will! Alarcon took with him his three cardinals, and Colonna will go to-morrow to Grotta Ferrata with his two hostages [Ursino and Cesis].

1527.

Coming out of Sanct Angelo he (Perez) met a number of friars and priests going to Saint Peter to sing a *Te Deum laudamus* for the Pope's liberation. All seemed very much pleased at the event.

News has come from Civittà Castellana stating that the Papal commissioner (*comisario*) was actually disobeyed by the inhabitants. It was entirely his fault, for instead of going first to the castle, he went to the town's-people. The Pope, it is said, has sent another message, but some are of opinion that the place will not be given up.

The Emperor's letters of the 27th and 29th of October have just come to hand. It is too late to answer them, as Captain Gayoso is about to start with the news of the Pope's liberation.

The mutiny of the Spaniards, mentioned in the first part of this despatch, came to nothing after all. If paid up at the time that has been fixed, they will all quit Rome, as well as the Germans, who have sworn to march whenever they may be ordered. Cardinal Colonna has offered his own personal security, and that of the three cardinals his hostages, for the payment of the 150,000 ducats.

This security is more *propter formam* than because the cardinals possess that sum; but still as the Emperor's minister will not give up their three cardinals, or the cities pledged, without the money being paid, it stands to reason that no better guarantee could be offered to the Germans.—Rome, 6th December 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. Rome. Perez."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 13.

7 Dec. 255.

CARDINAL COLONNA and ASCANIO COLONNA to the
EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 329.

Enclose a copy of the treaty between His Holiness and the Emperor, and humbly request that the affairs of Italy may be carefully attended to, now that the French have possessed themselves of almost all the Duchy with the exception of Milan and its castle.

The Pope had left Rome well contented with the Imperial commanders, but much dissatisfied with the army itself.

Owing to the heavy taxation the Neapolitans are in a state of agitation, and grumbling against some of the Imperial ministers. The kingdom itself completely exhausted of money and provisions. Should the Imperial army march on Lombardy, and the Pope not fulfil the conditions of the treaty, some provision must be made to defend that kingdom from invasion, as otherwise it will be in great danger.

1527.

Leyva is in great stress at Milan, It is doubtful whether the Imperial army will arrive in time to save him. Peace must be speedily concluded, or else a commander-in-chief for this army appointed, as well as a viceroy for Naples. Money and reinforcements of Germans must also be supplied.

Beg that Nigro, their agent, may be sent back with a favourable answer.—Rome, 7th December 1527.

Indorsed: "Summary of letter from Cardinal and Ascanio Colonna."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

8 Dec. **256.** ALARCON to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 330.;

The Pope's liberation has been finally accomplished, after a good deal of negotiation with the Germans, as he has advised in former despatches.

Commends the services of the Spanish infantry, who, though almost naked and dying of hunger (*desnudos y muertos de hambre*), are doing their duty. Men, however, cannot fight without money or food. The men-at-arms suffer most, and the whole army is completely disorganized. Reminds the Emperor of the many outrages, robberies, and murders committed by the Imperial soldiers for want of pay.—Rome, 8th December 1527.

Indorsed: "Summary of letters from Alarcon."*

Spanish. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

8 Dec. **257.** ANDREA DEL BURGO to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,553,
f. 204.

The Marquis of Mantua has sent a servant to inform him (Burgo) that he has joined the League under the following conditions:

1. Eighty lances during six months, and 6,000 *scudi* every month, &c.

2. Should the Marquis wish for it, 100 lances and 12,000 *scudi* shall be allotted to him, as his father had.

3. To be appointed captain-general of Lombardy with a monthly salary of 2,500 *scudi*.

4. To have besides 10,000 cr. every year in Milan, 6,000 more on Naples, as compensation for Bozzolo; 4,000 more in Venice.

Secretly the Marquis remains an Imperialist at heart.—Datum die octava Decembris 1527.

Latin. Holograph.

8 Dec. **258.** HERNANDO DE ALARCON to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 330.

Advises the Pope's liberation, and his ups and downs (*altos y bajos*) with the Germans on that account. Praises the conduct of the Spaniards, who, he says, are without clothes

* There is on the margin a memorandum thus conceived: "The answer to be the same as the one addressed to the Marquis del Guasto with the exception of the paragraph relating to Joan Baptista Castaldo."

1527.

and dying of hunger. The men-at-arms going to Naples by tens and twenties, and the whole army utterly disorganized. Counsels peace, and records the great robberies, deaths, and outrages which the soldiers have committed.

Recommends Cardinal Colonna, who has been very useful of late in settling the business with the Pope.—Rome, 8th December 1527.

Indorsed : "Summary of letters from Alarcon, &c."

Spanish. Contemporary draft. p. 1.

11 Dec. 259. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 337.

Wrote on the last day of November, and 6th inst. by Captain Gayoso, who went to Naples on a mission from Alarcon, and at the same time to take the hats to the three Neapolitan cardinals just created. The Pope's liberation took place on the 6th. He left Sanct Angelo that very night, two hours before daybreak, and with a very small retinue went to sleep at a place of his called Crepanica, half-way between Rome and Orbieto, where he intends to stop until the Imperial troops have fairly evacuated this city.

When the Pope's departure became known the Romans in general were amazed at it, and the soldiers began to utter imprecations (*decian diabluras*). Yet before departing His Holiness took care to ratify the treaty, and create the three cardinals according to agreement. There is still there at Naples another [ecclesiastic], a son of the Duke of Atrie (Atri), who wishes also to become a cardinal, though it is generally believed that the Pope will not consent to it. Cardinal Campeggio, they say, is to remain at Sanct Angelo as Papal Legate, but hitherto no intimation of it has been received.

Cardinals Monte and Sanctiquatuor left on the very day (the 6th), and slept that night 12 miles from this city at a place called Galera, belonging to the Abbot of Farfa. Next day some of their suite went out to hunt after Spaniards (*á caza de Españoles*), and fell in with two of our countrymen driving some mules laden with the cardinals' luggage. They slew them both and returned to Galera. All the peasants in the neighbourhood of Rome are doing the same, whenever they meet Spaniards or Germans on the road, so that there is no going out of Rome except in numbers. No wonder that the Romans are so spiteful and full of revenge, for our soldiers have treated them with unheard-of cruelty. In this city and the surrounding villages many houses are standing with only bare walls built of masonry, all the rest having been burnt as fire-wood, and it is really pitiful to see the havoc that has been made. Unless the Imperial army evacuates Rome soon the destruction will be complete.

Has no answer to make to the Imperial letter of the 29th of October, received on the 6th inst., except that the Emperor's good and charitable intentions have become known and

1527.

manifest to all parties by his ordering the Pope to be released unconditionally (*sin condicion muguna particular*) and exclusively for the welfare of Christendom; wherefore, it is to be hoped that God Almighty will prosper his affairs, and make him victorious over his enemies. But for all that His Majesty must not forget to make proper provision for this army, since all we can do here will be insufficient, especially if the money which the Pope is to furnish does not come in time, as most people fear, considering the large sums the latter has to pay, and the small means (*poco aparejo*) in his hands, as the Prince of Orange, who has lately come to Rome, and the rest of the Imperial ministers must already have reported.

The cardinals who are to go to Naples are still at Ostia, waiting for the escort which Don Ugo has promised to send them. Colonna has sent the two cardinals who are to be his hostages to certain castles of his, where they will be in custody.

Up to the present hour neither the delivery of Civittà Castellana, nor that of the hostages whom the Pope promised as security for the payment of the 150,000 ducats to the captains and officers of this army, and double pay to the Germans, has been effected. A message has been sent to the Pope about it, but in the meanwhile the hostages have secretly left Rome one by one; even Cardinal Ravenna, cousin to one of those who have absconded, has taken flight for fear of being arrested on his account. May God inspire His Holiness with the will of fulfilling his engagement, and being a good father to the Emperor, who, as a dutiful son of his, has just accomplished his liberation. May he bear in mind the many favours which the Emperor once granted to him and to the whole house of Medici, for if he forgets them, and follows the advice and directions of the enemy, things are sure to go badly for him.

The Prince of Orange arrived on the 8th, on which day a council of war was held. He there declared that, although the Emperor had appointed him commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces in the room of the Duke of Ferrara, he would still follow in all military matters the advice of the Imperial ministers.

The General [of the Franciscans] has been warmly requested to go and reside with the Pope [at Orbiato] until the Emperor appoints a fit person, but he has obstinately refused to do so, and accordingly Don Ugo has been written to, that he may give that commission to Mons. de Vere [Veyre], for it is not proper that at such time as this, when the ambassadors of France, England, and Venice are likely to flock round him and advise every hostile act against the Emperor, there should not be one of us to counteract their bad designs. The Imperial ministers are of opinion that he (Perez) ought to accompany Mons. de Vere on such a mission, and if so, though

1527.

he is daily waiting for permission to return to Spain, he intends, if appointed, to go there and do his duty.

It appears that some of the confederates, who were close by, having certain intelligences at La Clusa [Chiusa?], a town belonging to the Siennese, marched in that direction. Their plans, however, were frustrated through the Siennese being informed in time, and therefore they had to desist, but it is said that they will remain in the neighbourhood, waiting for Lautrech, whom the Florentines are warmly requesting to go in that direction.

Announces the death of the Bishop of Alguer (Auditor Casador), and of Auditor Spinosa, both good servants of the Emperor. The latter resigned the "maestrecolía" of Salamanca in favour of its bishop (Bobadilla), now with the Pope, and the archdeaconry of Alcaraz, in the see of Toledo, in favour of a nephew of the General of the Franciscans. The rest of his moveable property he distributed among his servants.

Cardinal Campeggio has been announced as Papal Legate. He is confident that His Holiness will not break his engagements.

Most of the men-at-arms have gone to Naples, and the remainder talk of doing the same, as it is impossible for them to live without pay.

Up to the present hour we have not heard of the Pope having reached Orbieto, and the slanderers (*maldicientes*) pretend that he will not go thither, but to Bologna.

There is a report that he (the Pope) has given a cardinal's hat to a brother of Luigi Gonzaga, the colonel of Italian infantry in this Imperial army, and that the favoured individual has paid no less than 25,000 ducats for it. Cannot say whether the report is true or not; all he can say is that the new cardinal—who is very young and much given to pleasure (*muy moço y dado á placer*)—is as staunch a Frenchman as his brother is Imperialist.—Rome, 11th December 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Al Sacratissimo et Invictissimo Cesar Rey de las Spañas y de las Indias, nro Soberano."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. From Rome. Perez. 11th December."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

11 Dec. 260. The SAME to SECRETARY ALONSO DE SORIA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 340.

Encloses a letter for the Emperor. Has not received by Albornoz the bills of exchange payable at the bank of Symon Ruiz. The only letter of his (Soria's) that has come to hand is one dated the 29th of October, which Lope de Soria

1527.

addressed to him. Cannot proceed in the affair until he hears again, and gets funds.

There is great truth in the last paragraph of his letter, in which he wishes that Don Juan [Manuel] was 30 years younger than he is, to take the viceroyalty of Naples at this time. He (Perez) is entirely of his opinion; he thinks no one could fill that office so well. Unluckily he is so broken up by old age and various infirmities that, if appointed, he could scarcely go beyond Burgos.

Addressed: "To Alonso de Soria, Secretary to the Emperor and member of his Council."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

11 Dec. 261. PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 342.

(*Cipher:*) Bartholomeo de Taxis, present bearer, has been despatched by Leyva on a mission to the Emperor. He will be able to inform him and his Council of Estate of our present position.

No intelligence has come from Rome, and therefore cannot say whether an agreement with the Pope has been concluded or not, or whether the army has left Rome. Nor is there any news of the reinforcements that are to come from Germany.

The Viceroy is dead. The Duke of Ferrara has made an alliance with our enemies. Lautrech and the ambassadors of the League are trying hard to win over the Marquis of Mantua, but have not yet succeeded. The Venetians have fortified Cassano. The Duke Francesco [della Rovere] is at Abia, which he has likewise fortified.* Should Lautrech come to the Duchy, recall his troops from the Novarese, as he could very easily do, raise the siege of Monza, and place part of his army at Marignano, we could not hold out for one month. Milan and the rest of the Duchy cannot possibly be defended with an enemy in the rear, stopping their supplies, &c. We are already in such want that men and children drop down in the streets (*li homini e figlioli moreno per l'estrade de fame*); citizens who used once to live in luxury are reduced to eat rye bread (*pane de mestura*) and to drink water, &c.

The members of the League are not, as we hear, on good terms with each other. Perhaps it would be advisable to send to Leyva, or to whoever else might be chosen for the purpose, ample powers to treat separately or conjointly with the Venetians, the Duke Francesco [Sforza], or the Marquis de Mantua, and other lords having estates in Lombardy (*e altri Señori de Lombardia*), as any one of them might for his own particular ends wish to abandon the League at a given

* La gente dil Duca Francesco son in Abia (*sic*), e la anno fortificato parimente.

1527.

time. If so, the Emperor ought to send us instructions how to act, and what promises to make.—Milan, 11th December 1527.

Signed: "Caracciolo."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. Caracciolo. Milan. 11th December."

Italian. Original in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

12 Dec. 262. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Saizaz, A. 41,
f. 337.

Captain Gayoso, who went to Naples with the three cardinals' hats, was the bearer of his (Perez's) two despatches dated the 30th of November and 6th inst. He is to embark there, and inform His Imperial Majesty of the Pope's liberation, which took place on that day. The same night, two hours before sunrise, His Holiness left Sanct Angelo, accompanied by a few of his own followers. He went to sleep at Crepanica, a village half-way between this and Orbieto, where he said he wished to reside as long as the army remained at Rome. Next day, when his departure became known, the people in general wondered, and the soldiers uttered all manner of imprecations (*desian diabluras*). Before departing he had a deed drawn ratifying the capitulation concluded with the generals of this army, and confirming also the nomination of the three Neapolitan cardinals. It appears that a son of the Duke of Atrie (Atri) has also applied for a hat, but it is doubtful whether His Holiness will give it him. Cardinal Campeggio remained at Sanct Angelo as Legate, though hitherto he has not given us notice of this.

Cardinals Monte and Sanctiquatuor left on the 7th with an escort. They passed the night at a place called Galera, 12 miles from this, belonging to the Abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsini), some of whose men were engaged all day looking out for Spaniards, until at last they found two with the heavy luggage of the cardinals. No effort that was made to save their lives could avail; they were murdered by the Abbot's people. Such is the general animosity against us, that we cannot leave our houses from fear of being assassinated, and if we do we must go in large parties (*en gavilla*). No wonder at it; when the country people have been so cruelly treated by our soldiers. Here at Rome there are many houses completely gutted, and of which only the walls are standing, the timber having been carried away by the soldiers for fire-wood. Indeed if the army does not go soon the whole city will be destroyed, and the Germans are not inclined to move unless they are paid in full. That is the reason why the Imperial officers are straining every nerve to procure money, and have written to Naples for the

1527.

58,000 ducats of the three cardinals' hats, besides a *clericato de camara* that a Neapolitan ecclesiastic has just bought.

There is no answer to the Emperor's letter of the 21st October, received on the 6th inst. The Pope's liberation was effected without any particular conditions, thus showing the upright and pure intentions of the Emperor. It is to be hoped that God will give him victory over his enemies, and help him, not only to recover what has been lost, but also to gain what the enemy "*de in yllo (sic) tempore*" still retains, and which belongs to the Emperor. But His Imperial Majesty should in the meantime make such provision for this army as to ensure success. No great reliance is to be placed in the Pope's promises, and therefore, in case of his failing, money ought to come from Naples or Spain, as the Prince of Orange, who has arrived at last, and other Imperial Ministers have not failed to observe.

The cardinals who were to go to Naples are still at Ostia, waiting for the escort which Don Ugo is to send. The two who were with [Pompeo] Colonna have been lodged at certain castles of the latter.

The delivery of Civittà Castellana has not yet taken place. A messenger has just been despatched to His Holiness requesting him to give orders, &c.

Nor has he given hostages as security for the payment of the 150,000 of the German captains and officers, at double pay, as agreed, for those who had been designated fled one by one, and even the Cardinal of Ravenna,* who was the cousin of one of them, ran away, from fear of being detained.

On the 8th inst. the Prince of Orange arrived, and declared that, though the Duke of Ferrara had been appointed commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces in Italy, he would nevertheless follow the advice and obey the commands of the Emperor's ministers and of the Council [of War].

The General [of the Franciscans] has been requested to go to the Pope and stay at his court until the Emperor should appoint some personage (*persona principal*) to represent him. He has flatly refused, and therefore Don Ugo has been written to, asking him to send De Vere (Veyre) here, for it is not proper that whilst the Pope is surrounded by ambassadors from France, England, and Venice, the Emperor should not be represented at the Papal Court. He (Perez) has been advised to go thither with Vere (Veyre); intends to go unless he obtains in the meantime the *congé* he has applied for.

News has come that the confederates, who were close here, attempted in vain to carry a town of the Siennese called La Chiusa. The conspiracy was detected. Yet it is reported that they intend remaining in the neighbourhood under the impression that Lautrec will take up his winter quarters there at the solicitation of the Florentines. Should God permit that this

* Petro degli Accolti, Archbishop of Ravenna and Cardinal of Ancona.

1527.

Imperial army quitted Rome, the Leaguers would not stay where they are, nor the French go in that direction, &c.*

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, invincible Emperor, King of Spain and of the Indies, &c., our Sovereign and Lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. Perez. 11th December."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

12 Dec. **263.** WILLIAM STANSAERT to MERCURINO DI GATTINARA.

S. E. L. 1,559,
f. 516.
B. M. *Add.* 28,577,
f. 58.

Congratulates him upon his safe return to Spain after so many dangers as he has had to pass, from the enemy, as well as from the sea. Hears that his old friend Jacobus Grunenbergius, "nescio ob quam Lutheranae factionis suspitionem," has been summoned from the island of Canary to Spain, there cast in prison "difficulterque admitti ad sui defensionem." No sooner did he hear of it than he repaired to Antwerp, and tried to procure testimonials of his friend's life and opinions. All agree that a better and more virtuous man never existed; and that, far from favouring the Lutheran sect, he has caused to be expelled from his own family certain people suspected of belonging to it, as will be authentically proved whenever the prisoner is allowed to defend himself. Encloses testimonial signed by the prior and convent of Carthusians at Schuete. Should any more proofs of his innocence be required, they shall not be wanting. Recommends him to the mercy of his judges for the sake of his sons, now being educated at Louvain—"qui Lovanii optimis cum literis, tum moribus, in magnam spem, optimo instituuntur respectu, postremoque quod Hispani (ut Vestra quoque Dignitas non ignorat) in huiusmodi accusationibus admittendis, ac quoque etiam accusatis nullo respectu dammandis sint plus iusto precipites," &c.—Brussels, 12th December 1527.

Signed: "Johannes Stansaert, Curiae Brabantiae advocatus."

Addressed: "Ilmo D. Mercurino a Gattinaria Ces. Mai. Cancellario Summo, Comiti Gattinariae, &c."

Latin. Holograph. pp. 2.

12 Dec. **264.**

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Cart. de Erasmo,
&c. f. 25.

The PRIOR and CONVENT of the CARTHUSIANS OF SCHUETE, near Brussels, to the GRAND CHANCELLOR MERCURINO DI GATTINARA.

Have heard at Antwerp that the excellent and virtuous Jacobus Grunenbergius, their high patron, has been accused of holding the Lutheran heresy, imprisoned and sent to Spain, where he is not allowed to defend himself. All who know

* The remainder of the letter is only a duplicate of that of the 11th.

1527.

him and his family believe in his innocence. They themselves are persuaded that his enemies accuse him wantonly, either from malice or avarice. Spaniards are always prone to accuse people, but slow in permitting the accused to defend themselves.

Beg him to see that justice is done to him.—Apud Bruxellam, ex monasterio quod vulgo vocatur Schuete, die 12^o Decembris 1527.

Latin. Original. pp. 2.

12 Dec. **265.** GIROLAMO DI CASTIGLIONE (?) Governor of Milan, to the
S. E. L. 1,553,
f. 205. EMPEROR.

Exhorts him very earnestly not to allow the city of Milan to fall into the hands of the enemy. He, being Emperor, is bound to defend it.—Mediolani, 12th December 1527.

Signed: "Hieronymus de Castilione."*

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. Milan."

Latin. Original p. 1.

13 Dec. **266.** The EMPEROR to GIOVANNI MATHEO GIBERTI, the
S. E. L. 1,554,
f. 601. Pope's Datary.

Begs him to use his influence with the Pope, and persuade him to accept his offers of peace.—Burgos, 13th December 1527.

Latin. Original draft.

13 Dec. **267.** The EMPEROR to SECRETARY PEREZ.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 198.

Your letters of the 18th August, 2nd and 24th of September have come to hand.

There is no answer to be given concerning the affair of the Marquis of Astorga. His case being in the hands of lawyers, must take its course.

With regard to the permission you ask to come [to Spain], it is not convenient for us to grant it at the present juncture, your presence at Rome being indispensable until We appoint a new ambassador.

We regret to hear the demise of the Archbishop of Cosenza; he was a good and affectionate servant of ours. Respecting the provision of the said see and others lately made by His Holiness, certain protests shall be made whenever the agreement comes to be ratified.

* Probably the chief of the Municipality or Corporation, for at this time Carracciolo had the administration of justice and government of the city, and Leyva commanded the army.

1527.

We thank you very much for your information about the army and military affairs in general. Every preparation is being made here to meet all wants.

What you mention about the census of Naples will be attended to when the pending negotiations with His Holiness are brought to a close.

We cannot believe that the Germans, as you suspect, are in treaty with our enemies. Should it be so, it would be necessary to provide a remedy and have new levies made.

We have received no news from Italy for a long time. Bills of exchange to the amount of 400,000 ducats shall soon be remitted to Alfonso Sanchez.

Spanish. Original minute. p. 1½.

13 Dec. 268. POWERS to the PRINCE OF ORANGE.

S. E. Prin. d'Ital.
f. 67.

Powers granted to Philibert de Chalon, Prince of Orange, to Antonio de Leyva, and Andrea de Borgo, to treat conjointly or separately with the Signory of Venice, with Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, and with Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.—Burgos, 19th December 1527.

Indorsed: "Mandatum ad tractandum cum Venetis cæterisque Italiæ potentatibus.

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.

13 Dec. 269. The EMPEROR to POPE CLEMENT VII.

S. E. L. 1,554,
f. 574.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 64.

Has written to his agents in Italy, "ut consilia omnia nostra de rebus, tum publicis, tum privatis Sanctitati Vestræ, quam uti patrem et colere et observare volumus et semper optavimus, penitus aperiant, cum eaque de publica Italiæ atque Christianorum omnium quiete agant nostro nomine ac tractent."—Burgos, 13th December 1527.

Latin. Original draft in the handwriting of Alfonso Valdés. pp. 2.

13 Dec. 270. The SAME to the COLLEGE OF CARDINALS.

S. E. L. f. 575.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 64 v°.

Is now writing to His Holiness about general peace. Trusts that they will be no impediment to it, &c.—Burgos, 13th December 1527.

Latin. Original draft.

271. The SAME to the CARDINALS, his friends.

The state of Christendom is such that any Christian, who has not entirely forgotten his duties towards God, must endeavour to mend it. The cardinals, who through the dignity of their office obtain so high a place among Christians, are bound to

1527.

help more efficaciously than others, and try to redress the present evil. Begs them to give credence to what his agents will tell them in his name.—Burgos, 13th December 1527.

Latin. Original draft.

14 Dec. 272. DON UGO DE MONCADA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 344.

B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 66.

A long and severe illness has prevented his writing to the Emperor about the progress of the negotiations conducted at Rome by the General of the Franciscans and Mons. de Vere (Veyre). When they arrived at Rome the Pope was still at Sanct Angelo under the custody of Alarcon. He could not be liberated as soon as the Emperor wished, because the army, and principally the Germans, would not consent to his liberation unless the 250,000 ducats which he (the Pope) promised to pay a few days ago were forthcoming. As this condition could not be fulfilled, the Pope's liberation was necessarily retarded, until on Friday, the 6th inst., he was actually allowed to leave Sanct Angelo, as His Imperial Majesty has no doubt been informed by his ministers at Rome.

Encloses copy of the capitulation, as well as a list of the securities which under present circumstances could be demanded and given. As within a fortnight part of the money is to be paid, and the men refuse to quit Rome before, His Holiness considers that he will not be safe there, and, though he has put a garrison of his own in the castle, fearing lest he should again be taken prisoner, determined to go to Orbiato. The day on which he recovered his liberty, he left not as a Pope, but as a layman, mounted on a good steed, and, as some people will have it, with arms under his clothes. He was followed by one hundred and fifty horse of his and of Luigi Gonzaga, and took the road to Civittà Castellana.

Has written frequently and by various routes to the King of Bohemia (Ferdinand) representing the extreme necessity there is of a speedy succour. Should his troops make an attack upon Venetian territory, so as to oblige them to evacuate the Milanese, and should this Roman army march on Lombardy, the Emperor's cause might be well served. Soria writes from La Mirandola, where he is now staying, that the Duke of Ferrara has ostensibly joined the League, but says that if the Imperialists go to Lombardy he will show that he is the Emperor's friend. The French, they say, are coming down to join the rest of the army of the League. The news has been afloat for many a day, but hitherto no certainty has been obtained, for as this Imperial army is so hated (*odioso*) all over Italy, we cannot obtain reliable information except with the greatest difficulty and almost by miracle.

Considers himself excused from treating about the army, knowing, as he does, that those who are in command of it are now sending Captain Gayoso [to Spain] for the purpose of re-

1527.

presenting its wants, &c. Will only remind the Emperor that as Soria is now doing nothing at La Mirandola, he might be employed either at the Court of the King of Bohemia, for the express purpose of hastening the military preparations that are being made there, or else to fill up the post of the Abbot of Najera in the Imperial army.

Has seen two letters of Don Iñigo de Mendoza, the Imperial ambassador in London, addressed to the late Viceroy, Don Charles de Lanoy, in date of the 28th of September and 5th of October, wherein he (the ambassador) presses him to obtain from the Pope certain provision calculated to ensure and consolidate the marriage of Her Serene Highness the Queen of England. Wrote immediately to the General [of the Franciscans] informing him of this fact. His answer was that the time was not come for such applications; when the opportunity offered itself he would think of it. Has thought it prudent to inform the Emperor thereof.

Notwithstanding the arrival of the Prince at Rome, the Marquis del Guasto is working as hard as ever he can, assisting him in all military matters, and especially in the difficult task of taking the army out of Rome.

Since the above was written he (Moncada) has obtained the enclosed copy of what the Duke of Ferrara demands from the King of France and the League in return for his services.

Recommends the Archbishop of Capua (Fr. Nicolo Schomberg).

The Siennese have chosen the Prince of Amalfi to command their forces.—Naples, 14th December 1527.

Signed: "Don Ugo de Moncada."

Addressed:

Spanish. Original. pp. 20.

14 Dec. 273. The SAME to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 346.

As in another despatch of this date he (Don Ugo) has fully reported on the state of [Italian] affairs in general, will here confine his observations to this kingdom [of Naples], which happens to be just now in the worst possible condition. What with the remittances made to the Imperial army at Rome, and the sums spent here towards the pay of the Spaniards and Germans, who came last year, and to whom considerable arrears were owed at the time of Lannoy's death, the treasury is completely exhausted. The men-at-arms, perceiving that the sums remitted to Rome have been spent exclusively on the German and Spanish infantry, and that they themselves have had no share in it, have for the most part deserted and come to this kingdom. We have no means to pay them their arrears, and therefore cannot send them back to the army, which, wherever it goes, cannot possibly march without them.

1527.

At the time that the Venetian galleys hove in sight of Sicily it was resolved that 500 Spanish infantry should go thither to the assistance of its Viceroy (Duke of Monteleone). He (Don Ugo) prepared to follow them if necessary. The Spaniards accordingly left Apulia (Puglia), and had already reached Calabria when news came that the Venetians had suddenly abandoned the undertaking and gone elsewhere. Orders were then issued to the Spaniards to return, and they have since been placed at Puzzuolo and other towns of this coast for fear of the enemy coming this way. It has since been ascertained that 36 sail of the enemy have gone to Sardinia, for the purpose of invading Sicily. Has again written to the Duke, promising to send to his assistance the same 500 Spaniards if required. He himself with 1,500 Germans will try to defend, as best he can, the coast of Naples, though he cannot conceal from His Imperial Majesty that, having no money to pay the men, he will not be able to do much. If peace cannot be concluded on honourable terms, war must be carried on with vigour, and the wants of the Imperial armies in Italy plentifully supplied.

When the confederated fleet came last winter in sight of Naples and effected a landing, a Spaniard, son of the late Mossen Pallares, "maestrodatto della Caua," was killed by his side by a cannon shot. He left an orphan sister, who has no means of subsistence except the office which her father and brother once held. Begs for a confirmation of the same, that she may dispose of it at will. Also for the confirmation of the office of "Presidente della Regia Camera della Summaria," vacant by the death of Andrea Gattula, to Don Juan Angelo Pisanello. Recommends Miçer Juan Antonio Muscettula (*sic*) for the post of "Credenciero" with a salary of 120 ducats a year. Also Count Policastro, who has served with great zeal. As to the archbishopric of Taranto, Mastro Hieronimo de Monopoli, of the order of St. Dominic, was duly appointed to it; but as the Pope refused to grant him the bulls, and gave that see to Cardinal Armellino, he could not enter into possession. Now that the cardinal is dead, there can be no difficulty in reinstating the said Monopoli, who is willing to pay annually to a son of Miçer Coll, "Regente della Cancelleria," the 500 ducats pension formerly reserved on the archbishopric of Cosenza. The office of the "mastrodattia de la Audiencia" of Otranto to Hernan Perez de la Rosa, son of Knight Commander [La] Rosa.—Naples, 14th December 1527.

Signed: "Don Ugo de Moncada."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "Don Ugo de Moncada. 14th December."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.



1527.

15 Dec. 274. ANTONIO DE LEYVA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 350.

Bartolomé de Tassis, present bearer, will inform His Imperial Majesty of the state of affairs at Milan and the rest of the Duchy. Begs credence for him.—Milan, 15th December 1527.

Signed: "Antonio de Leyva."

Addressed: "A la Sacratissima Cæsarea Mta."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From Anthonio de Leyva. 15th December."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

16 Dec. 275. COUNT BURRELLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 351.

Has received the Imperial letter of the 27th of October.

His father, the Viceroy of Sicily (Duca di Monteleone), had been dangerously ill, so much so that he had resigned the government of the island into the hands of the Archbishop of Monreale. Late advices, however, state that he had since recovered, and would again resume office. He had received by a vessel coming from Barcelona the Imperial letters of the 26th. Was quite prepared to defend Sicily against any attack of the enemy.—Naples, 16th October 1527.

Signed: "El Conde de Burrello."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From Count Burrello. 16th December. By triplicate."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

19 Dec. 276. DON UGO DE MONCADA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 353.

Wrote three days ago by the Bishop of Gerona (Boil), who sailed in a caravel from this port. The duplicate goes now by the Marquis of Astorga.

Since the Pope recovered his liberty and went off to Orbieto no more has been heard of him. He has not written to the Imperial ministers [at Rome], nor has he yet delivered up Civittà Castellana, as he promised. Worse still, all messengers for Orbieto have been stopped on the road, and communication between Rome and the Pope's present residence had ceased. So Alarcon advises in date of the 15th inst.

Hears also from the General of the Franciscans that the Pope had sent for him. He was to go to the frontier of the Siennese, and there wait for a safe-conduct which His Holiness had applied for. The Pope wished him to return through France, and take a message of his to the Emperor. Having had him in his company all the time he was in confinement, it would be but proper that he should keep him by his side now that he has recovered his liberty, instead of sending him

1527.

back to Spain. However this may be, the General writes to say that he intends going by land; his journey will be a long one (*su camino sera algo spacioso*).

Guasto left this morning for Rome, taking 40,000 cr. (*escudos*) from the two cardinals lately created here, besides 7,000 cr. more as proceeds of a "clericato di Camera" which he (the Pope) has bestowed on a native of this kingdom. The cardinals are the Archbishops of Naples and Matera. As the Bishop of Turpia (Tropia) could only give 18,000 cr. in specie for his hat, he declined to take it. It will be given instead to the Archbishop of Monreale, who is very willing to pay the 20,000.

Before his departure Guasto said he had letters from a friend at Rome advising that six companies of the enemy's infantry were about to invade this kingdom by the mountains of the Abruzzo. The information came from Cardinal Colonna. He (Don Ugo) knows nothing about this, but has taken his measures, and appointed to the government of that province the Prince of Melfi (Amalfi), and sent him a reinforcement of four companies of Spanish infantry, in addition to the 100 men-at-arms and 100 light cavalry already under his orders. Should the enemy invade this kingdom, as is announced, he will meet with resistance. If not required in the Abruzzo, the Spaniards will join the Imperial army at Rome, because, as they are not paid, they ruin the country wherever they go. Will send all the troops that are not absolutely necessary for the defence of Naples, and keep only 1,200 Germans and 200 light horse, as he much prefers that to having the country round Naples destroyed and hearing the just complaints of the inhabitants, the more so that, should not the Pope fulfil his engagements, it is certain that most of the Imperial army, by order of its captains, will come this way.

Monsieur de Veyre is waiting for an answer from the Pope to go to Rome.—Naples, 19th December 1527.

Signed: "Don Ugo de Moncada."

19 Dec. 277. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 353.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 48.

Wrote by a caravel, which sailed for Barcelona three days ago and took on board the Bishop of Gerona. Writes again by the ship (*nave*) which takes the Marquis of Astorga, and encloses a duplicate of his former despatch.

Since the Pope recovered his liberty he has not written a word; nor has the delivery of Civittà Castellana taken place. No one can pass in safety from Rome to Orbiato, writes Alarcon on the 15th, whilst the General of the Franciscans (Quiñones) advises that the Pope wished him to return to Spain, but go first to the confines of Sienna, and wait there for a safe-conduct from France.

The Marquis del Guasto left to-day for Rome. He takes with him 47,000 ducats of the two Neapolitan cardinals, the

1527.

Archbishop of Naples and the Archbishop of Matera, each of whom has paid 20,000; the remaining 7,000 have been obtained by the sale of a "clericato de Camara." The Pope had also sent a cardinal's hat to the Archbishop of Turpia (Tropia), but as he refused to give more than 18,000 ducats *in specie*, nothing could be done, especially as it was at the time that the Archbishop of Monreale was sending his 20,000. The Pope has been applied to to have his name substituted in the College of Cardinals.

Cardinal Colonna writes to say that news has been received at Rome of six companies (*banderas*) of the League being about to invade this kingdom by the mountains of the Abruzzi. No intelligence of the supposed invasion has been received from other quarters, but as it is better to be prepared, he has reinforced the governor of that province, Prince of Amalfi, with four companies of Spanish infantry. As the Prince had with him 80 men-at-arms and 100 light horse, it is to be supposed that this force will be sufficient to arrest the enemy should he invade this kingdom on that frontier.

Mons de Veyre is waiting for the Pope's answer to know whether his visit will be agreeable. According as it may be, he (Veyre) will decide whether to go to Orbieto or return to Spain.--Naples, 19th December 1527.

Signed : "Don Ugo de Moncada."

Addressed : "Sacrae Cesareae et Cath. Majti."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

23 Dec. 278.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 41,
f. 362.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

After his despatch of the 14th inst. the Signory stopped a courier from Trent, who was bringing letters of the 2nd from Madame [Marguerite] of Flanders. The courier was brought here [to Venice] from a place eight leagues distant, and kept in confinement during three days, after which he was released with one letter of Madame to him (Sanchez), and 35 ducats he had spent by her order. In the letter, which was open, Madame had enclosed two other letters of Don Iñigo de Mendoza, one for himself (Sanchez), the other for the General of the Franciscans, or to whoever should represent the Emperor at Rome, which he was desired to forward as speedily as possible to its destination. These letters were not in the packet, and are most likely in the hands of a man who is very clever at reading all sorts of cipher. Has not asked for them, because he considers all application of this sort as entirely useless, as the Signory are in the habit of intercepting and deciphering all letters that fall into their hands. Some time ago they stopped a post of the King of Hungary, who is not actually at war with them, and when his resident ambassador in this city called for

1527.

them, they impudently confessed that they had taken them, and that they were being deciphered by their order. Has written both to Madame and to Don Iñigo, informing them of the event, and telling them how to direct their correspondence in future. Trusts that if the instructions he (Sanchez) has sent to the Bishop of Trent are complied with, no more letters will be intercepted, as he has taken every precaution to prevent it.

On the 18th the ratification of France was received at Ferrara, together with a very loving letter from the French King to the Duke, approving of the marriage of his son (Ercole d'Este) to his sister-in-law (Madame Renée of France). On the same day this Signory ratified and signed the aforesaid treaty.

The Pope is still at Orvieto, and has sent for the cardinals who were at Parma, as likewise for Cavalier Casale, the English ambassador. What he purposes doing he (Sanchez) cannot guess, not being acquainted with the details of the treaty made with him, but he has a strong suspicion that his intention is to devise means for not fulfilling that part of it which has reference to the delivery of the cities and fortresses, &c., the more so that one of the articles of the treaty between the Duke and the League stipulates that the Pope, on recovering his freedom, was to ratify the same. We shall soon see what he is about, and the Emperor will then be justified before God and the world for any act of his, as he has already been on every previous occasion before. (*Cipher* :) Is the more inclined to believe this, that Lautrech has gone to Bologna, and intends, as they say, going to Rome, which is hardly credible, unless he has some secret object in view, for in the first place he has not an army sufficiently strong to meet ours, and secondly he knows very well that we are daily expecting reinforcements from Germany. The worst is that the Imperial army, according to the last news, has not yet evacuated Rome, a thing greatly to be wondered at, considering that each of the Germans has received nine crowns in gold.

The fleet of the confederates has anchored at Genoa, very much shattered by the late storms, and having lost six galleys.

Codigniola has been restored to the Duke of Ferrara, but not the palace he had here [at Venice], as the Papal Nuncio says that now the Pope is free he wishes to hear what his pleasure is.—Venice, 23rd December 1527.

Signed : "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed : "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1527. From Venice. Sanchez. 23rd December. No. 631."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering between the lines and on the margins. pp. 3.

1527.

26 Dec. 279. The EMPEROR to DON IÑIGO.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 22.

All your letters have been duly received, those by land, as well as those by sea, including that of the 16th of November addressed to our secretary [Jean Lallemand]. Thank you very much for the zeal displayed in our service. We shall in a few days send Miçer Miguel May, regent of our chancery in Aragon, who is to go [to England] on the plea of assisting you in your work, and allowing you some repose during your infirmities, but whose real mission will be to attend to the case of the Queen, our aunt. The said regent is a good lawyer and canonist, and shall take with him attested copies of Pope Julius' brief of dispensation, which is as ample as can be desired. Another transcript in cipher shall also be sent to you according to the Queen's desire and your own advice, the said May being instructed by us to follow in every respect the Queen's orders and your own directions.

We also send you copies of all the papers that have passed between us and the French on the subject of peace, whereby you will be convinced that they do not wish for it, since their King demands to have his two sons back before he gives proper security for them, if the peace is to be good and lasting. We will take care that such answer be made to their ambassadors at this our court as shall vindicate us in the future and that the King and Cardinal [of England] may know that it is no fault of ours if peace be not concluded.

As the said May, who is going soon, will explain our intentions, We shall not say more in this letter, which goes by a land route.—Burgos, 26th December 1527.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

280. INSTRUCTIONS to CARDINAL FARNESE.

S. E. L. 2,005,
f. 179.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 114.

Cardinal Farnese, now going to the Emperor as Papal Legate *a latere*, ought to be well acquainted with the circumstances and bearings of his mission. The Emperor is the Pope's friend, and as such has received from His Holiness more good services than from any other Prince. The Pope, on the other hand, has never ceased to love the Emperor, and if he opposed him last year, it was because he (the Pope) did not like to be oppressed.

The Pope has always and in all matters earnestly taken up the Emperor's cause ever since the accession of Leo X. "*suo fratello*" to the Pontificate. He was the author of the league made against France in the second or third year of that Pope's (Leo X.) pontificate.

When King Ferdinand [of Spain] died, the King of France [Francis I.] made great efforts with Pope Leo [the Tenth] to deprive the Emperor of his Spanish inheritance. Pope Clement, at that time Cardinal de Medici, successfully opposed the plans of the French King, as could be proved by the Emperor's own letters, had not the Imperialists destroyed or carried them away during the last sack of Rome.

1527.

At the time of Emperor Maximilian's death, Pope Leo was the friend of France. As soon, however, as the election [for the Empire] began, Cardinal de Medici prevailed upon the Pope "*suo fratello*" to act in the matter against his own inclinations, and afterwards to approve of the election without delay. Pope Leo was afraid lest Charles' growing power should entail much misery on Christendom, whilst he (the Cardinal) was desirous of increasing the forces of Spain so that the Emperor might become a match for France and prevent that country from declaring war, or if it did, that the Emperor might be victorious. This the Cardinal managed to do at a time when Spain was in open rebellion, and Charles himself away from his kingdom; when the deliberations of the Diet of Worms remained without effect; when Flanders was invaded by Robert de la Mark; Navarre entirely lost to Spain; and the Switzers closely leagued with France; when, last, not least, the King of England, in whom the Emperor perhaps trusted, owing to his close relationship and natural aversion of the French, was wavering which side to turn, and by no means inclined, as he has afterwards shown by deed, to lend the Emperor his assistance, or help him in his difficulties, notwithstanding the many applications for help made before and after Leo's death.

Meanwhile the King of France, besides his "*potenza unita*," had closely allied himself with the Signory of Venice and with the Switzers. He was considerably stronger than Charles at the time; his offers [to Rome] were also more advantageous than any Charles had hitherto made. He offered, among other things, to restore Ferrara to the Church. With regard to Naples, he offered so many advantages and facilities that its conquest might have been considered as exceedingly easy. His overtures, however, were rejected, as he (Francis) would not consent to place an Italian on the ducal throne [of Milan], and restore Parma and Piacenza to the Church.

In spite of the great disproportion between the advantages and the dangers, and regardless of the opinion of many friends and the solicitations of the Florentines, the Cardinal made Pope Leo espouse the cause of Charles, not indeed from any worldly motives, but because he had confidence in the Emperor's Christian sentiments.

Many were the disappointments and actual losses to which the Cardinal was exposed in consequence of his friendship for the Emperor. Helped as much as he could the election of Adrian VI. This election was not unanimous, and yet he (the Cardinal) was not vain enough to hope that his great services might have been rewarded on the occasion. True it is that, as a return for so many services as the house of Medici has rendered the Emperor, there exists a letter of his, written in his own hand, promising to a nephew of Pope Leo and of Cardinal Medici an estate in Naples worth an income

1527.

of 6,000 ducats, besides a wife with a dower of 10,000 ducats a year. This promise, though often made, was never fulfilled, and yet the Cardinal went on serving the Emperor as if his services had been munificently rewarded. The French, meanwhile, had so reinforced their Italian army, that it was in his (the Cardinal's) power to decide which side victory should lean. Sacrificed his family and his country to pay the Emperor a large subsidy. As a proof that his services were estimated at their due, the Emperor granted him a pension of 10,000 ducats a year, and instructed his ambassador [Don Juan Manuel] after the death of Pope Adrian to work for his election.

Helped the Imperial army of Lombardy with money. Instead of being grateful, the Emperor favoured Ferrara. On the retreat of the Imperialists from Marseilles, the French King again invaded Italy, and took possession of Milan. Had the French then marched on Lodi, instead of laying siege to Pavia, all might have been lost, and Rome would have remained at the victor's mercy. No blame can be attached to the present Pope, if seeing the Emperor's affairs in so bad a plight, and his own estate menaced, he tried to come to terms with the enemy. The King of France sent to request the Pope to remain neutral; the Pope replied that he would be peaceful (*amorevole*) to all. Despatched a messenger to him from Marseilles, or from Aix, offering through Alberto di Carpi "carta blanca" in all matters except Milan. Unable to resist the French, the Pope concluded a treaty with them, but in so doing he was not so much influenced by considerations of his own private advantage—the offers being exceedingly large, both as concerns public and private matters—as by the wish of preserving the Emperor from harm. So true is this that he left the French two whole months before Pavia without bestowing on them one single mark of favour, whilst he was doing all he could for the Imperialists.

Could not refuse giving the French passage through the estates of the Church, and provisions also. The King of France, far from deriving any advantage from this, sustained thereby great injury, as he was obliged to divide his forces. The Emperor, therefore, is not justified in accusing the Pope "per la fictitia concordia fata co el Re."

After his victory at Pavia, the Emperor, instead of renewing his old and amicable relations with Rome and the Pope, sends a whole army to feed on his territory "in dorso." His generals must have seen the clauses of the treaty which the Pope then made with France, for the Papal papers and correspondence at the time of the sack were seized and scattered by the Imperial soldiers. If so, they must know that the Pope never offended the Emperor. If, moreover, they have not seen the treaty, they can allege no proofs to the contrary.

The Imperialists invaded the estates of the Church. The Pope, to save himself from still greater vexations, was obliged

1527.

to pay 100,000 ducats and conclude a league with the Emperor. Though made with the Emperor's sanction, and by people sufficiently empowered to that effect, it was rejected in Spain, on the plea that it contained several clauses favouring the Pope and the Church, such as the sale of salt at Milan and the restitution of Reggio.

Seeing everything turn out contrary to his expectations and wishes, the Pope listened to the advice of some who maintained that the Emperor was intent upon oppressing Italy and becoming absolute master of it; and so it came to pass, for in order to seize Milan the Emperor picked a quarrel with its Duke (Francesco Sforza). The Italians then decided to act towards him as he wished to act towards them. A league was concluded between France, Venice, and the rest of Italy. The Pope joined the League; he could not exclude himself if he chose.

He candidly confesses that having listened to certain overtures made in the name and on the part of the Marquis of Pescara, who was at that time dissatisfied with the Emperor, and who, as an Italian by birth, offered to join the Italian League [against him] whenever it should be time to proceed to action, he not only accepted his services, but tried to retain him by making all manner of advantageous offers, thinking himself justified for the preservation of his own estate and person to employ all and every means in his power to secure the services of those who might help to assist him in his troubles. One of the parties [the Marquis] is now dead, and God only knows in what sense and for what purpose the overtures were made, and how the negotiations were conducted. All he (the Pope) can say is that he was spoken to in the Marquis' name, and that having despatched a messenger to ascertain whether the propositions really came from him, he not only answered in the affirmative, but assured him (the Pope) that everything which had been said in his name was perfectly true. As to him (the Pope), God, who reads men's hearts, knows that in entertaining such overtures he acted from sheer necessity, not indeed from choice. He may adduce, as proof of this, that he still continued to beg and entreat the Emperor to make peace on equitable conditions.

Then came the arrest of Morono, and the rebellion of the Duke of Milan. The Pope still persevered in his friendship towards the Emperor, although, like the rest of the confederated Princes, he wished Milan to be retained by the Duke Francesco Sforza.

The treaty which the Emperor concluded with him (the Pope) was designed only with a view to obtaining better conditions from Francis, and therefore no sooner was the treaty signed than the Emperor refused to ratify that which he had made with the Pope.

The good-will of the Pope is further evident from the fact of his having granted about this time dispensation for the

1527.

Emperor's marriage, which marriage brought him money and ensured his succession.

When the Pope was again on the point of making an alliance with the King of France and with the Venetians, the Emperor made overtures for peace, and instructed Don Hugo de Moncada to offer not only what he (the Pope) asked, but a good deal more than he had ever dared to expect.

The Emperor can never exculpate himself in this particular, nor reproach the Pope if he rejected the offers made by Don Ugo de Moncada. As long as he (the Pope) was at liberty to accept such offers he was ready to content himself with much less, but when they came a league had already been concluded with the other Italian Princes. As this league was intended for the promotion of general peace a most honourable place (*luogo honestissimo*) in it was reserved for the Emperor. The Pope besides invited the Emperor to join it. What was the Emperor's answer? The Duke of Milan was attacked *de facto*. Had the Duke been guilty of all the crimes he was accused of, judgment should have preceded execution.

It was in the Pope's power to invade Naples. Did not do so, although in the treaty of the League that and other enterprises were expressly mentioned. It was, however, stipulated that that and other like expeditions should not be undertaken before the Emperor had absolutely refused to enter the League. Many months were thus spent in inactivity, waiting for an answer from Spain.

Meanwhile a treacherous attack was made on the Pope, of which it is best not to say anything. True, the Emperor had not ordered or approved of it; on the contrary, he disapproved of it openly and at heart, and yet from that time the Imperial army seems to have had no other mission than that of assisting the Colonnese, whom the Pope partially punished by destroying four of their castles.

Does not wish to argue whether the truce made here [at Sanct Angelo] in September* was considered by Don Ugo de Moncada as valid or not, but in neither case could the absolution of the Colonnese hold good, and His Holiness was bound to chastise his rebellious subjects.

Had that truce been concluded in good faith, it would have lasted longer. At any rate it was not the Pope who broke it first. The Emperor broke it both in Lombardy and in the Papal estates. Twelve thousand more lansquenets entered the Duchy of Milan, and the lands of the Church were invaded by troops (*bande*), who did their worst there, whilst the Viceroy (Lannoy), as appears from his own letters inter-

* "Non voglio disputar della tregua fatta qui in Castello questo Settembre per il Sre. Don Hugo, se teneva o non teneva, ma l'assolutione de' Colonnese non teneva già in modo che Nostro Signore, essendo suoi subditi, non li potesse et dovesse castigare."

1527.

cepted at the time, solicited the Council of Naples to send him reinforcements, with which he might achieve what in the first instance (*colpo*) had not been thoroughly accomplished, *i.e.* the sack of Rome. The Pope thus owed it to his own dignity to order his army from Lombardy and send it to the frontiers of Naples. It arrived there in time to make some good enterprise against that kingdom. The Pope, notwithstanding, gave orders not to attack, but merely to be on the defensive and watch the frontiers. If several castles and towns in the territory of the Colonnese were taken and razed to the ground it was from no other motive than the refusal of their inhabitants to quarter the Papal troops.

All this time the Pope persevered in his affection towards the Emperor. Things were in the worst possible plight when the general of the Observant Friars of St. Francis (*il Patre Generale de' Minori*) returned [to Rome] from Spain. He had gone thither with a message from the Pope to the Emperor, purporting that he was as desirous as ever of general peace. The Emperor, accordingly, sent him back with fair words and ample powers, but the conditions imposed were found to be so hard as to be almost insupportable. The Pope, however, did not reject them, as he wished to clear up this question between him and the Emperor. He granted the Emperor's demands, and accepted in return the offers made in his name.

About the time when the articles of the agreement were being drawn up, the Viceroy arrived at Gaeta with words as sweet and loving as those brought by the general of the Minorites. The conditions, however, grew every day harder and harder, and yet the Pope did not ask for more than he had asked on a former occasion; he only begged and entreated not to be forced to sign the peace alone, without consulting first his Italian allies, as he aimed at re-establishing general peace throughout Italy. A truce of eight days was signed, to give the Pope leisure to consult the Venetians, his allies. The Viceroy was then encamped at Frusolone (Frosinone). When Cesaro Ferramosca left Rome for the Imperial camp, he found the two armies engaged in fighting and Frosinone relieved, so that nothing could be done.* The Pope certainly was sincere in these negotiations, as was also his Legate (Triulzio). The armies being in sight of each other it was impossible to bring about an agreement.

The Pope needs scarcely remind Cardinal Farnese, for he is well aware of the fact, that the three Papal armies, *i.e.* that on board his fleet, that of Lombardy, and that on the frontiers of Naples, had made good progress, and were strong enough to continue their victorious march. All those who are not aware of the Pope's benevolence and love of peace

* "Andando con essi Cesaro Ferramosca non fù primo arrivato là che già essendosi alle mani, et liberato Frusolone da obsidione, non si potesse far niente."

1527.

will no doubt accuse him of weakness for thus allowing the opportunity to pass, and not taking advantage of the superiority of his forces at this conjuncture. But the Pope principally aimed at the peace of Christendom, and wished to turn his forces against the Turks. The Pope thought that no worldly consideration, however weighty, should divert him from his policy of peace.

At this juncture the Pope received through Cesare Ferramosca and Paolo di Arezzo the Emperor's holograph letter, conceived in such terms as to admit of only one construction. Either the Emperor's offers were in earnest, and the felicity of the world was to be the natural consequence of this agreement, or else they were false and deceitful, and only intended to work the Pope's ruin, which could only be the act of the vilest of men (*indignissimo di ogni vilissimo*), not of the most powerful among the Christian rulers.

The Imperial soldiers, having destroyed all the papers (*tutte le scritture*), took away the draft of a new treaty (*nuova capitalatione* ?), made five or, at the utmost, six days before the loss of Rome, by which he (the Pope) entered the League. This treaty contained, it is true, several articles to the Emperor's prejudice, but the Imperialists will not be able to make use of it, as it is not likely they will divulge their own dishonour. Even if it had been impossible for Bourbon to enforce obedience and discipline among his soldiers, he might still have turned away from his purpose of ruining the Pope. There were so many officers and people of quality (*persone principali*) at the Imperial camp, among the infantry and men-at-arms, ready to obey the Emperor's orders if they had been given "de buona sorte," that Bourbon, deprived of their services, would have found it impossible to carry out his design. He (Farnese) knows this well, and that the Pope fulfilled faithfully all conditions of his agreement with the Viceroy. It is, therefore, not easy to understand how any one can reproach the Pope because he concluded a treaty with the League at the very last moment, and from sheer necessity.

When the news of the death of the King of Hungary arrived, the Pope decided to leave Rome, go to Spain and see the Emperor. No one can calumniate him on that account. That measure was decided in consistory two or three days before the invasion of the Colonnese. He intended to do so in the interest of Christendom, "ne credo alcuno sia così grosso che pensi si volesse far quell letto di gratia all' Imperatore, precedendo forse quella tempesta." The enterprise of the Colonnese was not known three hours before they entered Rome.

"Le conditioni que (*sic*) il Padre Generale di San Francesco, portò a N. Sigre. furon queste: 1°. Si vole pure con la Santità sua, et se per caso alla venuta sua trovasse le cose di Sua Santità et della Chiesa minate, che era contento si reducesse tutto al

1527.

pristino stato. 2º. Che si Italia dovia pare ad ognuno, non essendo di animo ne per se ne per suo fratello un merlo, anzi lassas' ogn' uno in possesso di quello si trovava tanto tempo fà. 3º. La differenza del Duca di Milano si vedesse de jure da giudici deputati per Sua Santità et Maiestà; et venendo ad assolvere si restituisse; dovendo esser condannato, si desse à Borbone. 4º. Con Francia saria contento far l' accordo, et dando cosa che non havea voluto fare sin qui, et la summa nominava la medesima che il Christianissimo havea mandato, cio è due milion d' oro. Li quali conditioni N. Sanc. accoltò subito, com' il Generale ne puo far testimonio, et le sottoscrisse di sua mano, ma non furon già approvate; li quali scie (*sic*) V. S. quante insupportabili et gravi petitioni li adgiunsero. Hora non essendo da presumere se non che la Mta. Cesarea dicesse da dovero, et con quella sincerità che conviene a tanto Principe, et vedendosi per quante oppositioni et ambasciade sue così moderato animo et molto benigno verso N. Sre., in tempo che la Mta. sua non sapeva qual fusse quello della Santità sua verso se, et che estimava l' armi sue esser sì potente in Italia per li lanzichinetti discesi et per l'armeta (*sic*) mandata che ogni cosa havebbe veduto (*sic* voluto?), non è da stimare, se non quando si era informato che si la Mta. sua mandò a mostrar buon animo, non fu trovato inferiore quello di N. Sre. et che alle forze sue vi era tal resistenza che N. Sre. più presto fu beneficio a Sua Mta. in deponer l' armi, che lo ricevesse, como ho detto di sopra; et è chiarissimo tutta la ruina seguita sta sopra la fede et nome di Sua Mta. nel qual N. Sre. si è confidato, vorrà non solamente esser simile a se, quando andava a desiderar bene et essibirsi parato a farne a N. Sre. et alla Chiesa, ma ancora aggiungendo tanto più a quella natural disposition sua quanto ricerca, il voler evitar questo carico, et de ignominioso che saria, per essere passando-sene di liggiero, voltarla in gloria perpetua facendola tanto più chiara et stabile per se medesimo quanto altri ha [no] cercato, quanto suoi ministri, deprimerla et osservarla (*sic*). Li effetti che bisognaria far per questo, tanto privatamente verso la Chiesa et restauration di essa et note de benefitii che scancellassero le ruine, quanto in Italia et tutta la Christianità, essistinando più esser autore di pacificarla che qualsivogli altro emolumento, serà molto facile a trovarli purchè la disposition et giuditio di voler et conosser il vero bene dove consisti vi sia."

The Pope has not taken arms against the Emperor out of hatred, or from any selfish motive touching himself or any of his family, but in just defence of himself and Christendom. The general of the Franciscan Minor friars is his witness how much he (the Pope) rejoiced when there seemed to be a chance of war ceasing on both sides. The Pope spoke to him on the subject when about to leave for Spain, and requested him to inform the Emperor of the many complaints which he (the Pope), the rest of the Italian potentates, and all the Princes of

1527.

Christendom thought they had a right to bring forth against the Emperor. When after several months the general came back [to Rome], announcing that the Emperor would set at liberty the sons of the King of France, and did not require one inch of territory (*una palma*) more than the crown of Spain had owned in Italy for a long time, and that he (the Emperor) would put to shame all his calumniators when he should come to be known and understood, and that every point at discussion might be settled with Don Ugo and the Viceroy, then the Pope and all his ministers rejoiced at the message. The joy was much increased when the Viceroy landed at St. Stephano, and sent on Peñalosa to repeat the very same words, or even more favourable ones than those brought by the general. The Pope praised God for it. The Viceroy had said that he had kept the best things for the last, that they might be most welcome. But no good things were kept back; on the contrary, the conditions proposed were as hard as ever. First of all, the mistrust shown by the Emperor was not flattering to the Pope, nor likely to produce confidence. Secondly, the best portion of the Pontifical and Florentine estates was demanded as security. Thirdly, there was required an exorbitant sum of money, which those in possession of "mountains of gold" would have been unable to pay, much less the Pope, who does not own a single "carlino" after the treacherous assault made [by the Colonnese], and the sack of St. Peter and of the Papal Palace. Besides these conditions the Emperor asked another equally hard, namely, that the Pope alone should make peace with him, a condition which the Emperor well knew to be impossible, since the Pope's wish was to restore universal peace to the Christian world. [As these terms were really inadmissible the Pope rejected them; upon which the Viceroy invaded the territory of the Church, notwithstanding that he (the Pope) had always respected those of the Emperor.]

On the arrival of Ferramosca the Viceroy was with in the territory of the Church. The Pope thought that the mandate of which he was bearer, if executed, would have spared great calamities. But the Pope wishing to do two things quite incompatible one with the other, that is to say, to show he had not done wrong in acting as he had done, and at the same time not to lose the advantages he had gained, could not possibly obey the Emperor's commands and make peace. He neither did the one nor the other. When Cesaro Ferramosca returned to the camp, hostilities had already commenced. Has the consolation of having acted from the best motives, and shown the Emperor both good-will and confidence. The Emperor's letters were of a kind that he (the Pope) would have staked on them not only the entire world, but also the salvation of his soul.

The Emperor had two commanders (*capi*) in Italy, Bourbon and the Viceroy. With whom was the Pope to treat? Has

1527.

exhausted all means of negotiation. Has been betrayed when he most confided in the Emperor. He had frequently been told that Bourbon was to obey implicitly the Viceroy's commands, and such were the instructions sent to him [from Spain], and yet when he [the Pope] agreed with the General of the Franciscans to a suspension of hostilities no notice whatever was taken by Bourbon, "che non sapimo gia che modo si potra piu trovare al modo di credere ad una semplice fede di un privato gentiluomo." Bourbon would never have been able to advance on Rome had not the army of the League, knowing the state of the negotiations, relented "refredata" in the pursuit. They might easily have conquered Naples, but, alas! he (the Pope) has been too confident.

God has punished him (the Pope), but no man has a right to reproach him. Were things to be sifted, judgment would not be favourable to those who try to cover themselves under the faults of others. But enough of this.

Has no remarks to make on the treaty which both Bourbon and the Viceroy concluded with Florence, and which they openly violated,* . . . "li quali Dio giudichi con il suo giusto giuditio, doppo la misericordia del quale verso Noi et la sua Chiesa non speramo altro che in la Religione, fede e virtù dell' Impre. che essendoci condotto dove siamo per la opinione che havevamo di esso, con il frutto che si spetta [ba] a tal parte, ci ritraghi et ponghi tanto piu alto quanto siamo in basso, dalla cui Mta. aspettando dell' ignominia et danni patiti infinamente quella satisfactione che Sua Mta. ne puo dare quale alla grandezza sua et al debito . . . alcuna se potesse trovar al mondo et bastasse ad una menima parte non raremo esprimendo i particolari a to [ller?] la gratia delli concetti che dovemo sperare, et che haverà et che si muderà. Dicemo que mettendosi il piu basso grado di quello che si posse demandare, et che è per esser più presto vergogna a Sua Mta. non conceder più, et a Noi non dimandare, che par duro a farlo, che da Sua Mta. doverano venire queste provisioni, che la persona nostra, dell Sacro Collegio, della Corte, dell Stato tutto temporale et spirituale siano restituti in quel grado que era [no] quando furono fatte le inducie con il Sigre. Vicerè, et non ci gravare a pagare un denaro delli obligati. Se alcuno sentendo questo si burlerà de Noi, respondemo che se le cose di sopra sono vere, et si maraviglia che ci acquitassimo di questo ha grande ragioni, ma si le parecesse da dovero stranno consideri con che bontade lo giudica o verso Cesare o verso Noi, verso Cesare che ogni volta che non si promete di Sua Mta.—et questo et molto piu lo fa gia partecipe di tutto quel male, che qui e passato verso di noi, que iniquamente ci vuol detrahare quello che mai nissuno ardiria di fare bonamente, ne se deve guar-

* The copy of these instructions to Cardinal Farnese was probably made by some Spaniard unacquainted with the Italian language, and is, therefore, full of mistakes. It has besides many of lacunæ, owing to the paper having been spoilt by damp.

1527.

dare che siamo qui, ma come ci siamo, et che è pur meglio far con virtù et giudicio quello che il tempo ad ogni modo ha da portar', se non in vita nostra in quella delli altri."

Italian. Original. pp. 30.

31 Dec. 281. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 4,
f. 364.

Wrote on the 29th of November and 11th inst. by Captain Gayoso, who went to Naples for the purpose of taking the hats to the three newly-created cardinals. Since then Don Ugo has written to say that the Bishop of Turpia (Tropia) will not accept his, but that the Archbishop of Monreale will gladly receive the offer of one, and has in readiness the 20,000 ducats required. Immediately on the receipt of this intelligence Alarcon despatched a messenger to Orbiato to solicit a Papal brief to that effect; but as the roads are very insecure for messengers travelling without a cavalry escort, the answer has not yet come. Alarcon and the rest of the Imperial ministers are anxiously awaiting the messenger's return, for every day that passes, our situation becomes more difficult. The army grumbles, the citizens get exasperated, and when the Germans come to be paid, according to agreement, another month's pay will be due to them, and consequently they will have a very good excuse not to move from Rome, which is what they want. The Prince of Orange and the rest of their captains are well aware of this danger.

Up to this hour the Pope has not written to Cardinal Campeggio, or to anyone else at Rome officially, to announce his arrival at Orviato, which took place on Monday, the 8th inst., at two hours of night. The people of the place did not hear of His Holiness' coming until Monday, when great rejoicings were made. The Pope, they say, was somewhat indisposed, suffering from fever and a swelling of the legs.

No steps have yet been taken for the surrender of Civittà Castellana and delivery of the six hostages.

Cardinals Monte and Sanctiquatuor, who left this for Orviato, were taken prisoners at Bracciano by one Mario Orsini, who, in the absence of the Abbot of Farfa, his colleague, who has gone to see Lautrech, is doing all the harm he can in those parts. The Bishop of Salamanca (Bovadilla), who was travelling with the cardinals, was robbed of all his plate, and it is added that Sanctiquatuor was stabbed by one of the assailants, though the sword went only through his cloak. All three, however, were set free after 24 hours' detention.

It is believed that the ambassadors of the League have already made their appearance at Orbiato, promising the Pope "maria et montes." As the General [of the Franciscans] refuses to go thither, and as it is doubtful whether Don Ugo will like to send De Vere, Alarcon thinks that he (Perez) must needs go and represent the Emperor at the Papal Court

1527.

Should he be appointed, he can do no possible good, as he has been strongly suspected, and hated ever since he presented to the College of Cardinals the letters about the Council, and it is not likely that the Pope or his courtiers will trust him with their secrets. Has written to Don Ugo to say that were it of any use he would not hesitate to go to Orbieto on his knees (*de rodillas*), but that for the reasons above mentioned he cannot go alone.

There is a report current that the army of the League is approaching to Orbieto, and that this movement has been undertaken in concert with Lautrech, who is then to march upon Sienna, and oblige that city to make common cause with the confederates.

Don Ugo has been written to for some money on account of the tithes (*decimas*), even if the Court should suffer (*á daño de la Corte*) that this Imperial army may be paid and sent out of Rome.

Letters from Orbieto, in date of the 18th, state that the Pope was in much better health than when he arrived, and that there was no foundation at all for the rumours spread about his death. He showed much good-will in all matters concerning the execution of the last treaty, and had already sent orders for the delivery of Civittà Castellana. But the Duke of Urbino, the Marquis of Saluzzo, Count Guido Rangone, Federico de Bozano, besides a proveditor and an ambassador from Venice, were also at Orbieto, holding frequent conferences with him; whereat, as may be presumed, the Emperor's interests were not specially considered. His Holiness (our informer says) had warmly requested them to quit his court, and used very violent language to the Abbot of Farfa, who had gone there in company with the Marquis of Saluzzo, telling him that, had it not been for the sake of the latter, he would have had him arrested and beheaded.

The Marquis del Guasto is hourly expected from Naples with the proceeds of the cardinals' hats, but up to this day (the 23rd) no answer has come from the Pope respecting the refusal of the Bishop of Turpia (Tropia), and the transfer of his hat to the Archbishop of Monreale.

Miçer Andrea del Burgo, who is at Ferrara, has sent us the particulars of the agreement entered into by the Duke, from which it would appear that the latter will always side with the stronger party, so as to be the winner on every occasion. Encloses copy of a letter which the ambassador, Lope de Soria, has written to Don Ugo on the subject of that Duke, and of his dealings with the League. The friar who brought the letter and others with news from Lombardy asserts that when he left Hungary His Highness the King had besieged a castle where the Vayvod [of Transylvania] was, and that he could not possibly escape. His Highness had been crowned King. The same friar asserts that Leyva had provisions enough at Milan to last him six or seven months.

1527.

A man has come who left Sienna four days ago, and says that Lautrech is actually in the territory of Bologna, and has sent commissaries to Florence to prepare provisions and quarters for his men. The news must be true, for we know for certain that an ambassador from that republic has been for some time soliciting Lautrech to march in that direction, and threatening, if he does not, to complain to the King of France that no opportunity has been given to that city to declare in favour of the League.

Alarcon was at Ostia three days since, for the purpose of escorting to Salmoneta the cardinals who are to remain as hostages for the Pope. At Salmoneta another escort will take them up and conduct them to Naples. They were to start on the 23rd, accompanied by Alarcon.

Cardinal Colonna is doing everything in his power, with the Pope's permission, to raise money here (at Rome) for the pay of the Imperial troops.

Alarcon travelled with the hostages one day's march, and is now at Belitre (Velletri), where the men-at-arms who did not go to Naples are quartered at present. It appears, however, that Alarcon's entrance into the town was not easily accomplished, for he had to send for upwards of 1,500 infantry and two pieces of heavy ordnance, when the people of Velletri, perceiving that he was in earnest, admitted him and the men-at-arms inside the town. The infantry then returned to Rome, though not empty handed (*manvacios*), for on their way back they sacked two villages of the Colonnese, at which Vespasiano and Ascanio are much disgusted.

Up to this day (the 28th) the brief in favour of the Archbishop of Monreale has not been received, although we know that it has been signed and published. We expect to receive it every hour, as with the 20,000 which that archbishop is to give, and 20,000 more from the hat granted to the brother of Luigi Gonzaga, very little will be wanted to complete the sum required for the evacuation of Rome by the Imperial army, which the Pope desires as much as anyone, not only for the sake of his capital, but for his own, for he is losing both authority and fortune as long as he remains out of it.

It is asserted that the Bishop of Verona (Gianmatteo Giberto) has asked the Pope's permission to retire to his see, and that he does not intend coming back here.

The news of Lautrech's designs upon Sienna is confirmed. When we know it for certain, a portion of this Imperial army will go to their aid, and the rest march against Florence. To effect this it is requisite to have in hand the whole of the money to be distributed to the soldiers. The Marquis [del Guasto] has arrived from Naples with most of it, but for fear of jealousies, &c. it will not be distributed either to the Germans or to the Spaniards until the whole of it has been collected.

1527.

Cardinal Campeggio has promised that Civittà Castellana shall be delivered the very moment that the inhabitants are secured from sack. The Prince of Orange and the Marquis del Guasto have accordingly granted a safe-conduct for certain townsmen to come to Rome and treat of the securities to be offered, &c.

It seems as if the Prince of Orange stood on ceremony (*anda en cortesias*) with Guasto, pretending that he is not really the commander-in-chief of the Imperial army, but only one of its minor captains, and refusing to sign orders and patents, except as general of the Germans and councillor of war. This is no small evil in all military matters, and His Imperial Majesty had better remedy it, for the command of this army must needs be in the hands of a general of much experience and authority.

Shots are wanted for the ordnance which we took out of Sanct Angelo. The Pope has ordered them to be given to us, but he wants one crown (*escudo*) for each, which is an excessive price. We shall, however, take 500 of them.

To-day, the 27th, a council was held to take into consideration the proposal of Alarcon of going to Gaeta, for reasons stated in his last despatch. The affair was discussed between Colonna, the Prince of Orange, Guasto, and Urbina, when it was resolved to write to him to return as soon as possible to Rome, to attend the deliberations of the Council, and assist the generals in all military business. At this meeting the Marquis [del Guasto] requested the Prince to take charge of the army without scruple of any sort, since he was ready to obey him in every respect. The Prince's answer was that, though His Imperial Majesty had graciously given him the command of his [Italian] armies, he would on no account use it, but, on the contrary, would be as obedient to his orders and those of Alarcon, Urbina, and the rest of the Spanish captains, as if he were a common foot soldier; because whenever the Emperor's service was concerned he did not stand upon his rank, &c. Though the Cardinal and the rest tried every reason to convince him, they entirely could, and he persisted in his former declaration. He (Perez) mentions this, because, in his opinion, the Imperial army will be utterly ruined, unless it has a fit and experienced commander at its head. The Marquis has no objection whatever to the Prince of Orange, or any other of less rank, being captain-general; he is not actuated by selfish motives, though he knows his own merit and worth. What he most wishes for at present is leave to kiss the Emperor's feet and hands. His Imperial Majesty will be glad to know him personally. Though still young, he has as much experience as most generals.

29th.—Last night the bull and brief came for the Archbishop of Monreale, and immediately after a messenger was despatched to Naples for the 20,000 ducats. They are sadly wanted, for

1527.

the Germans, besides the 110,000 ducats promised, want now 24,000 more, on the plea that the account sheet drawn at the time was mistaken. Apprehends that they will not leave Rome unless this additional sum is distributed among them, and that perhaps they will also demand payment of the 50,000 which the Pope promised to give the captains, with double pay to the soldiers.

Cardinal Colonna is trying to gain over to the Emperor's party the Abbot of Farfa and Mario Ursino, and is on the eve of coming to terms with them. Should he succeed, Perez will not fail to inform His Majesty.

Civittà Castellana has not yet been delivered; but the Legate (Campeggio) says he is daily expecting in Rome some of the townsmen for the purpose of making terms and obtaining securities, &c. May it be so, for the general belief is that it will not be delivered.

The League is making great offers to the Pope if he will desert the Emperor and go over to them. They will give him the kingdom of Naples, restore to him everything he had before this war, and reimburse him his expenses. The Legate (Campeggio), however, protests that he (the Pope) will not fail to fulfil his engagements to the Emperor and to the army.

On the 29th Alarcon and Guasto reviewed the army. Though there are outside of Rome 16 companies of infantry, they mustered 30; a very fine set of men indeed. The Spaniards are about 8,000. As soon as the money comes from Naples, one month's pay will be issued to them, and they will quit Rome.

The Papal Legate (Campeggio) complains bitterly of the outrages which the soldiers of this army are daily committing in this city and in the rest of the estates of the Church. They are no doubt very great, but we see no remedy to the evil, unless the men are prevailed upon to leave Rome, which they will not do until they are paid. Similar outrages, or more still, is the army of the League committing, and the Pope is very anxious for them to evacuate his territory, which they do not seem inclined to do.

Alarcon is gone to Gaeta, and will thence pass on to Naples to procure money for the men-at-arms stationed at Velletri. As the country is exhausted, and can no longer furnish them provisions, most are deserting and going to the kingdom [of Naples].

It is a positive fact that Lautrech is marching this way. He comes by the road of the Marches, and will then take the road to Sienna or to Naples. Which of the two roads he will take is not yet known; but whatever his plans may be, this army must leave Rome and meet him. Don Ugo has been written to, &c.

The French fleet has sailed for Sardinia for the sake of collecting provisions. That of the Venetians and Doria's

1527.

galleys remain at Porto Ercole, but hitherto they have made no attempt on that coast.—Rome, the last day of December 1527.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1527. Rome. Perez. 31st December.

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

2 Jan. 282. LOPE DE SORIA to SECRETARY LALLEMAND.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 38.

Has often written to His Majesty and to him since he left Genoa, but has not heard from Spain for a long time. The last letter he received from him was dated the 18th of August.

Is waiting [at La Mirandola] for the arrival of the army, as he considers that he cannot be of use anywhere else.

The Pope is still at Orvieto, having left Rome on the 7th ult^o, escorted by a few Spanish horse and foot. Before his departure he promised to Alarcon, to the Prince of Orange, and to Secretary Perez to call a council for the purpose of establishing a general peace, to pay the sums destined for the army, and to deliver Parma, Piacenza, Civittà Castellana, and the castle of Forlin, besides Civittà Vecchia and Ostia to remain, as they are, in the Emperor's hands. As security for his engagements, the Pope appointed certain cardinals to go to Naples as hostages. The army had accepted the Prince of Orange as commander-in-chief, and was to march to Lombardy as soon as the money came from Naples.

Lautrech is at Bologna with the greater part of his forces. He occupies now the palace and the gates of the city, but the Bolognese dislike him, and frequent disputes occur between them and his men. In short, such is their behaviour, and so great are the wanton excesses they commit, that in reality, when compared with his Germans, of whom he has now about 5,000, his Gascons, and his Italians, our own soldiers may be considered as saints. His forces amount to 10,000 infantry and about 400 lances. What are his plans, nobody knows for certain, but the general belief is that he will not move from Bologna. During his stay at Parma and Piacenza he levied a tax of 40,000 cr. on the inhabitants, and left some of his troops to garrison those cities. He shows discontent at the announcement that the Pope is willing to accept the terms proposed, &c.

Leyva is at Milan. Some days ago he sent some of his forces to the Lomelina. Novara was recovered, the country overrun, and provisions taken to Milan.

The French and Venetian fleets were caught in a storm, and had to run to Corsica for shelter. They have since sailed for Sardinia.

1528.

(*Cipher* :) The Marquis of Mantua has joined the League. Civittà Castellana has not yet been delivered. There is a rumour afloat that the Pope will not fulfil that and other conditions of the capitulation. Lautrech is in treaty with the Venetians. We shall soon see what they are about. News has come from Germany that 100,000 ducats in bills had been received from Spain, and that fresh levies were being made. Should the Imperial army receive reinforcements in time, the prospect of affairs will at once change ; and if the King of Hungary [Ferdinand] were to come in person, there can be no doubt that the war would soon be at an end, Genoa recovered, Italy and the whole world subjected.

(*Common writing* :) Begs that his secretary, Girardo, may be sent back ; he wants him very much.—La Mirandola, 2nd January 1528.

Signed : " Lope de Soria."

P.S.—Has just heard that Federico de Gonzaga, alias de Bozol (Bozzolo), has died at Florence from pain in his side.

Addressed : " To John Lallemand, Lord of Bucians (*sic*), first secretary to the Emperor."

Indorsed : " To the King. 1528. Soria. 2nd January."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

4 Jan. 283. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 42.

Encloses duplicate of his despatch of the 11th ult^o. On the first day of the new year the Prince of Orange, at the solicitation of Cardinal Colonna, of the Marquis del Guasto, and the rest, accepted the office of captain-general of the Imperial forces. The Marquis made a speech formally declaring on the occasion that he and the Spaniards under his orders were ready to obey him.

The Prince and the rest are now endeavouring to persuade the Germans to march out of Rome, on the payment of 120,000 ducats, besides the 24,000 which they assert to be owing to them as surplus, there having been an error in the former account, but up to the present the Prince's efforts have been unsuccessful, as the soldiers claim 18,000 ducats besides, as double pay, until the time at which the 50,000 promised by the Pope on the 17th inst. are paid. This last payment, however, is out of the question, for the generals will find it difficult enough to procure even the 24,000. Already Cardinal Colonna has come back in disgust, as the Germans will not listen to reason. It would be a pity if he lost his credit with them, for hitherto he has negotiated rather successfully.

This very day, as he is told, an agreement has been made with the Abbot of Farfa and Mario Ursino, by which they engage to serve the Emperor, the former with a "condotta"

1528.

of 90 lances and 2,000 foot; the latter with 50 lances with the usual pay, &c. Both are to come here to sign the agreement, and swear fidelity in the hands of the Prince.

On the 2nd news came to Rome that a very strong place called Castro, in the territory of the Church, belonging to Pietro Luigi Farnese, had been surprised and taken by the confederates. Also that one of Cardinal Colonna's nephews, named Marcalo, went out of Viterbo, and took a town called Castellon (Castiglione), wherein he found upwards of 2,000 loads of wheat and other provisions. They say that the Pope was exceedingly angry at this, and has complained to the Prince and to the Marquis about it. Cannot say whether satisfaction will be given and the town restored, for besides being important and full of provisions, it is a just retaliation for Castro.

Civittà Castellana has not yet been delivered, nor have the citizens who were to come [to Rome] to take securities from these generals made their appearance.

The Germans have not yet sent in their consent, but, on the contrary, insist on remaining at Rome until their claims are settled. Besides the money which has been promised to them in cash, they now want Cardinal Colonna and the generals to be security for the 50,000 ducats which the Pope has engaged to pay on the 17th. This the Cardinal dislikes doing, owing to the very small chance there is of the Pope fulfilling his engagements, but most likely he will be obliged to subscribe to the condition in the end.

On the very same day that the Prince of Orange assumed the command, he proposed Hernando Gonzaga for the post of general of the cavalry.

Mons. de Vere is expected here, to go to the Pope at Orbieto, but unless the confederates give him a safe-conduct he will be in danger, now that Castro is in the hands of the enemy, for he must necessarily pass through that place.

In consequence of the Germans persisting in their determination it has been decided to distribute to the Spanish and Italian infantry, and to the light horse, the money destined for the former. They shall be kept in this city and its immediate neighbourhood, that they may assist in case of the said Germans, now encamped at Campo di Frose, attempting to come to Rome and create disturbances, though it must be observed that some of their captains have undertaken to take out their respective companies, and follow the example of the Spaniards and Italians, who are ready to a man to obey the orders of their commanders.

The Papal Legate (Campeggio) has clearly told us that the Pope will not be able to pay on the 17th inst. the 50,000 ducats. Neither does he believe that he can fulfil his engagements respecting Civittà Castellana, though he keeps telling us every day that deputies from that city are coming to ask for securities, &c.

1528.

The Marquis leaves to-morrow morning for Naples. Besides some very important business of his own, the object of his journey thither is to get all the money he can, and ask Don Ugo [de Moncada] to allow all the Spanish and German infantry, and all the men-at-arms to come [to Rome].

Ostia and Civittà Vecchia are being fortified, for it is evident that, unless matters mend, the confederated fleet will pay them a visit.—Rome, 4th January 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Rome. Perez. 4th January."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3½.

7 Jan. 284. The DUKE OF MONTELEONE, Viceroy of Sicily, to the
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 49. EMPEROR.

Writes in commendation of Antonio de la Torre, son of Federico, one of the Emperor's secretaries for Sicily, whom he presents for the office of lieutenant of the Royal Chamber of the Sumaria.—Palermo, 7th January 1528.

Signed: "El Duque de Monteleone."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. On the business of Antonio de la Torre."

7 Jan. 285. The VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE to the DOGE.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 49.

Called at the palace to communicate to His Majesty [the King of France] the contents of the Signory's letters. Was told by the King that he was delighted to hear the undertaking of Puglia had been decided upon. He had this very day despatched the Abbot, secretary of Micer Camillo Pardo, with bills of exchange to the amount of 3,000 ducats. The said Pardo has with him a good number of followers, and it is expected that with such assistance in money he will be able to enter the Abruzzo and divert the attention of the enemy.

With regard to the Florentines and their contribution in money to the expenses of the war, His Majesty the King said that though they offered various excuses they would in the end do what was expected of them. Replied that everything depended on him; if he spoke warmly and acted with vigour, the Florentines would do their duty towards the League.

Respecting the Spanish expedition (*la impresa d'Hispania*) the King assured him that he was more decided than ever to undertake it. Was glad to hear that his plans for the increase of the sea forces of the League had been approved by the Signory, adding that this year greater maritime armaments were required, as by news lately received from Spain it

1528.

appeared that the Emperor was there getting ready no less than 70 large galleys to send to Italy, and had besides obtained from the King of Portugal a sum of 400,000 ducats for permission to trade with India. All this made it imperative on the confederates to have a large fleet at sea.

As to the Turks, His Majesty said that after having crushed their common enemy in Italy there would be plenty of time to stir up the Christians against them.

Respecting Lombardy and the imputations so gratuitously cast upon the Signory by certain malignant people, and which he (the ambassador) had had occasion to repudiate in his last interview with Madame (the King's mother), new assurances were given. It was agreed that in the month of April next the enterprise of Lombardy should be undertaken, as likewise that of Genoa. The ambassador, however, remarked that on this point the King did not show as much determination as in former times, no doubt owing to the late news from Spain that the Emperor intends coming to Italy this year with a very powerful force.—Poisi (Poissy), 7th January 1528.

Indorsed: "Copia d'una [lettera] del ambasciatore Veneto presso [il] Re di Fransia al Duca di Venetia."

Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

7 Jan. 286. ANTONIO DE LEYVA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,172,
f. 14.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 2.

His Majesty's letters, together with the credentials and instructions brought by Captain Ribadeneyra, have come to hand. All orders shall be most strictly obeyed, and should there be anything amiss it will be no fault of his; he (Leyva) has always done his best. Ribadeneyra says it is His Majesty's wish that he (Leyva) should implicitly obey the Prince of Orange's orders. Such recommendation was scarcely needed, since he (Leyva) has always obeyed his superiors in command, and the Prince deserves it well, owing to his good qualities and high rank. Knows well that he has been charged at Court with having made himself obnoxious (*sido terrible*) towards Bourbon; but the accusation is unfounded. True it is that at times the Duke did many things, and might, if left alone, have done others, detrimental to the Imperial service; and this is the reason that the courtiers are so spiteful against him (Leyva); but the slanderers who take about such tales as these to the Emperor should bear in mind that, had it not been for his (Leyva's) opposition on many occasions, the Emperor's affairs in Italy might have been worse than they are now. Having been neither offensive (*terrible*) nor disagreeable towards Lannoy, Prospero [Colonna], or the Marquis de Pescara, it cannot be feared that he will now become so.

With regard to the new grants to be made in the Duchy, His Imperial Majesty's commands shall be punctually obeyed with the moderation and tact prescribed in the instructions.

1528.

All pensions settled by Bourbon on the Ducal chamber (*Camara ducal*) have been already recalled; none shall be granted in future without the Emperor's permission.

Has communicated by the Prior of Barletta (Martinengo) everything he (Leyva) had to say respecting the army under his immediate command. Not knowing whether the Prior has reached Spain in safety, he now sends Barahona, who will verbally inform the Emperor of what has occurred since.

With regard to the expenditure, as these Germans of the old bands, who are decidedly a most unruly and mutinous set of men, refused to march against the enemy unless paid their arrears, and besides robbed the inhabitants and ravaged the land; as those who went back to their own country might tell their comrades that they had not been paid, and thus prevent the Germans from enlisting in future, he (Leyva) resolved to test the favourable opinion which it was said they had of him. Accordingly, though against the advice of some, who assured him that he would be badly received and perhaps insulted, as the Germans were in a constant state of mutiny, he (Leyva) went to them and explained how it was that His Imperial Majesty, being at war with the whole of the Christian world, could not procure money. They should bear in mind that, though no pay had been issued to them for some time, yet they had been supported entirely at the Emperor's expense. Begged them, therefore, to content themselves with what the Emperor could now afford to give. He (Leyva) calculated that, in addition to the 80,000 which they gave up (*soltados*) on a former occasion, 140,000 cr. more were now due to them. Now if out of this latter sum they would be content to receive 25,000 cr. and leave the remainder as a standing debt, matters might be arranged, and the money procured somehow. The Germans accepted the proposal, and therefore all their infantry, old companies as well as new (*de la banda vieja y de la nueva*), will be paid up to the end of December last. Does not think that this matter could have been settled in a more satisfactory way. To the Spaniards three years' pay are due. It has been settled that on the receipt of 15,000 ducats they will abandon all claims for the present. As, however, there is no money to give them, and it is not known whence and how it is to come, they (the Spaniards) have agreed to wait two months further. The Italian infantry and light horse are paid up to the present time (*lo comido por servido hasta el dia de hoy*), but to the men-at-arms considerable arrears are due (*se les deve un mundo*).

The Emperor will naturally inquire what means he (Leyva) has had at his disposal to cover so many expenses and feed during several months an army like this, mustering 20,000 foot and 4,000 horse. Simply by a tax (*dacio*) on bread which the municipality of this city consented to establish, with the proviso that military men (*gente de guerra*) should also be subjected to it. The tax has answered so well that in four months 80,000 ducats have been collected, with which

1528.

this Estate and army have been maintained. In this manner 31,000 cr. have been paid to the Germans, both old and new troops, and 4,500 cr. to the Spaniards, 2,000 to the Italians, without counting other small sums paid to the light horse and artillery, and for ammunition, gunpowder, fortifications, and so forth.

In this manner we maintained ourselves until the arrival of Rivadeneyra. Out of the money he has brought 2,500 ducats have been distributed to the Germans of the old bands, and 8,000 to the new; 13,000 have been repaid to the Velzers, and 4,000 to the Grimaldos (Grimaldi) for advances they had made. Money is also owing to various merchants and contractors, but they must have patience and wait until funds are provided [from Spain].

The present force will cost henceforwards 33,200 ducats every month; namely, the Germans 18,500 ducats; the Spaniards 9,000; one thousand Italians 4,000; 300 horse 1,700. All that this city and the estate [of Milan] can possibly yield for the two next months amounts only to 15,000 cr., for the *dacio* has lately had a considerable fall, owing to wheat being now very scarce and expensive, and people being obliged to eat rye or millet bread.

Barahona will report on the enemy's numbers and movements; also on the Venetians and Francesco [Sforza]; on the Duke of Ferrara and his son (Ercole), the Marquises of Mantua, Montferrato, and Saluzzo; on the son of the latter and on the Grisons;* and lastly on the news lately arrived from France, and the affairs of Rome.

Respecting Monego and the orders brought by Ribadeneyra, he (Leyva) can only say that it is very important for His Imperial Majesty to hold that position. 1stly. The port is very convenient for going to and coming from Spain. 2ndly. It will prove a thorn in the side of Marseilles and Provenze. 3rdly. It may be the ruin of Savoy, being as it is in the very heart of the Duke's estate (*en el anima de su estado*), and if His Imperial Majesty only gave orders that the salt which the Duke [of Savoy] now brings from Ivica should be sent to Monego, a great portion of his revenue, consisting chiefly in the proceeds of that article, will fall to the ground. Lastly. Should Genoa be lost, which God forbid, Monego will act as a sort of curb upon that city, and be a place of refuge (*escala*) for vessels bound for Italy and France.

The marquisate of Monte Sarcho, which the Catholic King (Ferdinand) granted to him (Leyva), brings him in no revenue at all. During the time that the French were all-powerful in Naples the old Marquis again took possession of it, and so wasted it that, though he (Leyva) has since recovered the land, it is worth literally nothing. What the late Duke of

* The original has, "del hijo de este [ultimo] y de los Grisonos," but as the Marquis Antonio Michaelé died soon after without posterity, some other captain must be meant.

1528.

Bourbon and the Duke (Francesco Sforza) have given him since has been of no use. All those who have served in Italy have received titles;* he has not.

Ribadeneyra has been despatched to the Prince of Orange. —Milan, 7th January [1528].

8 Jan. 287.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 50.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

Wrote last on the 23rd of December advising the Pope's recent liberation and arrival at Orbieto, of which a fuller account must have reached the Imperial Court both from Rome and Naples. It is said here that the Pope intends fulfilling his promise. May it be so.

The French army, it is asserted, has left Bologna and taken the road to Romagna. The ambassador hears from two different and very reliable sources that Lautrech's intention is to invade the kingdom of Naples, and that he has taken the present route the better to insure the provisioning of his army. He (Lautrech) had been joined by the 3,000 Germans, whom he had been expecting so long. How, with such a contemptible set of men as he has under his orders, he can venture to approach the Imperial army is more than he (Sanchez) can say, for he (Lautrech) must know by this time that the Emperor has provided money for Germany. (*Cipher* :) Perhaps there exists some secret understanding between the Pope and him, for, although the former asserts that he intends fulfilling the conditions of the last treaty, his deeds, as some people here suspect, may after all turn out different from his words. (*Common writing* :) The new German levies could not come at a better time for arresting the enemy's progress, but they should come as soon as possible, so as to prevent the enemy from gathering strength and (*cipher* :) destroying us before the arrival of the reinforcements.†

(*Common writing* :) The Pope lately addressed a brief to this Signory asking for the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia, and likewise the salt which they took from him, demanding at the same time the complete evacuation of the territory of the Church by their troops. The Venetians are not in a humour to grant either of those demands, and have sent an excuse to Lautrech. Hears that the Archbishop of Manfredonia, otherwise called Sepontino, is coming to Venice as Papal Nuncio on this business. They say also that the Datary (Gian Matheo Giberti), who is Bishop of Verona, comes to reside in his bishopric with the Pope's permission, though some will not believe that at such times as this he can forsake His Holiness. The Pope is still at Orbieto, where every day

* "Suplico á V. Mt. se acuerde que á todos los que le han servido en Italia V. Mt. les ha mudado el nombre, y á mi no." At this time Leyva's services had not been ostensibly rewarded. A few years after he was made Prince of Ascoli, a title which passed to his descendants.

† "Y que nos despachen antes que los socorros vengan."

1528.

cardinals and other people join him. (*Cipher* :) Lautrech sent the other day Cavalier [Casale], the English ambassador, to persuade him to join the League, and not trouble himself about fulfilling the conditions of the treaty, or giving money for the Imperial army. The Pope has sent Prothonotary Gambara to England and France about this.

Has just heard that a Genoese banker established in England, of the name of Vivaldo, writes to a correspondent of his at this place (Venice) that the Cardinal of England had urgently requested him to have 20,000 ducats paid to Prothonotary Casale, the English ambassador. (*Cipher* :) Vivaldo has begged his correspondent to pay at least one half of that sum down, but as the Venetian merchant is a friend of his, he (Sanchez) has persuaded him not to advance one farthing until further advice. This will perchance delay the accomplishment of the enemy's plans.

(*Common writing* :) This letter was begun three days ago. Has not sent it on for want of a safe conveyance to Trent. Lautrech is still at Bologna, but announces his intention of advancing, and has sent part of his troops in the direction of Romagna.

The Archbishop of Manfredonia has arrived, and visited the Signory this morning. Intends to call on him one of these days. Will not fail to advise the result of their conference.

Antonio de Leyva has relieved Lecco, which was closely invested by the troops of this Signory and by those of the Duke [of Urbino?]. He managed to introduce into the town some men and provisions, upon which the enemy raised the siege and retired, losing a certain number of guns.

Federico de Bozol has died a natural death, and Flemish merchants of this city have news of the death of the King of Poland (Sigismund).—Venice, 8th January 1528.

Signed : "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed : "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margin. pp. 5.

11 Jan. **288.** POPE CLEMENT VII. to the EMPEROR.
S.T. c. Pont.

Charissime in Christo fili noster, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. As long as he (the Pope) was in confinement there was no object in his writing except to ask for his liberation. When, however, he perceived from the letters, as well as the verbal message brought by the General [of the Franciscans] and Vere (Mons. de Veyre), how much he (the Emperor) wished for it, and that most stringent orders had been sent for his release, which would have been accomplished much sooner had not the Viceroy of Naples (Lannoy) died in the meantime, he (the Pope) lost no time in thanking God

1528.

and him. Though there was no cause whatever for the bad treatment to which he was subjected, he (the Pope) still believes, as the Emperor has often assured him in his letters, that he regretted, and still regrets, what happened then. Indeed, not only the Emperor himself, whose kindness and virtues are well known, but the most wicked man on earth would have been moved to pity had he witnessed the robberies, cruelties, and dishonourable acts perpetrated [by the Imperial soldiers], not only against their own fellow creatures, but against God and religion; and if the Emperor at the mere hearsay of such atrocities has felt such sorrow for the sufferers, it may be easily imagined how indescribable his own must have been, when, besides being a victim himself, he had to witness the sufferings of his own people, to whom he is in duty bound to be a good father and shepherd. It is now evident that it was owing to the Imperial ministers not placing that trust in him (the Pope) which his friendly conduct towards the Emperor deserved, that matters took the wretched turn they did. His motives and acts have been misrepresented, but God, who sees into men's hearts, is witness of his upright intention and good-will towards the Emperor. Can assure him that nothing shall be left undone, as far as he is concerned, to procure the general peace, assemble a council, and fulfil in other respects the Emperor's wishes, which are also his own, for the honour of God and the common welfare of Christendom. Has already complied with all his demands, ordering the delivery of the hostages and cities as security, though his Majesty may easily conceive what little authority and credit is left to him to enforce such orders, &c.

Sends the General [of the Franciscans], for whom and for his Nuncio [Farnese?] he begs full credence. Immediately after his liberation he thought of sending one of his own servants to thank the Emperor in his name, but the difficulty and dangers of the road both by land and sea prevented him, and though he has since applied to France for a safe-conduct he has had no answer yet.*—Orvieto, 11th January 1528.

Italian. Original upon vellum.

16 Jan. 289. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 52.

Wrote last on the 4th inst., enclosing duplicate of his despatch of the 31st of December. Since then Cardinal Colonna has left Rome, on pretence of visiting his brother Ascanio, but in reality to escape from the Germans. As his absence from Rome at the present time might be very injurious to the cause, the Prince has written requesting him to return as soon

* This was written in answer to one of the Emperor's letters, dated Burgos, the 22nd of November 1527, congratulating Pope Clement on his liberation, the news of which, he says, reached him through France, not through any of his own ministers in Italy. Both the Pope's letter and the Emperor's answer may be found in Lanz, *Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V.* vol. i. pp., 256-7.

1528.

as possible, as the negotiations with the Germans must be suspended in the meanwhile.

The Marquis del Guasto left also for Naples, promising to return soon. His presence here is equally important.

On the 11th the Germans held a general review of their forces, with what object is not yet known. Though they have published that by this muster His Imperial Majesty would save at least 50,000 ducats, the general belief is that it will be only an excuse for fresh demands. Should they consent to march out of Rome, the Spaniards and Italians would soon follow them, for they have lately received the one month's pay promised to them by the Marquis, and are quite ready to obey orders. The confederates are daily getting stronger in Romagna; besides Castro and Aquapendente, which they are fortifying, they show intentions of attacking Viterbo, where a nephew of Cardinal Colonna now is. A messenger has been despatched to him to hold out, as in case of need he will be succoured from hence.

The Pope has ordered 500 hackbutiers from Spoleto, for his body-guard, they say. This is considered here rather a bad sign, as was his refusing to accept Mons. de Vere's offer to go to Orbiato, in consequence of which the latter leaves for Naples to-morrow, the 12th, to embark for Spain. Some days ago he received the Imperial letter of the 22nd of November, enclosing one for the Pope in the Emperor's own hand, but before that he (Perez) had seen a copy which His Holiness sent to his Legate (here), and which was shown to the Prince and the rest of the Imperial ministers. All think that the contents of the letter are such that, even if the Pope's intentions were not good, he could not fail acknowledging the Emperor's benevolence towards him.

Civittà Castellana has not yet been delivered, though a gentleman who resides for us at Orbiato, as Imperial agent, feels confident that it will take place ere long. Neither is the money which the Pope promised to pay on the 17th inst. ready. If, however, Antonio de Sanct Severino, lately created cardinal, pays the 20,000 ducats for his hat, very little will be wanting towards the 145,000 promised to the Germans and Spaniards, for Vere (Veyre) has brought from Naples the 20,000 of the Archbishop of Monreale. But as on the 17th inst. 50,000 ducats must be paid to the captains for their advances, as well as for their double pay, and the Pope seems unmindful of his promise, we are greatly afraid that there will be some outbreak among the Germans. Already most of the Imperialists of note are leaving Rome, and although a proclamation was made the other day [in the Legate's name], promising security to all foreigners in general, most Spaniards are migrating to Naples, and he (Perez) intends doing the same the very moment the Imperial forces evacuate the city.

Mentioned in his despatch of the 4th that the Prince [of Orange] had given the command of the cavalry to Hernando Gonzaga, and that the appointment had been generally well

1528.

received. Now it appears that the Marquis del Guasto wanted that office for the Prince of Malfe (Amalfi).

His Imperial Majesty may believe him (*cipher* :) when he asserts that funds are more wanted than ever, not only for the pay of these troops, but also for other branches of the service; for it frequently happens that for lack of 15 or 20 ducats we cannot despatch a messenger when an object worth a whole treasure to His Imperial Majesty can be attained. We have no money for the transport of artillery and baggage, &c.

Great fear prevails of the Pope joining the League and breaking through every one of his engagements except that of paying 145,000 ducats. As to 150,000 for the Germans, no one here expects that they will be paid. They say that Lautrech has come or is coming to Florence, without troops, for the express purpose of inducing the citizens to declare in favour of His Holiness, that he may the better join the League, and that he (Lautrech) intends making them great offers for that effect.

(*Common writing* :) Lautrech's army is still in the Bolognese. That general's intention seems to be to divide his forces, retaining one portion to defend that country, and employing the other to invade Naples. Nobody, however, believes that he will be able to carry out his plan of campaign, as his troops are insufficient for such an undertaking.

The Siennese have sent to ask for help. The Prince has granted their request, and is about to despatch troops to their assistance; but as they only want them on the frontiers, and not within their territory, that they may escape the expense of feeding and paying them, the succour after all cannot be of much use to them.

The men-at-arms are still at Belitre (Velletri) where they can no longer procure provisions. If not supplied in time they are sure to join their comrades in Naples. Don Ugo, however, writes to say that he is straining every nerve to remit money and provisions to Velletri, and that at any rate, if the Prince succeeds in taking his Germans out of Rome—for the Spaniards and Italians are quite ready to go—he undertakes to send us 400 men-at-arms, 200 light horse, and 3,000 foot, which would be no inconsiderable reinforcement for this army. Such was the message brought by De Vere (Veyre); but if money cannot be procured he (Perez) does not see much use in having more troops from Naples.

The other day a Roman spy came from Orbiato, bearing letters from His Holiness to his Legate here.* It appears that whilst conversing with some German captains here he was heard to say that if any of them wished to go home, or take service with the League, he would undertake at once to have his arrears settled [by the Pope]. The captains imme-

* Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio.

1528.

diately informed their colonel of the fact; the man was arrested and put to the torture, and though he has not positively declared that he came [to Rome] for the purpose of corrupting the Germans, yet he owns that he knows of one among them who is trying the same sort of work with his comrades. The German, however, could not be found, and the Roman spy is still in confinement; he will most likely be severely punished, although the Legate (Campeggio) is moving heaven and earth for his release.

The agreement with the Abbot of Farfa, about which he (Perez) wrote on the 4th, has not yet been concluded, owing to that individual asking, among other things, that the pay of his retainers and his own pension should be consigned on the Neapolitan revenue; that Valença in the district of Tagliacozzo, which Ascanio Colonna retains until the whole of that duchy, or some equivalent reward be given to him (the Abbot) according to agreement, should at once be made over to him; that 8,000 or 10,000 ducats be advanced to him (the Abbot) and to Mario Ursino to raise their respective "condotte." One of the Abbot's men, who is his agent in these negotiations, has gone to call on Cardinal Colonna, the initiator of the whole affair. Cannot say what the result of the conference will be, but should not be surprised to hear that the whole is a stratagem of the Abbot, who thereby aims at getting better terms from the League.

The muster passed of the German infantry made them amount to 6,000 men in effective. They now demand all arrears of pay up to the 31st of December last, as well as the sums lent by their own captains, and double pay to the men for a certain time as interest, the whole of which amounts to 345,000 ducats. In that sum are included 150,000 promised by the Pope, but of the payment of which, as Mons. de Vere (Veyre) has no doubt already informed His Imperial Majesty, there is very little, if any, chance, as Civittà Castellana has not yet been delivered according to treaty, and as some doubt remains as to his paying even the other 145,000. To this may be added that Antonio de Sanct Severino, instead of paying into the treasury at Naples the 20,000 ducats for his cardinal's hat, as agreed, has secretly left that city, and gone by way of Aquila and Ancona to Orbieto, there to pay them into the Pope's hands. So that, notwithstanding the praiseworthy efforts of the Prince, who is continually writing on the subject to Don Ugo, to the Marquis [del Guasto], and to Alarcon, there is no prospect of paying these Germans and taking them out of Rome.

The Prince is about to send a messenger to the Pope protesting against the non-fulfilment of his engagements; but on the other hand he thinks, as many others of the Imperial servants do, that it is Don Ugo's place and duty to do so. Cannot say what will be decided.

De Vere (Veyre) has shown to the few Romans in this city [*á los pocos Romanos que hay*] the letter which the Emperor wrote to this Senate. They were all very much pleased with

1528.

it, but the truth is that what they most wish is to see the Imperial troops quit Rome, for the city is gradually being destroyed, so that in a very short time it will be a heap of ruins. As most of the wealthy citizens desert their home for fear of the soldiers quartered upon them, it naturally follows that the moment the owners are gone, the houses are gutted and pulled down for the sake of the timber, which is sold in the markets and public places as fire-wood, as cheap as if there was a large forest in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome. If to this be added that bread and wine are so scarce and dear that none but wealthy people can procure them, and that many people once rich and prosperous are actually begging in the streets, the Emperor may have an idea of our present situation and sufferings.

The new regulations regarding the captains have not yet been made, owing to the Marquis del Guasto being still at Naples.

No further news of Lautrech. He is still in the Bolognese, and not likely to move on unless he is sure of having the Pope in his favour. The delivery of Civittà Castellana has not yet taken place, nor have the negotiations with these Germans made much advance, as the Prince of Orange is unwilling to take any engagements until the answer from Naples, which is expected every hour, comes.—Rome, 16th January 1528.

P.S.—When about to close and despatch this, a letter was brought him from Alonso Sanchez, dated the 25th ulto., stating that a packet from Madame Marguerite to him, with enclosures from Don Iñigo de Mendoza, the Imperial ambassador in England, had been intercepted and opened by order of the Signory of Venice. The letters were dated the 2nd.

Sanchez writes also to say that the Venetian ambassador in Spain, in his despatch of the 25th November last, informs the Signory that the Emperor is raising money as fast as he can, to send us a large fleet with 10,000 on board, and has besides remitted 100,000 ducats to his brother, the King of Hungary, to enlist several thousand Germans. The Venetians were rather alarmed at the news, but King Francis had written to them a very gracious letter, encouraging them to persevere in the League, and not to be afraid, as the announced succour could not come in time. The Pope has sent them briefs, asking for the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia, but the Venetians seem in no hurry to obey them.

Leyva is doing great things against the confederates in the neighbourhood of Milan, and were this army to march on Lombardy would do still more. He writes that Lautrech has but a small force there, and that very indifferent. Only 2,000 Germans have joined him instead of the 6,000 so pompously announced.

It is reported that on the 18th ulto. the Duke received from France the ratification of his treaty with the League, and that this Signory has also sent him their own. Only the Pope's is wanting, and the King of France has written to the

1528.

Duke to send an ambassador to his court to treat of the marriage, &c.

A deputation has come this morning from Civittà Castellana asking for securities, &c., but the Prince [of Orange] can give none but his own word of honour. It is generally believed that these are mere formalities in order to gain time. His Holiness, on the other hand, has sent a message that the 145,000 ducats will be paid soon, but as no mention is made [in his letter] of the other 50,000 which are due to-morrow, the 17th, the Germans begin to grumble, and we are greatly afraid of their rising in mutiny.

The Prince is now sending a captain to Orbiato to request the Pope to fulfil his engagements, and another one to Spain to inform the Emperor of the state of affairs. A third is to be despatched to Don Ugo to ask for money.

Signed: "Perez."

Indorsed: "To the King. Perez. 16th January."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (fol. 61). pp. 6.

17 Jan. 290. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 62.

As he (Perez) feared when writing yesterday, the Germans met under arms at Campo di Fiore, declaring that unless they were immediately paid they would sack Rome again, and enlist under the enemy. The Prince [of Orange] went to them, and was able, though with some trouble, to calm them down, under promise that within four days they would receive a definitive answer. To-day the rumour is that if their arrears remain unpaid they will do all the harm they can in Rome, and then go over to the confederates. Some of the German captains, however, maintain that the men will not serve the League, but will go straight home. In either case there is great danger in their leaving Rome just now, as the Spanish and Italian infantry are sure to follow their example and withdraw to Naples. Lautrech is reported to be marching on Faenza, thence to invade the territory of Sienna. A messenger has accordingly been sent to Don Ugo and to the Marquis [del Guasto] to acquaint them of the fact.—Rome, 17th January 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To his most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Perez. 17th January."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

18 Jan. 291. ADVICES from ITALY sent to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 66.

The state of affairs at present is as follows:—

Lautrech, after taking Alessandria and Pavia, has come to the Bolognese, where he is still.

1528.

The Venetians and Sforzini, who were in front of Milan, have started in various directions to cut off provisions going to that city. The forces of the confederates in the Duchy amount only to 8,000 foot, 500 light horse, and 300 men-at-arms. Leyva is inside Milan with about 2,000 Spaniards, 5,000 lansquenets and Italians, 250 men-at-arms, and as many light horse.

There is no fear of Milan falling into the hands of the enemy, for besides the forces above enumerated the Imperialists are strong in that city, and the citizens determined to defend themselves. The danger lies in the difficulty of procuring provisions, for the city and the camp have only stores up to the middle of March.

Mons. de Lautrech has his head quarters at Bologna; the rest of his army is in the neighbourhood (*e alloggiato nel contado*). His forces consist now of 500 French men-at-arms, besides 200 more of the Venetians, 100 of the Duke of Ferrara, and 200 of the Marquis de Saluzzo. Of Albanian and Italian light horse he has nearly 500, exclusive of his own regular archers (*li suoi arcieri ordinarii*). The Venetians are to send him 200 besides, the Duke [of Ferrara] 200 more, and Paolo Luzascho is also to join with his "condotta" of 100 horse and as many mounted hackbutiers.

Lautrech's lansquenets do not really exceed 6,000, though he makes them out to be 8,000, but he has 2,000 Switzers and Grisons, and the Marquis of Saluzzo 2,000 more in the camp of the League. Of Gascons, Frantopini,* and other soldiers of fortune he has about 1,000, and the Marquis as many. Item.—4,000 Italians, besides the 1,000 of Saluzzo, and 4,000 more to be raised and paid by Venice, and as many by the Florentines. The Duke does not furnish infantry, but contributes 6,000 ducats monthly towards the pay of 2,000 Italians. As to the Marquis of Mantua, it is not yet certain whether he has joined the League, or with what contingent.

The camp of the League, under the Duke of Urbino and Marquis of Saluzzo, is at Lodi, quite inactive. The enemy's sea forces, consisting of 38 galleys and six barks (*barche*), with 4,000 men on board, have gone to Sardinia and seized some undefended towns on the coast. The fleet is commanded by Signor Renzo [da Ceri], by Andrea Doria, and the Venetian proveditor (Pisani).

There is a rumour that Lautrech will invade Naples soon. His heavy cavalry and artillery, with part of his infantry, are to go through Romagna; he, himself, with the rest of his forces, intends marching by way of Tuscany. This, however, is not yet quite settled.

The Pope is at Orvieto, and, as far as we can understand, still hesitating to join the League for many reasons. The

* Sandoval often mentions the *Fantopines* or *Frantopines* as the raw levies of Gascony and the south of France. I believe this word, as well as the French *fantassin*, to be derived from the Italian *fanti*.

1528.

first, because he much dislikes entering into a new war; the second, because he is unwilling to ratify, as far as he is concerned, some of the terms which the ambassadors of the League have granted the Duke [of Ferrara] by the last treaty; the third, that the attitude of the Florentines is anything but reassuring; and last, not least, that the Signory of Venice retains under various pretences, the cities of Ravenna and Cervia, which belong to him. Negotiations, however, still continue, and if Lautrech only perseveres in his plans of invasion, and ultimately marches on Naples, it will be a further proof of the Pope's ill-will towards the Emperor, since he neither delivers Civittà Castellana, nor pays the money promised to the Germans.

Were this Imperial army to allow itself to be led out of Rome, things might soon take a different course and end in success; for between the men-at-arms now in Naples, and those encamped close to Vilitre (Villette), 20 miles from Rome, there are upwards of 600. The light horse amount to 1,000. The Spanish infantry musters 9,000 men, including in that number those of Naples who are ready to join; the Germans to upwards of 7,000, and the Italians to 4,000.

The real difficulty and danger lie in the want of money to pay the soldiers, to whom such arrears are owing just now that it is no wonder if they refuse serving. For His Imperial Majesty must know that, as regards the Germans, they have often mutinied of late, and have only been quieted by promises and engagements that have never been fulfilled; now they have risen again, declaring that, unless they are paid in full by the 21st, they will quit the Emperor's service, ask safe-conducts from the League, and go home. The Spaniards and Italians in their turn, though not so grasping as the Germans, and likely to be contented with much less, will no doubt follow their example and go to Naples, and if so the Imperial army will be completely broken up.

As to the Pope there is no hope of his giving the money he has promised; neither the pressing solicitations of these generals, nor the wailings and lamentations of his own subjects, who naturally suffer from the threatening presence of the Imperial soldiers, and would like to see them out of Rome as soon as possible, will induce him to pay down the money and fulfil his other engagements.

Though the Marquis del Guasto and Alarcon have gone to Naples for the purpose of obtaining from Don Ugo [de Moncada], and the Collateral Council of that kingdom, some assistance in the present emergency, no hope, however faint, is entertained by those who know the state of that treasury. It is true that the barons and titled nobility of the kingdom, as well as the deputies of large towns, have been summoned to the capital, there to meet and vote a competent subsidy, but so exhausted is the country, and so poor are its inhabitants, that it is feared no adequate sum can be raised, or that it will not come in time.

1528.

The above true statement has been made, not indeed with a view to increasing present difficulties, and inculcating the Imperial councillors and ministers for allowing things to go so far, but in order to show the whole gravity and danger of the present situation of affairs, and the necessity of speedy redress. Meanwhile every effort shall be made to keep this army together; the Prince [of Orange] and the rest of the Imperial agents and commanders have done and are doing everything in their power to extricate themselves and the army from their present difficult position, but nobody can be expected to do impossibilities.

Getting money out of Italy under present circumstances is entirely out of the question. Neither the Florentines nor the Duke of Ferrara will furnish any unless forcibly compelled, or in consequence of a signal victory over our enemy. The Siennese will have enough to do to defend themselves against the attacks of the League; and as to Leyva, it is a wonder how he has been able to maintain himself so long in Milan.

No other remedy is left but an honourable peace, if it can be made, or else plenty of money sent from Spain to enable us to prosecute the war with vigour.—Rome, 18th January 1528.

Italian. Original much damaged by water. pp. 7.

19 Jan. 292.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 70.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador at Venice, to the EMPEROR.

His last was of the 8th inst. (*Cipher* :) Since then the news is that the Pope wrote to Lautrech by way of Ferrara, advising him to leave Bologna and proceed in the direction of Tuscany. Lautrech not thoroughly understanding the message, has sent Count Pepoli to ascertain what are His Holiness' real wishes, and the answer is that he is to advance, which, if true, is no sign of the Pope being ready to fulfil his promises. Hears that the Florentines have sent a similar message to Lautrech, begging him to advance, and offering assistance in money. Two ambassadors of that Signory are actually following the French camp.

Lautrech has demanded from the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) twice the quantity of money and number of men that he agreed to give, and the Duke has refused on the plea that His Holiness has not yet ratified the convention. This, the Pope said to two ambassadors the Duke sent him, was no easy matter, as he had but few cardinals left with him, and the affair required consideration. He was, however, about to send a messenger to Lautrech on this and other business. (*Common writing* :) Has been told that an ambassador from the Duke of Ferrara has arrived at the Court of France, and that King [Francis] and his mother received him most graciously. They evidently want the Duke to send his son, Don Hercules (Ercole), to France, as soon as possible, that he may there marry the King's sister-in-law

1528.

(*cuiñada*),* whom they offer to treat in every respect as their eldest daughter.

(*Cipher* :) Enclosed are some advices from Ferrara, which do not exactly agree with the above. Here, at Venice, the report is that Lautrech left Bologna on the 10th, and took the route to Sienna. A movement of this sort, undertaken at the present juncture, without any plausible reason, makes us all suspect that there is something wrong, and that the Pope will, if he can, break his engagements. The Imperial army is still at Rome, as disorderly as ever.

(*Common writing* :) He [Sanchez] and the ambassador of the King of Hungary called together on the Archbishop of Manfredonia (Giovanni Maria di Monte), whom they found at his lodgings in company with the resident Papal Nuncio (Averoldi). Told them that, knowing what trusty and beloved sons of His Holiness they were, they (the ambassadors) had come to pay their respects and offer their services. And to say the truth, the Archbishop (Monte) spoke in such high terms of His Imperial Majesty, of his love and respect (*ob-servancia*) for the Pope and the Apostolic See, that no further praise could be desired. The conversation, however, turned only on general topics.

The answer which this Signory is reported to have given to the Archbishop [of Manfredonia] and to the other Nuncio concerning Ravenna and Cervia is this: that they [the Venetians] were the allies of the King of France; that those towns and the surrounding territory were conquered by the League in a good cause (*á buen fin*), and that the Signory could do nothing in the matter without first consulting the King of France.

Has heard from the King of Hungary, in date of the 23rd of December last, respecting the new levies to be raised in Germany. (*Cipher* :) As His Highness wished to know the ambassador's opinion on matters connected with the said reinforcements, the best time and place for their crossing, &c., he (Sanchez) drew up a report, of which the enclosed is a copy.† Similar letters were addressed by the King to Don Ugo, Antonio de Leyva, and Alarcon, as well as to Andrea del Burgo, at Ferrara, every one of whom will no doubt give his opinion on the subject.

(*Cipher* :) This Signory has named an ambassador [Gasparo Contarini] to go to the Pope. It is generally reported that His Holiness is pressing Lautrech to go forward; and certainly there must be some strong reason just now to induce that commander to move. This sending of an ambassador to Rome confirms the suspicion, for only a few days before the Signory had refused to send one. Has been told,

* Madame Renée de France, daughter of Louis XII., and sister-in-law of Francis, who had been married to her sister Claude.

† An abstract of this report, made by one of the Emperor's secretaries, is in the volume.

1528.

though he does not vouch for the truth, that the last instructions received by Lautrech from France are to obey the Pope's orders implicitly.

As far as he (Sanchez) can gather from his conversations with the two Papal Nuncios, and from other sources, the Pope is more incensed (*indignado*) than ever with the Duke of Ferrara.

(*Common writing*.) It is publicly said here, at Venice, that the King of France is collecting large sums of money, and that he is to levy 2,000,000 cr. on the clergy of his dominions.

(*Cipher*.) The English ambassador residing here would only take 2,000 cr. from the merchant mentioned in a former letter, notwithstanding that his credit amounted to 20,000.

(*Common writing*.) Antonio de Leyva is very spirited (*está gallardo*), and cares little for the enemy in his front.

The Datary (Gian Matheo) is in Venice, on the way, as it is said, to his own church [Verona]. Cannot say whether this last report is true or not. Others say that the Signory will not allow him to go to his see, but amuse him (*le entretienen*) with fine words.

Hears that the Imperial army has quitted Rome and gone beyond Viterbo. May it be so! Lautrech is at Faenza, and it is not known for certain what route he will take. Most think that he will go towards Naples. On his march he took Imola from one Sassatello,* and gave it to the Pope's Nuncio. He is to do the same with Arimini (Rimini) when he gets possession of it, and yet the Venetians still keep Ravenna and Cervia.

The ambassador whom the Signory has appointed to go to the Pope is Micer Gaspar Contarini, the same who was once in Spain. The Archbishop of Manfredonia [Cardinal] Sepon-tino (Giovanni Maria di Monte), who came here to demand the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia, has gone away with an unsatisfactory answer (*no bien despachado*).—Venice, 19th January 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (f. 72). pp. 8.

19 Jan. 293. LOPE HURTADO, Imperial Ambassador in Portugal, to
S. E. L. 368,
f. 199.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 12.

The King of France has sent a herald to this King, demanding the French vessels that have been seized. The King, (João II.,) wishes to make his peace with France.—[Almeirim], 19th January 1529.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

* Perhaps Zuanne Saxadello, mentioned in Sanuto's Diary. See Rawdon Brown, *State Papers and Manuscripts*, &c., vol. iv., p. 70.

1528.

21 Jan. 294. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 74.

The mutiny of the Germans described in his last despatch, [of the 17th] was at last put down with some difficulty by the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon). After offering them two ducats per man, and something more to those serving at double pay (*á las pagas dobles*), the Prince proposed going himself to Naples, accompanied by some of their own captains and deputies, and seeing what measures could be taken for the settlement of their arrears. The Prince only asked for a delay of 14 days to go thither and back. The Germans after deliberating for three consecutive days, during which they took possession by force of all the wine in Campo di Fiore, have again met to-day, and resolved to wait 10 more days, on condition that at the expiration of that time they be paid, or else allowed to go home. As some of them might be tempted to take service with the enemy, the Prince and the rest of the generals have approved of those terms, as some time may thereby be gained, and a great misfortune averted. He starts to-morrow for Naples, accompanied by Don Hernando de Gonzaga and certain captains and deputies of the Germans, among whom some money is to be distributed to-day.

The Marquis del Guasto and Alarcon are expected here from hour to hour. If they come empty-handed no good can be done, for certainly these Germans will no longer trust to words and promises, which have been so frequently broken.

Cardinal [Pompeo] Colonna has not dared return to his own palace [at Rome], but has taken up his quarters at a villa three leagues from hence, to act in case of need.

Pero Ruiz de Alarcon, now residing at Orbiato, as agent of this Imperial army, writes that the French there are vaunting themselves loudly (*bravean*), and that there is danger of the Pope leaning to their side. He adds, nevertheless, that the Pope has actually sent orders to the people of Civit  Castellana to surrender immediately to the Imperialists, and is besides under the impression that the 145,000 ducats owing to this army have already been paid by his treasurers here. As such is not the case, and there seems to be no chance of the 50,000 promised for the 17th of this month, and already due, being paid, His Holiness must have been misinformed, or else is trying to gain time and deceive us.

The same Ruiz de Alarcon writes to say that the French in Orbiato threaten that Lautrech will be soon at Forlin (Foligno) to prevent the surrender of that town to the Imperialists as agreed, and will thence take the road to the kingdom [of Naples], of which the French already consider themselves masters. Indeed, King Francis, they say, had written to Lautrech urging him to take that route, and, if necessary, give battle to our army. It is not probable that Lautrech, if he has received such orders, will venture to execute them. Such, however, is the general report at

1528.

Orbieto, and also that Count Pedro Navarro is coming in the van of the French army with 4,000 archers (*ballesteros*) from Gascony, a force of which our 6,000 Spanish and German hackbutiers can stand in no fear. Our present army consists of 18,000 men, Spaniards, Germans, and Italians, and besides Don Ugo writes from Naples that he has ordered the men-at-arms to join their companions at Velletri.

Leyva is doing wonders in the Milanese; he has lately recovered from the enemy Vigebano, Novara, and Cona (Cuneo?),* relieved Lecco, and done otherwise good work. He is actually master of the field, so that if this army went thither, short work would be made of the confederates.

With the letter of Pero Ruiz de Alarcon came a brief from the Pope to Mons. de Vere (Veyre), inviting him to his court (Orbieto), and enclosing also a safe-conduct. It is not likely that Mr. de Vere (Veyre), who is already *en route* for Spain, to inform His Imperial Majesty of the state of affairs here, will retrace his steps and accept the invitation.

Advices from Venice, sent by Alonso Sanchez, state that the Pope has refused to ratify the treaty made with the Duke of Ferrara, on the plea that he (the Pope) will not join the League. As the Duke is not bound to furnish men or money to the French unless his treaty with them be ratified, there is hope of his declaring again in our favour. The Pope pretends that Cardinal Cibo had no power to treat with him (the Duke), and that if the promises then made are not fulfilled he himself is not bound.

News has come that 100,000 ducats have been received at Innspruch, and that the King of Hungary (Ferdinand) is to raise 10,000 foot and 4,000 horse to reinforce this Italian army.—Rome, 21st of January 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Cesæ. Cathcæ. Mti."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. From Rome. From Perez. 21st January."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

21 Jan. 295. DON MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING OF HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 188.

On the 22nd of August and 9th of September full answer was given to His Highness' inquiries respecting the Milan question and the Emperor's views on the subject. Since then a good deal of opposition has been offered by the ambassadors of France, England, and Venice. The former, out of caution, and that they might better ascertain the Emperor's intentions respecting the Duchy, had said, in the first instance, that their King would not object to any appointment that might be made by the Emperor. Now they declare that he (the

* Thus in the original and in its duplicate under fol. 76. Perhaps Como meant.

1528.

King) will not consent to the Duchy passing to His Highness, or being retained by the Emperor, as it is against the wish of the Italian League, who insist upon having Francesco Sforza reinstated. This being one of the conditions of the peace, which is actually being negotiated, some of the Imperial councillors were of opinion that it ought to be accepted, but the Emperor would not hear of it, and remained firm to his purpose. The death of Mons. de Bourbon, and the threatened invasion of the Duchy and of the rest of Italy by the French, seemed to him, as well as to His Highness' friends, a most favourable opportunity for bestowing the investiture on the Prince best calculated to defend Milan and other Imperial dominions in Italy.

Has received no answer to his despatches of the 15th of October, which Clabijo and Costilla took, wherein he (Salinas) urged the expediency of at once crossing over to Italy, and relieving the Duchy. Knows that both those messengers reached [Prague] in safety, and yet is ignorant of His Highness' decision on this most important point. Has since written to inform His Highness of the state of the negotiations. Both France and England demand peace, and this will doubtless be made sooner or later, according as the state of affairs in Italy may be. A memorandum (*apuntamiento*) was drawn at Palencia,* and a term of 20 days fixed, which the King of France has allowed to pass without coming to a decision. Here [at Burgos] new negotiations have been opened with the French and English ambassadors conjointly; but instead of improving, matters are growing worse every day, because England seems now to make common cause with France. The ambassadors of that country talk of challenging (*desafiar*) the Emperor in their master's name, and are every day expected to declare against him (the Emperor), who has done and is doing everything in his power to ensure peace; but since they wish for war, they shall have it, for the Emperor feels by no means inclined to make any further concessions, and is already preparing himself for that event.

Such being the state of things both here and in Italy, the Emperor is about to send one of the gentlemen of his household† on a special mission for the purpose of consulting His Highness as to what had better be done under the present circumstances, and asking his advice about the Milan question. The whole thing is kept so secret that not one of the councillors here knows of it, he (Salinas) being the only person to whom the Emperor has deigned to communicate the substance of the message. The gentleman in question is to leave in five or six days by a sea route. As he might, however, delay his departure, or be longer on the road than

* The Emperor arrived at Palencia on the 26th of August, and stopped there until the 10th of October. In the Itinerary published by Mr. Bradford (p. 492), the name of that city is corrupted into Valenza.

† Mons. de Montfort.

1528.

is expected, should this letter arrive first, His Highness is earnestly requested not to let anyone know the nature of the message.

His Imperial Majesty is everywhere raising funds to meet the expenses of the war. Has not heard yet of the receipt of the bills for 100,000 ducats sent last year, and is very anxious to know how the money has been spent. Is now sending to Italy a member of his Privy Council to attend to business there. He had first selected Don Juan Manuel, who would have been a very fit man for the purpose, but he has declined on account of his age and the bad prospect of affairs [in Italy]. Chancellor (Gattinara) has tried to get himself appointed, but has hitherto been unsuccessful, and the truth is that he no longer enjoys the Emperor's confidence. No one knows for certain who will be sent; some people think that it will be Mons. de Prat (Praet). Should have preferred Don Juan; but whoever goes on that mission is sure to promote His Highness' interests in Italy, for such is the Emperor's avowed intention.—Burgos, 21st January 1528.

P.S.—To-day, after the above was written, the ambassadors of France* went to the Palace and formally took leave of His Imperial Majesty. It is generally believed that they will, ere their departure, make some sort of challenge in the name of the King, their master. The English† are expected to do the same. The sons of France, however, have been removed to the fortress of Simancas. These are by no means signs of peace.—Date *ut supra*.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

21 Jan. 296. The SAME to SECRETARY CASTILLEJO.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 190.

The enclosed for His Highness will inform him of the step taken by the French and English ambassadors at this court. They took leave of His Imperial Majesty this morning, and were told that to-morrow, the 22nd, they might go. They are to be accompanied by the ambassadors of Venice, Florence, and the Duke of Milan.—Burgos, 21st January 1528.

Addressed: "To Secretary Christoval deCastillejo."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

22 Jan. 297. The EMPEROR to the CORREGIDOR OF GUIPUSCOA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 80.

The Kings of France and England in their own name and in that of the confederated powers, after having long made war upon us in Italy, have this day without any formal declaration, and counter to the faith which the King of France as our captive and prisoner owed us, publicly challenged us. On the receipt of this letter you will place all the towns, districts, and

* Jean de Calvimont, second President of the Parliament of Bordeaux, the Bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont), and Secretary Gilbert Bayard, generally called L'Elu Bayard.

† Ghinucci, Bishop of Worcester, and Dr. Edward Lee.

1528.

coasts under your command in a state of defence, so as to meet and repel any invasion of the enemy.

The Kings of France and England having of themselves fixed a term of 40 days, during which our subjects trading with or residing in their respective kingdoms may withdraw with their merchandise,—provided, however, the same is done in our dominions,—We have accepted this on condition that the said term shall commence from the day of such formal notification to our own subjects trading in those parts, as well to their subjects residing in Spain, so that no one can allege ignorance and incur the penalties attached thereto; but as neither the French nor the English herald, who in the name of their respective masters declared war against us, seemed to have power to accept this condition or fix a day for the simultaneous promulgation of such edicts, the matter remains, as it were in suspense. We have requested them to write home for instructions. Pending the answer, which We hope will be favourable, you will by way of precaution lay an embargo on all French and English vessels lying in those ports, as well as on the merchandise and property of all subjects belonging to those nations, including Venice, Florence, and the rest of the powers confederated against us, so that they may not sail for their respective countries before knowing the day on which the stipulated term is really to begin both for our subjects and theirs.—Burgos, 22nd January 1528.

Signed: “Charles.”

Post datam et firmatam.—As the French and the rest of our enemies have a large force at sea, and will no doubt try to inflict all possible harm on the coasts of this our kingdom, it behoves us to do the same on theirs and their subjects. You will, therefore, on the receipt of this letter, inquire whether in the ports of that province there be sailors or ship-owners willing to take letters of mark, and if so, make such arrangements, and stipulate such conditions in our Imperial name, as to secure their private co-operation in the forthcoming warfare.—*Date ut supra*.

Countersigned: “Soria.”

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 2.

23 Jan. **298.** NEWS from the COURT OF SPAIN.*

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 78.

After a good deal of negotiation, during which the Emperor, our Lord, acceded to almost every term proposed by the ambassadors of France,† England, and the League, there has

* This paper has no date or signature, but must have been written on the 23rd or 24th of January, since the challenge was delivered on St. Vincent's day, Wednesday, the 22nd. By whom written, and to whom addressed, is not easy to determine, but as the narrative is in Spanish, and evidently by an eye-witness, I am inclined to believe that it was sent by Martin de Salinas, the ambassador of Ferdinand, King of Hungary, at the Court of Charles, to his friend and correspondent, Secretary Christoval de Castillejo. See the letters of that ambassador under Nos. 295 and 296.

† Mons. de Calvimont and the rest. See above, p. 548, note.

1528.

been a sudden rupture of the conference, on the question as to which of the parties was to fulfil its engagements first. In consequence of which the ambassadors of France and England took leave of His Imperial Majesty on the 18th ult., and were followed by those of Venice and Florence.

Wednesday, the 22nd of January, at seven o'clock a.m., there came to the Palace one king-at-arms of the King of France, and another of the King of England, with their coats of arms in their hands. The Emperor being made aware of this, sat on his throne in a large hall, surrounded by such of his councillors and courtiers as happened to be at Burgos. The two kings-at-arms approached the throne through ranks of courtiers formed on each side, and having knelt on the platform, where the Emperor sat on his throne, asked permission to deliver their message, which was immediately granted, when the herald of England (Clarencieux) spoke in French as follows:—

“The King of France and England, my master, says that he has for a long time past endeavoured to make peace between his cousin of France and Your Imperial Majesty. That peace, however, has always been opposed by Your Majesty, thus allowing the enemies of our Faith to conquer Rhodes and the kingdom of Hungary. How much these successes of the Infidel have turned to the detriment of the Christian religion needs no demonstration, nor is it necessary to add how much better it would have been for all the Christian Princes to unite together, wage war on the Turk, and wrest from him the holy city of Jerusalem.

“Your Majesty has imprisoned the Pope; the Imperial armies have sacked Rome, plundered churches and monasteries, treated with derision and contempt the innumerable holy relics there kept, slain or robbed the princes of the Church, such as cardinals, archbishops, patriarchs, bishops, and other prelates and ecclesiastics, committed outrages of all kinds in nunneries and convents, and, what is still worse, all this has been done by the hands of Lutherans, and at the instigation of their ministers. Your Imperial Majesty has besides kept the Duchy of Milan in a state of commotion, plundered and destroyed the whole of Lombardy and Italy.

“Your Imperial Majesty owes to the King of England, my master, 1,400,000 ducats, *i.e.*, 400,000 lent on various occasions, and the remainder as forfeit for not fulfilling these sacred obligations at various times. And yet, notwithstanding all this, the King, my master, has laboured with all his might to make peace between Your Majesty and the King, his cousin (meaning the King of France), in order that Christianity might thereby be exalted, and the Infidel Turk triumphantly driven back, &c. Your Imperial Majesty has refused to accept the reasonable conditions offered at various times by our Holy Father, as well as by the said King, his cousin, and by the rest of the Italian potentates, who, for the sake of universal peace among Christians, were willing to waive a

1528.

portion of their rights. The King, my master, in particular, though he well knew the justification of the King of France, his cousin, was ready to make for the welfare of Christianity any sacrifice of his own advantages ; but since all his efforts have been vain, he now challenges Your Imperial Majesty and declares himself his enemy, intending to make war by fire and sword (*á fuego y sangre*), by sea and land, unless within a period of 40 days, to commence from this hour, Your Imperial Majesty consents to release the Pope from captivity, restore to liberty the sons of France, pay the aforesaid 1,400,000 ducats, besides fulfilling other conditions previously stipulated."

Immediately after which the French king-at-arms (Guienne), who had the whole time been on his knees, got up and began to read a long challenge, couched nearly in the same terms as that of the English herald, adding that the Emperor unduly retained the sons of France in his power, notwithstanding the King's offer to pay for their ransom the sum demanded, owing to which he (the King of France) joined his cousin of England in the challenge. The reading over both heralds, put on their coats-of-arms, which they had till then carried on their [left] arms.* Both the letters read on this occasion bore the date of November.

Then the Emperor, our lord and master, answered the said challenge by saying that the King of England was probably ignorant of what had passed during the negotiations for peace, which he (the Emperor) had promoted with all his might. He thought that as soon as the King of England became acquainted with the real truth of the case, as it had been fully explained to his ambassadors there present, he could not fail to see that the King of France had always been, and was still, the sole disturber of peace, and the one who was trying to procure the help and assistance of the Infidels [against Christians]. He had no doubt that the King of England, better informed, would no longer retain his opinion respecting him ; if he did, and declared war, the Emperor was ready to defend himself, and trusted to God for victory over all his enemies.

To the French king-at-arms His Imperial Majesty replied : "Your master's conduct is really strange. After seven years' incessant war, during which he has done nothing else but break his most solemn word and violate treaties, he now sends to challenge us, a thing which he is not entitled to do, since he is virtually our prisoner of war, and must continue as such, as long as the conditions on which he obtained his liberation remain unfulfilled.

* "Se levantaron las cotas," says the original ; but Sandoval, *Hist. del Emperador Carlos V.*, lib. xvi., has "Estavan los reyes de armas en el cabo de la sala con sus cotas de armas en los braços izquierdos ;" and lower down, "El dicho Guiena tomó su cota d'armas, que como dicho es tenia en su brazo izquierdo y se la vistió."

1528.

"As to the ravages and disorders committed by our troops at Rome, not only were they without our consent or approval but entirely against our will. They were the acts of undisciplined soldiers, over whom their captains had no control. That We felt as much as anyone the insubordination of our troops on that occasion, and the outrages committed at Rome, our conduct since that time has sufficiently proved, for our only thought has been to procure the Pope's release, which has since been effected, and to repair the damage inflicted by the soldiers."

As a proof of his assertion, the Emperor caused his last treaty with the Pope to be exhibited, after which he concluded by saying: "If after so many good acts as We have done towards the King of France, tolerating his misdeeds, &c., he wishes to become our enemy in the manner just expressed by his herald, although in reality he has never ceased to be such, he must be told that We hold him in contempt, and trust to God that He will help us in this contest, as He has done hitherto, and though he may not again fall a prisoner in our hands, that We shall come out victorious, and destroy him and all those who espouse his cause."

That very day His Imperial Majesty gave orders for the ambassadors of France, Venice, and Florence to leave his Court. They were conducted by Lope Hurtado de Mendoza under a strong cavalry escort to a fortress called Poza, nine leagues from this place. There they are to remain until the Imperial ambassadors in France and England are allowed to return [to Spain]. Those of the English King are still in this town.

I have been told by the Chancellor [Mercurino de Gattinara] that a full account of the whole transaction is now being drawn up, and that it will be translated into Spanish, and perhaps also printed. If so, I am to have a copy, which I shall not fail to forward to you.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 7.

- 24 Jan. 299. ANDREA DEL BURGO* to the EMPEROR.
S. E. L. 1,553,
f. 211. Encloses news brought by a servant of the bailiff (*bailli*) d'Aymont, who was 15 days in the French camp.—Ferrara, 24th January 1528.

Spanish. Copy. p. 1.

- 24 Jan. 300. FRENCH NEWS.
S. E. L. 1,553,
f. 112. The King of France has sent one of his agents to Lautrec and to the Pope. He assures the Duke of Ferrara that the

* The same individual called elsewhere *Borgo*, and *del Borgho*, and also André de *Burgos* by Guicciardini (*Storia d'Italia*, lib. xviii.), as if he were a Spaniard, and a native of that city, whereas he was an Italian by birth, in the service of Archduke Ferdinand, and was now resident at the court of Alphonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, for the Emperor.

1528.

Pope will fulfill his obligations towards him. If the Duke is obstinate and refuses to execute the treaty, he will have occasion to regret it afterwards, &c.

Lautrec says that the Imperial troops in Rome are in the greatest possible confusion.

The Duke makes difficulties about paying money to the League.

Latin. Copy. p. 1.

25 Jan. **301.** KNIGHT COMMANDER LARROSA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 82.

The Viceroy of Naples, Don Charles [de Lannoy], gave him in charge the command of Gaeta, promising to supply him with money, provisions, and men, wherewith he might defend so important a city. Eight days after this came the news of the Viceroy's death. Applied for help to Don Ugo [de Moncada], his successor. His answer was that he could not assist him in the least, but he offered to come personally to his aid whenever he should be attacked by the French, God permitted, however, that he (the Commander), though entirely destitute of means and provisions, and having scarcely a few score of men under his orders, should be able to raise a force of 1,200, and for some time of 19,000 men, with whom he not only succeeded in defending Gaeta against the Prince of Melfa (Amalfi) and against Don Fadrique Gaetano, sent by Lautrech with a considerable force, but was in a condition to remit money and provisions to Naples. All this was accomplished through the seizure of certain ships laden with corn, which came into port a few months ago. He made a contract with the owners to have them paid in Sicily, at the rate of eight carlini [the bushel], whilst he himself sold it at 12 and sometimes at 14 and 15. With the profits of this transaction he (the Commander) was enabled to send to Naples nearly 42,000 ducats, which were of great help to the Imperial army. Has spent in the service all his substance and that of his friends and relatives, so that he is poor and in debt. Begs for a suitable pension out of the sequestered Angevine estates (*estados de ynguinios*).—Naples, 25th January 1528.

Signed: "El Comendador A.^o de la Rrosa."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

28 Jan. **302.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 87.

Wrote last on the 19th and 27th inst. by two different ways. Since then news has come that Lautrech is marching towards Naples, and has already reached Pesaro. This Signory has sent him some vessels laden with timber and other materials (*otras xarcias*) wherewith to construct bridges for the passage of the Tronto. (*Cipher:*) It is also rumoured, though he



1528.

(Sanchez) attaches no faith to the report, that the Pope is urging Lautrech on, and that this general has despatched Guido Rangone and another of his officers to Rome to ask him for money.

The Germans, as the report goes, are still at Rome in a state of mutiny, and doing all manner of mischief. Numbers of them go about the streets, call at the best mansions in the city, and if the residents do not compound for a sum of money, set fire to them. In this way several fine buildings have been wantonly destroyed. They, moreover, are daily raising new claims for pay, and threatening to sack the whole of Rome a second time, and then go home or take service with the enemy.

The Marquis [del Guasto] with part of the Spanish and Italian infantry, and the whole of the light horse, has gone to the Abruzzi to defend those frontiers.

Micer Andrea del Burgo writes that Lautrech's army is by no means efficient or numerous enough to cope with the Imperialists in Rome, if the Germans would only do their duty and meet Lautrech and his Frenchmen. Yet the general opinion here (in Venice) is that the Imperialists, owing to the above circumstance and to their general destitution, will not oppose that general's march, and that once in Naples the whole of the kingdom will submit to him. For this purpose the French fleet is to blockade that port, and this Signory is said to have sent orders to their proveditor at Corfú to join in the undertaking.

Leyva has not yet answered his (Sanchez's) letter on the subject of the new German levies. Two great objections are raised against the speedy arrival of those reinforcements. One—perhaps the principal—is the total want of provisions to feed so many thousands on their arrival in Italy. True it is that Count Lodovico Lodrone has gone from Ferrara to Mantua for the sole purpose of inducing the Marquis of that city, Gonzaga, to furnish a certain quantity of provisions at the passage of the troops through his territory; that Micer Andrea del Borgo has also spoken to the Duke of Ferrara on the subject, promising that whatever wheat is now supplied to the Germans will be faithfully returned from the Emperor's dominions; but neither the Marquis [of Mantua] nor the Duke, to whom a similar offer has been made, seems inclined to grant this request, both having hitherto answered in general and vague terms.

The other great objection is that, even in the event of the Germans getting provisions on their passage through the Mantuan and Ferrarese territories, no good can be expected therefrom unless they bring money with them, as the lansquenets will not fight without pay, as was the case when George Fruntsperg came over. Has no doubt that Leyva, if consulted, will prefer having a good sum to pay his own men to being encumbered with so many mouths to feed.

1528.

Cannot guess what decision the King of Hungary will come to, but certainly, unless fresh remittances come from Spain, it will be impossible for him to furnish funds for the new levies, whereby the confusion and disorder prevailing in the Imperial army will naturally increase.

In his (Sanchez's) opinion a middle course ought to be adopted. If a passage for 4,000 or 6,000 infantry through the land of the Grisons could be immediately obtained, and at the same time 50,000 ducats remitted to Leyva, so that he might keep his ground until the next harvest is in, there would be every chance of the Emperor's affairs improving considerably. Three or four months after this the rest of the German reinforcements might come down, when some of the Italian potentates, now wavering, might desert the League.

Hears that the Pope is still very much incensed against the Duke of Ferrara, who, he says, has not yet given Lautrech anything of what he promised. The Duke, on the other hand, says that Lautrec has not fulfilled his engagements to him, and that in consequence of the Pope having peremptorily refused to ratify the treaty, he considers himself at liberty to do as he pleases.

(*Common writing* :) This Signory is intent upon retaining Ravenna and Cervia as long as possible. They make, as is their wont, very fine promises which they will not keep. Their ambassador to the Pope has not yet taken his departure. —Venice, 28th January 1528.

Signed : "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed : "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

29 Jan. 303.

The EMPEROR to PROTHONOTARY CARACCILOLO.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 89.

The negotiations for the peace between us, the Pope, the King of France, and the rest of the confederates have been suddenly broken off. On the 22nd inst. the Kings of France and England solemnly declared war against us by means of their respective heralds. We enclose a copy of our answer to their challenge, that you may see how, trusting in God's bounty and the justice of our cause, We are ready to take up arms for the defence of our honour and reputation. In order to ensure the safety of our ambassadors at the courts of France, England, and Venice, We have caused those of the said countries now residing with us to be detained until We hear of ours having been allowed to depart unmolested.—Burgos, 29th January 1528.

Signed : "Charles."

Addressed : "To Prothonotary Marino Caracciolo, of our Council, and our ambassador at Milan."

Spanish. Original minute. p. 1.

1528.

29 Jan.

304. NEWS from ROME.S. E. L. 1,553.
f. 212.

The Imperialists still occupy the city. The news spread of their having left proves to be untrue; only a few went away to procure better quarters.

The Pope is reported to be very angry with them, since in spite of their having received the money demanded, in the manner too proposed by the Council of Naples, they still occupy Rome, and show no signs of evacuating it, as promised in the capitulation. The Pope, however, is not more pleased with the League.

As he (the Pope) was sending one of his cardinals (Campeggio) to Rome with a safe-conduct from the Spaniards, it appears that both these and the German lansquenets seized him and made him prisoner. The cause of his arrest is unknown.

A servant of Cavalier Casal, the English orator, arrived at Ferrara on the 29th of January from Orvetto (Orbietto). He says that his master is going thither on business to the Pope, and will then proceed to Venice.

The said servant is also bearer of the following news: Monsignore (*sic*) de Lautrech was on the 26th at Fano. He had abandoned all idea of marching on Rome, and was about to undertake Naples, where he hoped to do some good,

Don Ugo de Moncada was at Aquila with 400 horse.

At Rome a review had been held, when it was found that there were only 3,500 lansquenets and 4,000 Spaniards, besides a few horse.

The Germans refused to quit Rome unless they were paid their arrears.

(*Cipher*;) The Marquis of Saluzzo (Michael Antonio) had earnestly requested the informer (*epso mesmo*), to hasten to Mr. de Lautrec's camp, and certify him that Coradino, the colonel of the lansquenets, had agreed to desert with seven companies (*banderas*) of Germans.

Such is the news brought by the servant of the English ambassador, yet wise people imagine that the information is either untrue or greatly exaggerated, especially as regards the numbers of the Imperialists [at Rome].

The same informer says that Mr. de Lautrec was well aware of a new army being in course of preparation in Germany, but that he thought nothing of it, as he said it would be a long time before it could be got ready, and in the meanwhile the army of the League might accomplish great things.

News from Orbietto brought by a different and trusty channel state that the Imperialists were still at Rome. The Germans complained that the Spaniards had cheated them of one month's pay. The Marquis del Guasto had not brought from Naples sufficient money to pay the Germans, and had returned thither for the rest.

An orator from Florence, named Francisco Valor, has lately come to reside at the court of this Duke (Ferrara). The governors of that city are greatly attached to France. One

1528.

thing, however, prevents them from showing their sympathy, namely, the news of the armaments now being made in Germany. Many affect not to believe in it, as if the stores of provisions now collected were not a sufficient proof of the lansquenets coming.

(*Cipher*;) The 50 lances which the Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) promised to send to the League have left for their destination. He (the Marquis) could not do otherwise. We shall soon see how matters turn out.

(*Common writing*;) Fifty horsemen have passed through Modena, escorting money for Lautrec's camp. The amount of the sum is not stated.

The contingent promised by this Duke* is quite ready; but the French do not move on, as was expected; neither have they received the promised money, owing to which the Duke has despatched another ambassador to Lautrech to ascertain the cause of the delay.

Addressed: "Cesar. Cath. Mati., &c."

Italian. Original partly in cipher. pp. 3.

29 Jan. 305. The EMPEROR to SECRETARY PEREZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 90.

Same circular letter with the following superscription:

Post datam et firmatam.—After the above was written your despatch in date of the 9th December has come to hand. A full answer is being prepared, which will be forwarded very soon, so that you may be apprised of our determinations.—*Date ut supra*.

Spanish. Original minute. p. 1.

29 Jan. 306. The EMPEROR to ALONSO SANCHEZ, his Ambassador at Venice.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 90.

Duplicate of the above circular letter with the addition of the following paragraph:

We inform you of all that has happened, as well as of the detention of the ambassadors of France, England, and Venice, who certainly will not be allowed to quit this country until We hear of your having reached the frontier of our dominions.—*Date ut supra*.

Spanish. Original minute. p. 1.

29 Jan. 307. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 91.

Wrote by duplicate on the 21st, announcing the departure of the Prince of Orange, who started for Naples on the 22nd, accompanied by the colonel of the Germans and by certain

* This paper, headed *Avvisi di Roma*, has no other date but that of the 29th January. It was probably drawn at Ferrara by Andrea del Borgo, who about this time resided at the Duke's Court as ambassador of the Emperor and of his brother the King of Bohemia and Hungary.

1528.

captains and deputies of their nation. No sooner had he left Rome than, regardless of their promise, some of the lansquenets determined to pay a visit to certain farms (*grangerias*) and country houses in the vicinity of this capital, and plunder their contents, which they did, killing three Spaniards who happened to be there; after which they went to Marino, a town belonging to Ascanio Colonna, four miles hence, where they committed the same atrocities, sacking the place and ill-treating the women. When Hieronimo Moron and Juan de Urbina, who had remained in command of the Imperial forces, heard of this, they called upon the treasurer of these Germans, now acting as their colonel, and other captains who happened to be with him at the time, and complained bitterly of the want of faith of their comrades, who, after promising to wait patiently for the Prince's return, had set out on a marauding expedition. The treasurer and the captains acknowledged the justice of the charge, and having summoned a meeting of all the Germans at Campo di Fiore, resolved that the guilty parties should be ordered to return to Rome immediately, and if they refused, that a force should go out against them and treat them as enemies. Meanwhile all the plunder that could be found here, such as cattle, wearing apparel, and so forth, has been faithfully returned to the owners, with the exception of a few articles that could not be traced, and the wine and other drinks (*brevage*), which they keep no doubt as the price of their labour in such an expedition.

When the news arrived that the French were at Arrimine (Rimini) in Romagna, the Siennese ambassadors residing here (in Rome) asked the Prince of Orange to give them 2,000 men for the defence of their city. The Prince readily granted their request, on condition of Sienna paying the customary stipend, which was agreed. But now, since the Prince's departure the ambassadors say that they must consult their superiors first. Moron and Urbina are of opinion that, whether the Siennese wish it or not, a detachment of troops must needs be sent to defend their city in case of an attack, as this is likely to add to the reputation of the Imperial arms. They have therefore decided to send Colonel Fabricio Marramao thither with his 2,000 Italians.

A letter has nevertheless come from Aquila stating that the Siennese had already, previous to their application, agreed with the French to give them provisions and passage through their territory on condition of their not entering the city; but this intelligence can hardly be correct, and therefore not a word has been said about it to the ambassadors.

Other letters in date of the 22nd, also from Aquila, announce that the Marquis of Saluzzo with part of the confederated forces was five or six leagues from that city. The people, however, expected soon to have a reinforcement of four companies (*banderas*) of Spanish infantry which Don Ugo was

1528.

to send from Naples. May this succour come in time to save the place.

As the Neapolitan treasury is willing to accept bills to the amount of 105,000 ducats, and besides a banker [of that city] has promised to pay 80,000 more, and a son of Agustin Guis, now here [at Rome], offers to advance 25,000, provided an equivalent estate is made over to him in the kingdom of Naples, there is every probability of the Germans being induced to leave. This would become a certainty if the remittances in money announced from Spain for the middle or end of this month should come, for then all our care and anxiety would be at an end.

No news whatever from the Pope's court. Civittà Castellana has not yet been surrendered. The general opinion is that His Holiness is putting this off, as well as the payment of his debt, because he hopes the Emperor will free him from both engagements, having, as he has, sent him a message to that effect. He has lately created another cardinal, one of the Grimani, at Venice, who, they say, has already paid 30,000 ducats for his hat.

Some days ago the news came to this place (Rome) that about 6,000 infantry and some cavalry of the League had come on this side of the Tiber, to certain villages called Tibuli (Tivoli), Vico Vado, and Palestrina, and that both the Abbot of Farfa and Stefano Colonna accompanied them for the purpose, as they say, of recovering their own estates, the latter claiming Palestrina, whilst the former pretends to have a right to the Duchy of Tagliacozzo. Hitherto the news has not been confirmed, but when it is, troops will be detached against them, the Germans themselves having shown every disposition to march in pursuit of these marauders unconditionally, and without waiting to be paid. Indeed the spirit of the lansquenets has so much improved of late, that they declare their only wish is to live and die with the Spaniards, and do their pleasure. They have been so unusually amiable of late that the Imperial commanders have not hesitated to thank them in the Emperor's name, and the result has been their sending a message to their colonel at Naples, requesting him to come back as soon as possible, as they are determined to march against the confederates. Moron and Urbina have likewise written to the Prince and Don Ugo to acquaint them with this sudden change for the better.

It is generally believed here that the [Pope has already removed his court to Ancona, leaving behind 2,000 hackbutiers to defend Orbieto and other places [in Romagna]. This fact, coupled with the approach of the confederated forces this way, and the somewhat vague report that Lautrech with the main body has already reached Pesaro, bodes no good, especially as it is evident that the Pope will not fulfil any of his promises. Politicians here think that Lautrech would never come this way unless he had previously the Pope's consent. It is, moreover, quite clear that the object

1528.

of His Holiness in going to Ancona is to be closer to Venice and take refuge in that city, should things not turn out as he expects.

Meanwhile the Signory retains possession of Ravenna and Cervia, and only the other day tried to get into Ancona. There is a report that at Cervia they took 80,000 ducats' worth of salt, on the plea that he (the Pope) had given an equal quantity to the Emperor, with the produce of which he had made war upon them.

The proposed agreement (*concierto*) with the Abbot of Farfa came to nothing, and is no longer entertained. Neither has his secretary returned from his visit to Cardinal Colonna; on the contrary, he keeps doing us all the harm he can, by land as well as by sea. He has now two armed boats (*barcas armadas*) at the mouth of the river [Tiber], and seizes all the merchant vessels bound to and fro for Naples. He is as bad a neighbour as he can be, and must be chastised one of these days, when he considers himself most secure. At present there is little doubt that he and Stefano Colonna, as above stated, form part of the force that crossed the Tiber the other day. It consists only of 200 horse and 1,000 hackbutiers, 100 of whom they have left at Valmontone. The rest of the force is marching towards Salmonetta, their object being to get, if they can, possession of the ammunition coming from Naples for the artillery of this army; but as four companies (*banderas*) of hackbutiers have been detached in that direction, and two more are quartered at Velletri, besides the men-at-arms, it is to be hoped that their plans will be defeated.

Cardinal Colonna has applied for permission to one of his captains to raise 150 Spanish hackbutiers. His request was immediately granted, and we have sent him word that Colonel Fabricio Marramao would shortly leave for Palestrina with his 2,000 Italians (the Siennese not having thought proper to accept his services), and that if more forces were required to defend that and other towns in his estate, the whole of this Imperial army was ready to march to his assistance and that of the Colonnese.

Until now we are not certain that the forces of the League have marched, as was stated, in the direction of Salmoneta, nor is it known how far the four companies of infantry which left this capital (Rome) the day before yesterday have proceeded on their way. It appears that the enemy has passed his time in taking possession of certain villages of one Giovanne Battista Conte who is with them. As to the Abbot of Farfa, it is asserted that he is not with them, though some of his retainers are in the confederated camp. Stefano Colonna is at Vico Vado with 800 foot and 200 horse, waiting for the Marquis of Saluzzo.

The treasurer of the Germans, who has the command in the absence of their colonel, and a few more captains of the same nation called the other day on the Legate, and

1528.

complained that the non-fulfilment by the Pope of the stipulated conditions was the only cause of their remaining so long at Rome, and might perhaps lead to the utter ruin and destruction of this city. The Cardinal tried to exculpate the Pope as much as he could, by saying that out of the 26,000 ducats wanting for the complement of the 145,000 promised by His Holiness, 20,000 were to be paid by Gonzaga, as previously agreed with Cardinal Colonna. The remainder the Pope was ready to pay at once. With regard to the 50,000 due on the 17th inst., the Legate observed that the Pope was not bound to give them until the Imperialists had actually evacuated Rome. As may be supposed, the Germans were dissatisfied with this answer of the Legate, but as the men are now better inclined than they were some time ago, it is to be hoped they will not change their determination.

Greater precautions are being taken, the guard has been doubled, and sentries placed on this side of the bridge, and indeed so close to Sanct Angelo that the Legate has sent to complain. Moron and Juan de Urbina are extremely vigilant; so is Cardinal [Pompeo], Colonna and his two brothers Vespasiano and Ascanio. Every one of them deserves that His Imperial Majesty should write in acknowledgment of their services.

The Marquis del Guasto is daily expected from Naples. It is said that he brings money for the use of this army. The Duke of Malfe (Amalfi) accompanies him as captain of 100 horsemen mounted Burgundian fashion (*á la borgoñona*), with whom he is to serve the Siennese.

No certain news has yet reached us respecting Lautrech's arrival at Pesaro, or the Pope's journey to Ancona, alluded to at the beginning of this despatch.—Rome, 28th January 1528.

Post datam.—Reliable intelligence has just been received respecting the late inroad made by the confederates. It turns out that a certain Cesaro Gaetano, lord of Felicin, formerly attached to the Colonnese, who made much of him, has suddenly turned round and gone over to the French. He has lately taken a town called Anania, not far from Palestrina, and belonging to the same Giovanne Battista Conte, who, as before stated, was in the camp of the League. The town, though strong, was taken by surprise and almost without bloodshed, owing to the many friends and partisans Gaetano has inside. The same thing happened more than a year ago when the Colonnese were at war with the Pope, and Gaetano served the former. It is presumed, therefore, that the appearance of Stefano Colonna and Giovanne Battista Conte in these parts has been previously concerted with Gaetano, to whom Lautrech has given the command of 3,000 infantry on account of his military experience and great knowledge of the country. As the said Gaetano is a near relative of the lord of Salmonetta, he (Perez) should not be surprised to hear that some understanding exists between them. One ought

1528.

to be wide awake (*andar la barba sobre el hombro*) with these Italians, for they change with the wind, like so many weather-cocks.

News has come that the four companies of Spaniards sent to Salmonetta have reached Velletri without difficulty, and were marching upon the former town.

A report is afloat that the Duke of Urbino with the forces under his command is marching on Bologna. If so, his intention must be to join the Venetians and Sforzini in Lombardy, in order to invest Milan more closely. Or perhaps it may be that he is afraid of the Germans coming down in force, and wants to concentrate his troops.

Letters have been received from Sienna, dated the 18th inst. The Siennese no longer require help, and fancy even that Lautrech will not undertake the expedition to Naples. At the time the letters were written that general was still at Arimini (Rimini) in the Bolognese, so that it would appear that the news of his being at Pesaro was not correct. Indeed it cannot be presumed that a commander so experienced as Lautrech is supposed to be, should willingly throw himself between two such fires as the Imperial army and the Germans who are coming down.

Up to the 22nd the Pope had not left Orbieto, nor indeed announced any intention of removing to Ancona.—Closed on the 29th.

Addressed: "Sacrmæ., Cesæ., Cathocæ. Mti."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528: From Rome. Perez. 29th January."

Spanish. Original. p. 6.

31 Jan. 308.

The EMPEROR to D. IÑIGO DE MENDOZA, his Ambassador in England.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 3.

The King, &c.—You must have heard ere the receipt of this that the King of France has not only refused to accept the peace offered to him, but has actually declared war against us in conjunction with the King of England. As it is but proper that the latter should know our reasons, and learn that he himself has been misinformed respecting us, or has forgotten past events, and moreover that he cannot or ought not to make war upon us, We now send you copies of all the papers and correspondence which have passed between us touching peace and war, that you may, when required, defend our cause in the King's presence, in public or in private, as may be, against whomsoever chooses to blame us in those transactions. When that is done, as We trust it will be, it is our wish that, after taking leave of the King of England, you return to us by land, by way of France, under a fit safe-conduct, which can hardly be refused, as We still have here the French ambassadors with us, besides the Bishop of Vyingornia (Worcester) and Dr. [Edward] Lee, ambassadors of England,

1528.

who certainly shall not be allowed to leave these our dominions until We know for certain that you have reached Fuentarrabia on our frontiers, when, and not before, the said English ambassadors will be allowed to depart.

We trust that with your usual prudence and wisdom you will do what is most conducive to our authority, reputation, and interests.—Burgos, 31st January 1528.

Addressed: "To the Bishop elect of Burgos, our ambassador in England, member of our Council, &c."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

31 Jan. 309. The EMPEROR'S INSTRUCTIONS to the SIEUR DE MONTFORT.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 4.

What you, the Sieur de Montfort, conjointly with our ambassador, Don Iñigo de Mendoza, are to say to our good brother and uncle, the King of England, is as follows:—

You shall recite all the papers and letters that have passed between us [and the King of France] on the subject of this peace, whereby the King, our uncle, will be convinced that nothing has been omitted on our part, and more particularly for his sake, to bring about the said peace. Everything might have been settled long ago between us, had the French consented to restore Genes (Genoa) and recall their army from Italy before the sons of France had actually recovered their liberty. In vain did We offer to give security and place hostages in the hands of our uncle [the King of England]; the King of France has insisted upon the delivery of the Princes, his sons, before he restored Genoa, and recalled his Italian army, which was our stipulation. This proceeding of the French King clearly shows that his intention was, after obtaining the liberty of his two sons, to recommence war more fiercely than ever, and laugh equally at our excessive confidence and that of the English King, thus showing that he desired not peace as much as he said, but was only looking out for an opportunity to resume hostilities and increase the sufferings and troubles of Christendom, as he actually did on the 22nd of this month of January, setting us at defiance and sending us a challenge by one of his heralds; a strange proceeding indeed, that after six or seven years of unremitting warfare he (the King), without previous defiance, should think now of challenging us, when he is by right our prisoner of war, and cannot either send or receive a challenge.

Such being the state of things, We cannot do otherwise than take up arms in our own defence, trusting to God that he will grant us victory, as he has done at other times.

All this considered, We marvel not at the threats of the King of France, but We cannot help being surprised at our uncle of England sending us conjointly his own challenge, based, as it would appear, upon three different points, on the subject of which he must have been misinformed, as will appear from the following statement of facts:—

1528.

1st. The English herald said that We still kept the Pope a prisoner, and that We ought to restore him to liberty. You will tell the King that no Prince in Christendom has regretted more than We do what happened at Rome, or done more for the Pope's liberation, and that on the 6th of December His Holiness completely recovered his liberty, as appears from the treaty then made with him and since ratified. The King of England must recollect that when His Holiness the Pope was first kept in confinement [by our soldiers] We wrote to him expressing our displeasure and regret at what had been done, and asking his advice as to the best means to be employed for his liberation, and that We never received an answer to our letter.

2nd. Respecting our personal debts to the King of England, the nonpayment of which his herald assumed as one of the causes for the challenge, you will tell the King, our uncle, that We have never refused to acknowledge our debt, but have often offered him various modes of payment, none of which has been accepted, and that We still intend doing so rather than for so trifling a sum bringing down upon Christendom the horrors of war.

3rd. With regard to the third and last point, namely, that We ought to restore the King's sons, whom We still retain as hostages, and accept instead a reasonable ransom, our answer is that the King of England knows as well as We do the reason why the two Princes, sons of the King of France, are still in our hands. We have never refused, nor do We now refuse to set them free, but though We may feel inclined, as stated in the first article of this memorandum, to waive a portion of our right, out of the affection We bear to the King of England, yet it cannot be expected that We shall give up our hostages before the King of France fulfils the stipulated conditions of evacuating Genoa and its territory, and withdrawing his army from Italy.

The above are the three points on which the King's challenge, as conveyed by his herald, were based. Everything considered, We can hardly think that the King of England will persist in his declaration of war, since there is really no cause for a quarrel between us. You will tell him how important it is for the good of our common subjects, and the weal of Christendom at large, that We should both continue friends as hitherto. We cannot persuade ourselves that the King can forsake his old allies to take up the cause of the traditional enemy of his house and kingdom, who by making our uncle, the King, deviate from the path he was pursuing, as mediator of universal peace, is the only cause of the troubles and evils which afflict Christendom.

You will also tell him that if, notwithstanding the above reasons, he should still persist in his declaration of war and commence hostilities against us, which would be the most unwelcome thing that could happen to us, We intend to

1528.

defend ourselves as best We can, as We informed his herald in our answer.

You must not omit to say that, long before this challenge was made, We had often applied to the French King's ambassadors for the safe passage through France of a gentleman of our chamber, whom We purposed sending to England, that he might explain to the King, our uncle, the very reasons mentioned in this memorandum, but the ambassadors refused on the plea that they had no instructions on the subject.

We leave it to your discretion and to that of D. Iñigo to use as many of these arguments as you may consider necessary, always in the mildest possible terms, and without offending the King, whose friendship We value above all things, and you will take care to inform us as soon as possible of your progress in the negotiation.

As to Don Iñigo, and his departure from England, he is to follow implicitly our instructions as contained in our letter to him by this post.—Burgos, 31st January 1528.

French. Original draft. pp. 6½.

1 Feb. 310. ANDREA DEL BORGIO to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,553,
f. 215.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 141.

His faithful friend and correspondent has this day informed him that the Duke of Ferrara has had letters from Rome in date of the 27th and 28th January. The Germans are still giving trouble; they refuse to leave unless their arrears are paid.

The Pope is waiting for an answer to the letters he sent the other day to the Kings of France and England by his Nuncio, Prothonotary Garabara. We shall soon see to which side he leans, whether to us or to the League.—Ferrara, 1st February 1528.

Signed: "Andrea del Borgo."

Latin. Copy. p. 1.

2 Feb. 311. The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 1,553,
f. 216.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 143.

Has heard from the Ferrarese ambassador at Rome, who professes to have it from His Holiness' own lips, that three things prevent him from signing the capitulation, namely, the safety of the hostages; the fear that the Imperialists may set fire to Rome; the danger of the cardinals of the Imperial party keeping aloof and producing a schism in the Church.—Ferrara, 2nd February 1528.

Signed: "Andrea del Borgo."

Latin. Copy. p. 1.

2 Feb. 312. The MARQUIS DEL GUASTO to SECRETARY GARCIA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 99.

Has received his letter brought by Francisco Gutierrez. Shall not feel satisfied until he hears from him that his conduct has met with the Emperor's approbation. Will not

1528.

spare work or fatigue to put affairs in better train.—Naples, 2nd February 1528.

Signed: "El Marques del Gasto."

Addressed: "To Secretary Pero Garcia, of the Emperor's Council, &c."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

3 Feb. 313. COUNT BURRELLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 100.

Has not written for several weeks owing to a severe illness. On his recovery attended the Collateral Council and discussed with the Prince [of Orange], Don Ugo [de Moncada], and the rest of the councillors the best means of surmounting the present difficulties. His father, the Viceroy of Sicily [Duke of Monteleone], cannot fail to have apprised His Imperial Majesty of the deliberation of the Councillors, and the resolutions they have come to; he needs not repeat them here.—Naples, 3rd January 1528.

Signed: "El Conde de Burrello."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

3 Feb. 314. ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambssador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 101.

Since the 28th ulto., the date of his last letter, intelligence has come that yesterday, Candlemas day, Lautrech was expected at our Lady of Loretto. Some add that the Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) and the Marquis of Saluzzo (Michael Antonio) with their forces are to meet him there. Of the arrival of Lautrech at Loretto no doubt is entertained; it is a positive fact; but of the meeting of the other generals there is no certainty.

Though for the last few days the rumour has been that the Germans and Spaniards had evacuated Rome, there is no truth in it; on the contrary, we are assured by private letters from Orbietto, of the 24th inst., that the men were still at Rome, in a state of insubordination, and threatening that, unless they were paid within a certain time, they would go home or take service with the enemy. (*Cipher* :) Indeed they write from Rome that there is a secret compact between the generals of the League and a certain German captain for one thousand of his men going over to Lautrech and receiving pay from him. Should the latter invade Naples, as he seems disposed to do, that kingdom will be in danger, and if conquered by the enemy, everything in Italy may be lost before His Imperial Majesty, or his brother the King of Hungary, can come in person.

(*Common writing* :) Lautrech is making every effort to persuade the Pope to join the League. Thinks he will be successful in the end, for the disorderly and mutinous spirit of the soldiers has no other cause than his not keeping his

1528.

engagements, and for the present, at least, there is no chance of his doing so. Leyva has not answered yet.

The Duchess of Urbino [Eleonora Hippolita Gonzaga] has been set at liberty. Her son [Guidobaldo] still remains here under guard.

The fleet which this Signory had with the French was so shattered and deficient in men—most of them having died from hunger and disease—that if called upon to do service it cannot be of any real use. For this reason the Signory has sent orders that it should go to Corfu to be refitted.

Hears also from two different sources that Lautrech intends invading Naples by the Pulla (Apuglia). Is very much inclined to think that such is the intention of that general, for he has lately written to this Signory begging them to send thither their fleet, now at Corfu. Finding that their proveditor was away, the Signory have despatched a brigantine to Candia, ordering him to repair to the Pulla (Apuglia) with the eight galleys under his command.—Venice, 3rd February 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty, in the hands of Secretary Soria."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Venice. Alonso Sanchez. 3rd of February."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

3 Feb. 315. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 111.

Is almost sure that this despatch will reach as soon as that of the 29th January and others, for he finds that at times his correspondence and that of other Imperial ministers in Italy is delayed one month and six weeks for want of a safe conveyance. And yet there is no other route at present, all other roads being either unsafe or cut up by the enemy. Never, at any time, was there more want of reliable information respecting the affairs of Italy, and, therefore, he (Perez) has not hesitated to write again, though his letter may not reach the Emperor's hands.

The Pope is still at Orbieto, showing no disposition, as was reported, to remove to Ancona. Lautrech continues marching; some say he is already at Pesaro; others that he is close to Tronto; whilst the generality assert that he has passed Arrimini (Rimini), and settled with the lord of that place that he will make it over to the Pope, on condition of receiving a yearly income of 2,000 ducats, and 6,000 more on marrying one of his daughters. Wherever Lautrech goes, we see him trying to gain the affections of those who hold Church lands, and persuading them to make restitution, an evident sign that he wishes to keep in His Holiness' favour

1528.

for the furtherance of his future plans. If we are to believe his Legate* here, Lautrech will not succeed. May it be so.

The report about Cesaro Gaetano having joined the French turns out to be true.

The confederates who came this way have done nothing important, except taking a few places. Neither has the Marquis of Saluzzo (Michaele Antonio) joined them as they expected; so that in reality they are in a rather dangerous position. A message has been sent to Cardinal Colonna to attack them; if he wants any forces they shall be sent to him, and whatever he may spend in artillery and ammunition shall be faithfully accounted for. Great hopes are entertained that with one half of the means placed at his disposal the Cardinal will do wonders, for he is the sort of man who knows best how to deal with such marauding scoundrels, especially when, as now, he will be protected in the rear.

The four companies (*banderas*) of Spaniards have done their work. The guns and ammunition have been escorted as far as Velitri. They, as well as the men-at-arms in that locality, have received orders to put themselves at the disposal of the Cardinal, and do his pleasure.

The Lord of Salmoneta has made no change, as was apprehended. When he heard of the arrival of the confederates he had most of the powder and ammunition safely stored inside his castle, and he would have had the whole in, had not the Spaniards arrived first.

To-day, the last of January, the term agreed with the Germans expires, but the Prince of Orange writes very confidently from Naples, and so does Don Ugo. To-day one of the German captains is expected, who is to bring part of the money; the remainder the Prince will procure and bring in a day or two. It must be said, however, that certain of our correspondents at Naples are not so confident. There is fear of the banker, who accepted the bills, not paying them in full, because when the Prince of Orange went to Naples he did not accompany him as was previously settled. Gironimo (Girolamo) Moron thinks that he will be true to his word as he has already commenced to pay and furnished 25,000 ducats of his contract. These he would lose unless he made up the whole. If he did not accompany the Prince on his journey, it was owing to his having taken the road to the Abruzzi for the sake of calling on certain partners there, raising funds, &c.

As far as His Holiness himself is concerned, the Legate told him (Perez) that there would be no difficulty. The 145,000 ducats were ready, and orders had been sent for the surrender of Civittà Castellana. As to the additional 50,000 and the rest, it was almost impossible (he said) to furnish them at present.

* Campeggio.

1528.

Hears that the Bishop of Verona (Gianmatheo Giberti) arrived at Venice on the 10th of January. Is much afraid that he has gone thither for no good, although he gave out that he intended settling at Verona, retiring from state affairs, and leading a quiet life in the service of God.

A merchant has arrived here from Germany, who says that an army of 20,000 foot and 3,000 horse is now being enlisted with great haste, and that preparations of all kinds are being made at Bolzano. It is generally believed that, when these Germans come down, King Francis will take an equal number of Switzers into his pay, and that this matter has been previously settled between them, for otherwise Lautrech would not dare to advance on Naples.

Cardinal Cortona is dead; his bishopric of Barcelona has been conferred upon Don Luis de Cardona according to the Emperor's presentation.

There is no talk of His Holiness leaving Orbietto for the present.

The four companies (*banderas*) that went to Velitri have returned [to Rome]; firstly because they found no provisions in the country, and secondly because the enemy had retired within their castles so that nothing could be done against them. Colonel Fabricio Marramao has since arrived with his 2,000 Italians, of whom nearly 800 are hackbutiers. He has gone already to the assistance of the Colonnese. If a greater force should be required it shall be sent.

The news about Lautrech are somewhat vague. Some say he has arrived at Senagalla (Sinigaglia), close to Tronto; others assert that he has reached this latter place.

Up to this day, the 2nd of February, the German captain who was to come from Naples with an answer has not made his appearance; at which the lansquenets are so much disappointed and hurt that they begin to get troublesome and demand some money on account of their arrears. If the answer tarries we shall be obliged to give them some money, lest they should break out into a fresh mutiny.

It is reported that the Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) has left Tode, and gone five leagues back, most likely with the intention of invading Lombardy. The Marquis of Saluzzo is crossing the country (*las Marcas*) to effect his junction with Lautrech. A "condotta" of 2,000 infantry and 200 light horse has been given to the Lord of Arimine (Rimini), and it is asserted that Count Guido [Rangone], Count Gayago, Orazio Ballon (Baglione), and other captains are also with Lautrech, and that Count Pedro Navarro, with his Gascons, leads the van. This army is provided with 16 heavy pieces of ordnance and 30 lighter ones, besides 800 horses for the carriage of the same.

Letters have been received from Don Lope de Soria, at La Mirandola, of the 15th of January. He strongly recommends this Imperial army to go at once into Lombardy, for Leyva, he says, is master of the field. He had relieved Lecco,

1528.

besieged by the Venetians, and if helped with money or men, would make short work with the confederates in those parts.

Soria writes also that King Francis was pressing the Duke of Ferrara to send him his son [Hercole], that he might marry him to his sister-in-law [Renée].

The news of the Duke of Urbino's march on Lombardy is confirmed, and also that Lautrech is going to Tronto, and that he has sent the whole of his heavy artillery by sea. The forces of the League on this side of the Tiber have suddenly crossed to the opposite bank, with the intention, as it is suspected, of attacking Sienna.

Up to the moment of closing this despatch the German captain has not returned from Naples, nor has the Prince written to announce the result of his negotiation. There can be no doubt, however, that either with money or without, as it may happen, the Prince cannot fail to return as soon as possible, accompanied by the Marquis [del Guasto] and Alarcon, that they may take the command of the Imperial forces here, and lead them against the enemy, since they must have heard of Lautrech's march and warlike preparations.—Rome, 3rd February 1528.

Signed : "Perez."

Addressed : " Cesæ., Cathcæ. Mti."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1528. Rome. From Perez. 3rd February."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

3 Feb.

316.

PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 115.

(*Cipher* :) Wrote last by Bartholomeo de Tassis. Since then no material change has taken place in the state of affairs. It is only wonderful how we have been able to subsist without a farthing of money to spend, without provisions or resources of any kind : "tucto esta su le espalle de li huomini de la cità e del paese." So dear and scarce is food of any kind that men drop down dead from hunger, and that passing through the streets of this city one hears nothing but lamentations and wailings, women and children clamouring for bread.

No letters have been received from the King of Hungary. Nevertheless private advices state that money has been remitted to Germany, and that considerable armaments are being made. We are not, however, informed when the reinforcements will be ready, and certainly, if they do not arrive soon, it is all over with us. For eight consecutive months we have not received money, nor assistance of any kind, not even letters from Spain.

The last advices from Rome are that the Pope had recovered his liberty and moved to Orbietto, after delivering hostages, &c. He (the Pope) had promised to pay the

1528.

amount of his debt, and if so, it was expected that the army would soon leave Rome, but when and how God only knows.

The country is so ruined that no food is to be found anywhere, and the men forage as they best can (*biveno ad arbitrio, senza remedio*). This Leyva cannot help, as his soldiers have no money and must not starve. The consequence is that daily requisitions take place in the city, and the men, and principally the Germans, treat the inhabitants with great harshness (*con molta asperenza*), retaining many gentlemen and ladies prisoners in their lodgings (*in loro hospicii*) from fear of their quitting the place.

News has come that Lautrech with his whole force was at Faenza, ready to push on to Tronto, on the road to the kingdom [of Naples]. His Imperial Majesty will know best whether this information is correct or not; at any rate the situation is critical, &c.—Milan, 3rd February 1528.

Signed: "Il Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacrae, Cesæ., Cathæ. Mti."

Italian. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

4 Feb. 317.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
f. 190.

DON MARTIN DE SALINAS to FERDINAND, KING OF HUNGARY.

On 'the 26th ult^o. Luis de Taxis arrived at this Court with His Highness' letters, the contents of which were communicated to the Emperor, at a time when he was about to send Mons. de Montfort, gentleman of his bed-chamber, on the secret mission mentioned in his (Salinas') despatch of the 19th ult^o., forwarded through the Velzers.

Is sorry to hear that the Emperor's autograph letter was not so explicit respecting the grant of Milan as his private conversation with Lallemand, at which he (Salinas) was present, led him to expect. That Secretary assured him at the time that nothing could be more encouraging and kind than the expressions used by the Emperor, and as all offers of peace based upon the restoration of Francesco Sforza to his Duchy have since been rejected, there can be no doubt that no material change has taken place since he wrote. Had his Highness crossed over to Italy, as all his servants and well-wishers wanted him to do, there would have been no excuse for the Emperor refusing him the investiture of Milan.

Now His Highness writes to say that he is so much engaged with other matters, so destitute of money, and that the affairs of Italy are in such bad plight, that there is no possibility of crossing over in force. On the other hand, things have materially changed since; negotiations for peace were then going on, though with no great hope of success, whereas now there is nothing but preparation for war. Fancies that the principal cause of the negotiations having been broken off is that the Emperor insisted upon the King of France

1528.

withdrawing his armies from Italy, and restoring all his conquests by land or sea, and, therefore, that there is nothing lost, since His Highness may yet, with the Emperor's favour and his own exertions, attain that which he so much deserves.

The letters for Don Juan Manuel and Confessor (Fr. Garcia de Loaysa) were duly delivered, but as neither of them knows what has been privately negotiated with His Imperial Majesty, nor what message Mons. de Montfort takes [to England], no help can be expected from them just now.

Respecting His Highness' inquiry, whether it would be possible to obtain from the churches and towns in Spain some sort of assistance in money for the war against the Turk, the ambassadors' answer is that at the Cortes of Valladolid the Emperor went so far as to try the expedient and make the proposal, but that it was considered prudent to withdraw it; for His Highness must know that in this country, and at the present times, words and money do not always go together,* and there is great need of the latter. Besides, news has lately reached this Court, more particularly from the Antwerp fair, that His Highness had lately recovered not only the whole kingdom of Hungary, but Belgrade also, and a portion of the territory formerly conquered by the Turk, and if so, His Highness' merits deserve a better reward than money. To which may be added, that people here feel confident that, however great the present wants and troubles, the Emperor and his brother are sure to come out victorious in the end.

With regard to the Count Palatine (Frederic), whom His Highness recommended in his last for the vacant post of Viceroy of Naples, he (Salinas) spoke to the Emperor, who said that he was about to despatch to His Highness the Provost of Balerique (Valkirck) to communicate certain matters respecting Italy, but that he reserved the Count for another and better post than the viceroyalty of Naples.

Has mentioned in a former despatch the fact of the ambassadors taking leave of the Emperor. Has since ascertained that those of England, France, Venice, and Florence asked for an audience, and said that since they could not do anything towards peace, they begged leave to depart. The day after two kings-at-arms of France and England made their appearance at the Palace Hall, and sent to say that they wished to make certain declarations in the name of their respective kings. His Imperial Majesty knew very well what their errand was, for they had been five or six months at Court for that purpose. They were accordingly admitted into the large hall of the Palace, to which all the nobles, prelates, and knights at Court had been previously summoned. The Emperor heard what the heralds had to say, which was

* "Por que crea V. A. que es cosa de donde se sacaria mas verguenga que provecho, por que palabras y dineros no andan todas vezes juntos."

1528.

to give a formal challenge in the names of their respective sovereigns, after which he answered in the most resolute and dignified manner, as the enclosed copies both of the challenge and reply will sufficiently show. His Highness can hardly imagine the impression which the Emperor's words, delivered in a high and distinct voice, produced upon the assembly. Every one of those present considered the challenge as made to himself individually, and was delighted to see the French king-at-arms throw down the gauntlet in his master's name.

All the above-mentioned ambassadors, with the only exception of the English, who are still at Court, have been, by the Emperor's commands, removed to a place called Poza, where they are kept under guard. The Dauphin also, and his brother the Duke of Orlens (Orleans), have been confined to a spot where they ought to have been from the very beginning, and all the servants about their persons dismissed.

His Imperial Majesty was glad to hear the details of the coronation at Prague. He should very much like to know for certain what is the amount of the service in money which the kingdom has offered to His Highness. The letters which the Venetian ambassador and others have received state that each house is to pay two ducats, and that one horse, fully caparisoned and equipped for war, is to be furnished besides by every twenty families.

Secretary Lallemand showed the Emperor His Highness' letter granting him 10,000 florins annual pension. He did so by his (Salinas') advice. The Emperor was much pleased.

Hungary and the Vayvod, &c.

Things in Italy seem to be mending. By the last advices the Pope was free, and the Imperial army marching on Lombardy. Money had been procured for its most immediate wants, and further remittances were expected. He (Salinas) read to the Emperor the letter of His Highness, showing his inability to cross over to Italy at the present moment owing to the state of Hungary.

Christoval de Castillejo. Bernaldino de Meneses is to be knighted shortly.

Has applied in due time for the Treasury of Granada in favour of Don Pedro de Cordova, as he was instructed to do. The Emperor's answer was that he could not dispose of it, as all the offices and emoluments which the late Viceroy of Naples (Charles de Lannoy) possessed had been promised to his sons. The precentorship of Malaga should have been bestowed upon the person recommended by His Highness had it not been found upon inquiry that its late holder had already resigned it during his lifetime.

Montfort will give full account of all the provisions lately made at Court. The Archbishop of Toledo* is to leave for

* D. Alfonso de Fonseca, from the 26th of April 1524 to the 4th of February 1534.

1528.

Rome in a few days, as he is the person appointed to visit the Pope.

The post of Grand Equerry has been given to Mons. de Rus (Rœux).—Burgos, 4th February 1528.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 6.

5 Feb. 318.
S. E. C. d. l. L. 16,
f. 288.
B. M. *Add.* 28,577,
f. 145.

LICTE. MARTIN DE VARGAS, Corregidor of Guipuzcoa, to the EMPEROR.

Has received his letters informing him of the challenge of the Kings of France and England, and ordering him to place the province in a state of defence. Has accordingly convoked the deputies of the province and proposed to them to arm a strong fleet, and issue orders for all men able to bear arms to be in readiness to repel any aggression of the French or English.—Azpeitia, 5th of February 1528.

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

5 Feb. 319.
S. E. L. 1,554.
B. M. *Add.* 28,577,
f. 147.

The EMPEROR to NICOLAS PERRENOT.

Since our letter by Guillaume Coste every effort has been made here to ensure the peace of Christendom, to promote which We have generously relinquished part of our own right, so much that it is doubtful whether the King of France would have done the same under similar circumstances. There only remained one point of disagreement between us, namely, the recall of his army from Italy, and the restitution of Genoa and other cities previous to the release of his two sons, to which the King would nowise consent. Had We agreed to such a condition as this, which the French ambassadors have since adhered to most pertinaciously, it is quite clear that all our sacrifices for the sake of peace would have been fruitless, since, far from its being firmly cemented and sincere, a gate would have been opened for new, fiercer, and destructive wars. Yet, considering ourselves in duty bound to persevere in our purpose, which has always been, and is, to obtain an honourable peace at any cost, We hereby inform you of the public declaration made by us to the French ambassadors at our last interview. We told them that should their King consent to the recall of his army from Italy, and to the restitution of Genoa and other cities and towns taken from us during this war—which certainly is not too much to ask—We were ready to make peace, and immediately after release his sons. That We also intended recalling our Italian armies and settling all political matters in such a way that all differences existing between the Princes and potentates of that country should be satisfactorily arranged, and a solid and lasting peace ensured. Besides pledging our faith and word to the immediate libera-

1528.

tion of the sons of France, the moment the above conditions were fulfilled, We offered at the time other substantial securities, more important even than the recall of the French army and restitution of Genoa, namely, our pledging in the hands of the King of France the sum of 1,000 cr. of gold for the restitution of Tournay, and making the King of England stand security for the fulfilment on our part of that and other conditions of the treaty. But the French ambassadors, without offering to consult their court respecting these proposals, have obstinately refused to entertain them, insisting that the release of the King's sons must needs precede the recall of their army and restitution of Genoa.

Such was the state of the negotiations when on the 15th of January last the French ambassadors took leave of us, and on the 22nd a king-at-arms came and solemnly challenged us in the name of his master. Enclosed is a copy of our answer to the royal herald, that you may know what was said on the occasion, without the addition or suppression of one single word. On the receipt of this letter you will wait on the King and ask for your congé, and after obtaining the necessary safe-conduct, which We have no doubt will be easily granted, you will come back to Spain by way of Bayonne and Fontarrabia. The Bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont), the President of Bordeaux, and Secretary Bayart are at Poza, eight leagues from this city (Burgos), and shall not be allowed to depart until We hear of your being close to Fontarrabia. You will also inform us as soon as possible what treatment you have experienced in France, for certainly according as that may have been We shall give orders for the French ambassadors, or each of them, to be treated in a similar manner. Should you be allowed to depart you will not fail to apprise us of your arrival at Bayonne; if, on the contrary, no letter from you should come, We shall conclude that you have been ill-treated and detained, and shall take our measures accordingly. You will not forget to bring with you, or send back, Coste, the courier, and, moreover, despatch Montfort* to England with the enclosed letter [for our ambassador], the duplicate of this one, and copies of all the papers We now send you.—Burgos, 5th February 1528.

French. Original draft. pp. 5.

6 Feb. 320.

DON MARTIN DE SALINAS to FERDINAND, KING OF HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 193.

The bearer of this will be Einguer (*sic*), the agent of the Velzers. Begs to recommend him, as he is one of the most zealous servants that His Highness can have in these parts,

* The copy at Brussels which Dr. Karl Lanz used (*Correspondenz*, &c., i. p. 259) has, "Et au surplus vous envoieerez Don *Hugues de Montcada* en Angleterre porter la lettre qui est en ce paquet," but as Moncada was then acting as Viceroy of Naples, I have not hesitated in substituting Montfort.

1528.

and most devoted to his service. It was he who procured the change for the 100,000 ducats which the Emperor last year remitted to Germany.—Burgos, 6th February 1528.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

6 Feb. **321.**
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 107.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

Triplicate of his letter of the 3rd, with the following postscriptum in his own hand:—

On Monday, the 4th inst., Lautrech left Racanate and took the road to Naples. Here, at Venice, people assert that the Imperial army is still at Rome in a mutinous and disorderly state, so that unless the German reinforcements come soon, there is no saying what will become of that kingdom.—Venice, 6th February 1528.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

6 Feb. **322.**
Jo. E. Port. L. 368,
f. 81.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 160.

THE KING OF PORTUGAL, JOÃO III., to the EMPEROR.

Has received the Emperor's letter acquainting him with the challenge which the heralds of France and England made in his own presence, in the name of their respective Kings, through which all hopes of peace seem to have vanished (*se mudaren as cousas da paz ao contrario do que esperava*). Is much concerned to hear of this, as it will tend greatly to check that desire for universal peace which he (the Emperor) says has always been the object of his wishes (*o desejo que me dizetes que sempre touvestes pera toda boa paz*), so that he might afterwards turn his arms against the Infidel.

Has, however, been somewhat consoled in his affliction at hearing that His Holiness seems desirous of peace, and willing to enter into negotiation with the Emperor.

Of his own brotherly sentiments in this affair his ambassador, Antonio d'Azevedo, of his Council, cannot fail to inform him at full length. Begs credence for him.—Almeyrim, 7th of February 1528.

Signed: "João."

Addressed: "Ao muyto alto, muyto escelente Principe e muyto poderoso Don Carlos V. per deuina clemencia electo Emperador dos Romanos, sempre augusto Rey d'Alemania, de Castela, de Araguão (*sic*), das duas Cezilias, de jesusalem etc meu muyto amado e pregado irmão."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty, from the King of Portugal. 6th February 1528."

Portuguese. Original. pp. 2.

1528.

- 7 Feb. **323.** The EMPEROR'S INSTRUCTIONS to [PETRUS] CORNELIUS
 S. E. Pat. Re. Cap. DUPLICIUS SCEPPERUS of what he is to say to the
 c. Pont. L. 2, KING OF DENMARK [CHRISTIERN II.].
 f. 46.

B. M. *Add.* 28,577,
 f. 168.

You are to tell the King how sorry We are that the wars in which we have been engaged ever since the beginning of our reign have prevented us from giving him assistance, and reseating him on the throne of his forefathers.* This might easily have been accomplished had the King of France, whom We had restored to liberty, chosen to fulfil his promise.

As in the vigorous prosecution of the present war against France and the rest of the confederated powers, We might require to send agents to Norwege (Norway) and other islands, where His Serenity still has many friends, for the purpose of enlisting soldiers, procuring provisions, and so forth, We beg the King to use all his influence to induce the inhabitants of the said islands to be friendly to our soldiers; and should His Serenity know of any vulnerable point on the English coast, or any way in which that country may be successfully assailed, let him inform the Lady Margaret of Flanders of it as soon as possible, that she may take her measures accordingly.—Burgos, 7th February 1528.

Latin. Original draft. pp. 2.

- 7 Feb. **324.** INSTRUCTIONS to the SAME, going to the Court of
 S. E. Pat. Re. Cap. Brunswick.
 c. Pont. L. 2,
 f. 46.

B. M. *Add.* 28,577,
 f. 169.

Is to inform Henry, Duke of Brunswick, of the manner in which King Francis has behaved ever since he (the Emperor) was in Germany, and how, after recovering his liberty, he has again declared war against him.

After consulting with the Lady Margaret of Flanders as to the best means of defending Lower Germany in case of an attack from the French, he (Scepperus) will proceed to the Duke's court, present his credentials, and treat with him.—Burgos, 7th February 1528.

Latin. Original draft. pp. 2.

- 7 Feb. **325.** Similar INSTRUCTIONS for the said SCEPPERUS, going in
 S. E. Pat. Re. Cap. the EMPEROR'S name, *ad Civitates Vandalicas*.
 c. Pont. L. 3,
 f. 46.

B. M. *Add.* 28,577,
 f. 160.

Burgis, Septimo Februarii 1528.

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.

- 7 Feb. **326.** INSTRUCTIONS to the SAME about what he is to say to
 S. E. Pat. Re. Cap. JAMES, KING OF SCOTLAND.
 c. Pont. L. 3,
 f. 161.

In the first place he is to show these instructions to our aunt the Lady Margaret of Flanders, and ask whether there

* Christiern II. married to Isabella, sister of the Emperor. He was then dethroned.

1528.

is anything in them that requires addition or suppression, in which case We are to be informed as soon as possible of the alterations introduced into them, as well as of the day of the ambassador's departure for Scotland.

After exhibiting his credentials he is to tell the King how very desirous We have always been of his friendship and alliance, not only on account of the many virtues by which we know him to be adorned, but likewise on account of the commercial intercourse between his subjects and ours, which is likely to be disturbed by this war.

As, however, We must prepare to meet our enemies, We are now trying to enlist in our behalf all those Princes who are lovers of justice. The King of Scotland being one of them, We have not hesitated in sending you, Cornelius Scepperus, to him, &c.

An answer to the above being obtained, Peter Cornelis, in whose prudence and wisdom We trust, will judge whether the following overtures or part of them can be safely made to the King and his ministers.

He will first try to persuade the King that it is for his interest to declare war against the King of England; will remind him of the many injuries which his subjects, the Scots, have received from the English, and shew him how the present opportunity is the best that could be found to revenge such wrongs, as well as the death of his own father James. The ambassador, "pro sua in rebus et historicis Scotiis peritia," will take care greatly to exaggerate all such wrongs.

Should the King refuse to take arms against the English, then in that case Peter Cornelis is to assure him that We shall do our utmost to make the King of England understand that it is no easy matter to wage war against a Christian Prince, and that We shall endeavour to deliver him and his kingdom from the tyranny of the Cardinal, &c. If, however, Peter Cornelis saw no chance whatever of the King of Scotland declaring war against England, he will try first the venerable Archbishop of St. Andrew, and afterwards Archimbauld, Count of Angus, and other noblemen of that kingdom, promising them in our name all favour and grace. If still unsuccessful, he will yet try to obtain from the King permission for any of his subjects individually to espouse our quarrel, and will beg him not refuse his help and assistance to any of our soldiers landing in Scotland, but furnish them with provisions for their money, keeping his ports open for our ships and men, whether driven by tempest or otherwise, and allowing the latter to sell in Scotland any prizes they may take from the enemy.

The commercial intercourse between our mutual subjects to continue as before, &c.—Burgos, 7th February 1528.

Latin. Original draft. pp. 2½.

1528.

7 Feb. 327. The EMPEROR to the ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREW.

S. E. Pat. Re. Cap.
c. l. c. d. Aust. Leg.

In credence of [Petrus] Cornelius Duplicius Scepperus.—Burgos, 7th February 1528.

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.*

7 Feb. 328. The EMPEROR to the EARL OF ANGUS.

S. E. Pat. Re. Cap.
c. l. c. d. Aust. Leg.

In credence of Cornelius Duplicius Scepperus.—Burgos, 7th February 1528.

*Addressed: "Archimbaldo Comiti Angusiæ."**Latin. Original draft.† p. 1.*7 Feb. 329. INSTRUCTIONS to [PETRUS] CORNELIUS DUPLICIUS
SCEPPERUS, going to SIGISMOND, KING OF POLAND.S. E. Pat. Re. Cap.
c. l. c. d. Aust. Leg.

Is to tell the King how the Kings of France and England, notwithstanding his most strenuous efforts to preserve peace, have declared war against him, as his orator, Joannes Dantiscus, cannot have failed to apprise him. Hopes that the commercial intercourse between his German subjects and the inhabitants of Poland will not be interrupted in consequence of this war.

Begs free passage through his kingdom for Severinus Norby returning from Muscovy.—Burgos, 7th February 1528.

Latin. Original draft pp. 2.

7 Feb. 330. The EMPEROR to BONA SFORZA, QUEEN OF POLAND.

S. E. Pat. Re. Add.
28,577, f. 153.

In credence of the same.—Burgos, 7th February 1528.

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.

7 Feb. 331. The EMPEROR to the DUKE OF MUSCOVY [BASIL V.]

S. E. Pat. Re. Add.
28,577, f. 154.

Hears that one of his captains named Severinus Norby is detained at his court. Needs his services in the war which the Kings of France and England have just declared against him. Begs him to allow the said captain to return to Germany as soon as possible.—Burgos, 7th February 1528.

Latin. Original draft. pp. 1½.

7 Feb. 332. The EMPEROR to the BISHOP OF BREMEN.

S. Re. Pat. Re.
Cap. c. l. c. d. Aust.
L. 6, f. 8.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 155.

In credence of Cornelius Duplicius Scepperus, his ambassador.—Burgos, 7th February 1528.

Latin. Original draft.‡ p. 1.

* "In eadem forma ad tres Archiepiscopos."

† "In eadem forma ad tres Nobiles."

‡ "Similes litteræ fuerunt missæ ad Archiepiscopum Midrosiensem, ad Capitaneum de Agherhusen, mutatis mutandis, ad præfectum Insulæ Fer. . . ."

1528.

7 Feb. 333.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
 f. 174.

THE KING OF BOHEMIA AND HUNGARY [FERDINAND]
 to ALONSO SANCHEZ.

Your letters of the 15th and 19 ulto. have come to hand.

To your suggestions respecting the cavalry, which you say ought to consist of 500 men-at-arms, and as many light horse, our answer is that here, in Germany, these latter cannot be easily procured, because all cavalry are heavily armed. We doubt even if the 200 ordered will be found, and, therefore, if the reinforcements about to be sent [to Italy] require a contingent of 1,000 horse, these must be all of the heavier kind, or at least 800 men-at-arms and 200 light cavalry.

With regard to the expenditure attending the enlistment, you seem to think that two months' pay for coming and going is rather too much, and that this ought not to begin to count till the day that the men pass muster and join the infantry. Our answer to this objection is that cavalry cannot be recruited where infantry is; it must be drawn from Pransuic (Brunswick) and Saxony, countries far away from this, and, therefore, as men and horses can only be procured there, it is indispensable to agree to whatever conditions they choose to impose.

The means which you propose of diminishing the expenditure, namely, for us to send [to Italy] the cavalry, both men-at-arms and light horse, now serving in our Bohemian army, and replace them by new levies, cannot be adopted, as We should then be deprived of that force just at the time when We are about to march against the Vayvod, and prepare to defend our patrimonial estates against the Turk.

The infantry is the best and most efficient that could be found, and is to be under the leadership of captains Marco Sitio (Marc Sitig) and the Duke of Bransuic (Brunswick), both faithful servants of His Imperial Majesty, and who, We are sure, will well do their duty.

We shall be glad to have the answers from Leyva, Don Ugo, Alarcon, and the rest, as soon as possible; but you must bear in mind that when the last bills of exchange came, these merchants refused to discount them unless We gave them security for the payment on some good revenue in our estates; and as this cannot be done for the present, owing to the embarrassed state of our finances, and the cost of this present war against the Vayvod, no money has yet been received. If Don Ugo and Leyva cannot procure the necessary funds, or otherwise stand security to these merchants, all efforts on our part must prove unavailable. Write to the Emperor, as We do, by this post, and explain our situation. Money must be procured for our soldiers, or else, when in Italy, they will take it wherever it can be found, such being their habit in time of war. Provisions have been stored by our order at Trent, and in other towns of the Tyrol, but not in sufficient quantity, owing to the scarcity and dearth of them, that

1528.

province being considerably drained, from its proximity to the theatre of war.—Strigonia (Gran), 7th February 1528.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

8 Feb. 334. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 119.

Wrote on the 3rd inst., and addressed his despatch to Naples. Since then the Germans have had letters from their own deputies, announcing that the Prince of Orange had succeeded in procuring sufficient money to issue two portions of pay both to men and officers. The other two were to be distributed at the end of each succeeding month. The Prince, moreover, is expected in a couple of days.

According to advices of the 30th of January sent to Cardinal Colonna, and communicated to us on the 4th inst., Lautrech was at Ancona, intending to march on Tronto. There [at Ancona] he had received a courier from his master, the King of France, bidding him go on [to Naples]. The negotiations for the peace having been completely broken off [at Madrid], he [King Francis] was determined to spend the two millions which he would otherwise have paid for the ransom of his children in the prosecution of this war.

Cardinal Colonna is of opinion that under present circumstances the Imperial army ought to march immediately out of Rome, and go to the frontiers of Naples, so as to prevent the enemy's advance, and give him battle, or else go first to Florence, settle matters in those parts, and return in pursuit of the enemy. But neither of these plans, which seem very wise, can be adopted until the Prince [of Orange], the Marquis [of Guasto], and Alarcon return.

The Legate Campeggio goes on assuring us that the Pope will never assist the confederates in this campaign. Such, he maintains, has been the substance of his declaration to the ambassadors of France, telling them in plain terms that he is for peace, and that if Frenchmen and Venetians will have war they alone must bear the consequences. The 26,000 ducats remaining for the complement of the 145,000 he offers to pay as soon as the Prince of Orange returns from Naples with the two monthly payments, but not a word has been said about the rest; and whenever the Legate is interrogated he only answers vaguely that the Pope will not break his engagements.

The news of the march of the Duke of Urbino towards Lombardy is confirmed, as likewise of the design of the Marquis of Saluzzo upon Sienna. This latter intelligence, however, cannot be correct, for the Marquis has not a sufficient force under him for such an undertaking. It is more likely that he will join Lautrech.

Cardinal Colonna has assured us, and indeed proved by documents and papers, that Cesaro Gaetano never joined the French, as reported. On the contrary, it would appear that

1528.

he is a staunch Imperialist. The Cardinal, moreover, answers for his fidelity, and is very much shocked at the idea that a follower and friend of his should be considered a traitor.

Since the above was written, positive intelligence has been received of the Marquis of Saluzzo's movements. It would appear that he is going to a town close to Florence, called Civittà Castello (*sic*), for the purpose, no doubt, of protecting that capital, in the event of our forces attacking it.

The Prince of Orange and Marquis del Guasto will be in Rome the day after to-morrow. The German deputies have come already, and confirmed the news of their speedy arrival with money. Urbina and Moron, therefore, have written for the troops quartered in this neighbourhood, horse as well as foot, to concentrate in Rome, so that immediately after the arrival of their commanders they may go out against the enemy.

On the 6th inst. a message came from the General [of the Franciscans], intimating that he intends setting out for Spain to-morrow evening, but that he must needs pass through Orbieto and see His Holiness first, for such are his wishes. Since he left Araceli, the General (Quiñones) has been hiding in some monastery of his order, so secretly that he (Perez) could not ascertain his whereabouts.

Letters from Naples bring intelligence that 15,000 Germans will soon come down; but it was also firmly believed in that city that, according to a previous agreement made with the Switzers, an equal number of those mercenaries, enlisted by the King of France, shall be kept in readiness to defend his possessions in Lombardy.

Discipline has not yet been re-established in the army. On the 6th about 1,500 lansquenets without officers, and in the most disorderly state, again set out from their quarters on a marauding expedition. They first went to Frascata (Frascati), a town belonging to Colonna, four leagues hence, and tried to get in, but the people shut their gates and defended themselves stoutly, killing five of the Germans. The infuriated soldiers then seized all the cattle they could find, and returned to Rome. Their officers are now engaged in making them disgorge their plunder. Such cattle as still exist (*en pie*) shall be returned to their owners; a good portion has already been slaughtered and eaten. It is not known yet how the Cardinal has taken this invasion of his estates by a friend and ally, but he is sure to be furious, for the greater part of the stolen cattle belongs to him. He is reported to be very much discontented with Fabricio Marramao and his 2,000 Italians, who have behaved towards him like so many enemies, destroying churches and monasteries, sacking the houses of rich people, &c. Meanwhile, and regardless of the harm done to him, the Cardinal is preparing to attack the bands led by Stefano Colonna and Giovanne Battista Conte. Orders have accordingly been sent from

1528.

hence to the lieutenant-colonel of the Italians to help the Cardinal as much as he can.

On the 1st inst. Lautrech was 10 or 12 miles from Tronto, with 13,000 or 14,000 foot at the most, 600 men-at-arms, and 1,000 light horse. Everything indicates that he intends invading Naples. Prince Malfe (Amalfi), who is at Aquila, writes to say that 1,000 Germans, four companies (*banderas*) of Spaniards, and some horse have been sent thither from Naples to arrest, if possible, the enemy's advance, and that as soon as the Prince of Orange and the Marquis del Guasto return to Rome, which will be on the 11th, the whole of the Imperial forces shall march in pursuit of Lautrech.

On the departure of the army he (Perez) will set out for Naples, and there wait for the Emperor's orders.—Rome, 8th February 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacrae, Cesareae, Catholicae Maiestati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Rome. Perez. 8th February."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

8 Feb. **335.** LOPE DE SORIA to the High Chancellor, MERCURINO DI GATTINARA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 123.

Is without news from Court. The last he has received is from Hieronimo [Frantso?] in date of the 19th November. Has often written to the Emperor, to his secretary [Lallemand], and to him (the High Chancellor). Since his arrival at Barcelona has not heard of him.

(*Cipher* :) To-day, the 8th of February, Lautrech must have crossed the Neapolitan frontier, because on the 26th ult^o he was at Santa Maria di Loretto, ready to enter the Abruzzo. He must be in secret intelligence with some of the Germans at Rome, for otherwise he would not dare go so far, his army being so inferior to ours in number. There is reason to suspect, also, that the Pope urges him on. The Germans, on the other hand, are still at Rome, as mutinous and disorderly as ever, insisting on being paid all their arrears. Between them and the Spaniards there is by no means that conformity of opinion that ought to exist between soldiers serving the same master. The same may be said of the generals, the Prince and the rest seldom agreeing as to what must be done in the present critical circumstances. Hears that a considerable number of the lansquenets have asked for leave to go home, promising not to take service with the enemy, and that the Prince has been able to stay their determination by promising them money at short dates. The Pope, in the meanwhile, remains at Orbieto, and although he knows very well that the Germans will not leave Rome until they are paid, delays as much as possible the fulfilment of his engagements, no

1528.

doubt with the view of allowing Lautrech time to invade Naples. Indeed, such is the present condition of affairs, that unless God works a miracle, Naples and the rest of Italy must fall into French hands.

A report is current here that the Marquis of Los Velez (D. Luis Fajardo) is coming as Viceroy of Naples. If so, no better choice could have been made, for he is reputed to be a man of great courage and ability.

(*Common writing* :) According to the last advices, Leyva is holding his ground against the confederates, but he is incessantly clamouring for money, and he (Soria) has none to send him. Of the 100,000 ducats in bills remitted last year nothing remains in his (Soria's) hands, as will appear from the accounts of expenditure sent at different times. True it is that of the 20,000 destined to the building of certain galleys a portion still remains in the hands of merchants and contractors, but of this money Soria cannot dispose without special orders from Court; and as to Bourbon's jewels, taken out of pawn in July 1527, he (Soria) does not consider himself justified in sending them to Milan, as Leyva is continually suggesting that they can again be pledged in order to raise money. Fancies that his non-compliance with such requests has made that commander angry with him. Cannot help it. Waits for instructions from Court.

Great hopes are entertained of the German reinforcements coming down soon, as the King of Hungary writes to inquire from us where they had better cross the frontier. A memorandum, signed by the late Doge of Genoa (Antoniotto Adorno), by the Count of La Mirandola (Giovanne Thomasso Pico), and by himself (Soria), has been forwarded to him, stating their joint opinion as to the crossing. There is no difficulty in this, as the forces now coming down are too numerous to meet with any serious opposition on their way; the only thing to be considered is how they are to be fed on their passage through the territory of neutral powers and wavering friends, and maintained afterwards. (*Cipher* :) The Duke of Ferrara still professes himself the Emperor's friend, and so does the Marquis of Mantua. He (Soria) has no doubt that in the event of the Imperial army [at Rome] or that from Germany gaining some success, both those Princes will assist and desert the League.

Hears that the Genoese are trying to obtain the King of France's permission to make the union, and that in order to get this they offer a service in money. It would have been more just and decorous to apply for it to the Emperor, who is their lawful master. As it is, this may prove a cause of ruin and perdition to them. All are not of the same opinion, and the majority wish Andrea Doria to become their "gonfaloniere," lest in crossing themselves they might put out an eye (*podrá ser que piensan hazerse la Cruz y se quiebren el ojo*).

1528.

Is anxiously expecting the return of his secretary, as he cannot well get on without him.—La Mirandola, 8th February 1528.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious lord, Mercurino de Gattinara, High Chancellor, and of the Supreme Council of the Emperor, my lord."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. From La Mirandola. Lope de Soria. 8th February."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

9 Feb. 336. ALONSO SANCHEZ to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 127.

Never since he came to Italy have the Emperor's affairs been in so critical a state. Experience shows that the kingdom of Naples cannot be defended except by foreign troops. Unless the Emperor speedily sends thither money and men, and an able viceroy as well, everything will be lost. Cannot persuade himself that the Spaniards, at the last hour, will not do their duty, but the fact is that they, as well as the Germans, are still at Rome, where confusion and insubordination reign as before.

It is extremely galling for the Emperor's servants in Italy to see the fruit of such great labour and so many victories thus thrown away by want of consideration for the wants of men who are daily sacrificing their lives. Sees no other remedy to the impending evil but the quick appearance of His Imperial Majesty or of his brother, the King of Hungary, with so powerful an army as to crush his enemies wherever they may be. Begs to be excused for his vehement language, but it is heart-breaking to contemplate the miseries that may ensue.—Venice, 9th February 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Sanchez. Venice."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

10 Feb. 337. POPE CLEMENT to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,174,
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 179.

"Carissime in Christo fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem." As he (the Emperor) will see by his other letter,* of which the General of the Franciscans is to be the bearer, he would immediately after his liberation have sent one of his own servants to thank him, had it not been

* That of the 11th January, No. 288, p. 534.

1528.

extremely dangerous hitherto to travel by land or sea. Now that he has been able to obtain a safe-conduct through France he (the Pope) has decided to send the Bishop of Pistoia (Antonio), "prelato, nostro domestico et intimo," not only to fulfil the above duty, but also to procure that peace which is so necessary for his own private welfare and the general peace of Christendom, the settlement of which he (the Emperor) in all his letters, and principally in those lately written in his own hand, seems to place entirely in his hands, offering to grant for his sake anything that is reasonable. As, moreover, the General [of the Franciscans] has again promised, in the Emperor's name, that the above meritorious work shall not be delayed, he (the Pope) will be glad to hear what are the Emperor's wishes on this respect, disposed, as he himself is, to forward the said peace.—Orvieto, 10th February 1528.

Addressed: "Charissimo in Christo filio, &c."

Italian. Original. pp. 1½.

10 Feb. **338.** The SAME to MERCURINO GATTINARA.

S. E. L. 1, f. 128,
B. M. *Add.* 28,577,
f. 180.

Never doubted his devotion. Always thought that his great virtues and his kindness would help him (the Pope) to the settlement of present affairs, in which the welfare of all Christendom is so much concerned. Though his own efforts to procure a general peace have not yet met with success, as he (the Pope) had reason to expect, he will nevertheless prosecute his task, "nec calamitate nostra, aut tot indignitatibus, a debito pastoralis curæ, piisque actionibus unquam avertemur, satis tuti, conscientia teste et Deo qui scrutator est cordium, nos in malum ex bono semper incidisse. Itaque reversi ad pristina nostra studia tractandæ pacis, pro hoc et sublevandis miseræ Apostolicæ Sedis detrimentis mittimus, &c."

Has determined to send to the Emperor the Rev. Antonio, Bishop of Pistoia (Pistoriensem), his chamberlain and Nuncio ("domesticum et nuntium"), who, having shared his misfortunes, knows full well the extent of his sufferings. Hopes that he (Gattinara) will do everything in his power to secure a good reception for his Nuncio.—Datum in civitate nostra Vrbeuetanensi (Orbieto), 10th February 1528.

Addressed: "Dilecto filio Mercurio de Gattinaria, Cæsareæ Catholicæque Majestati's Cancellario."

Latin. Original pp. 2½.

10 Feb. **339.** ANDREA DE BORGO to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,553,
f. 578.
B. M. *Add.* 28,577.

Begs that George Frunspergh may be reimbursed the expenses attending the march of his Germans to Italy. He is in despair (*desperatus*), and declares he has not the means of repaying the sums he borrowed on that occasion. The provision which the Emperor made for him at Milan has

1528.

brought him in nothing, and as to His Serene Highness the King [of Bohemia] he (Fruntsperg) has received no substantial proofs of his favour.—Ferrara, 10th February 1528.

Signed: "Andrea del Burgo."

Indorsed: "Andreas Burgus Imperatori."

Latin. Original. p. 1.

10 Feb. 340.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fusc. 224.

NOTE of how the IMPERIAL AMBASSADOR* was arrested at LONDON.

The ambassador [Don Iñigo] was arrested on Tuesday, the 10th day of February, by a gentleman whom the Cardinal had sent on the plea of conducting him to the King. The said gentleman with several others took him to a strange house,† and, there in the King's name, demanded that he should give up all his letters and papers as well as the key of the casket (*coffret*) containing them, as otherwise it would be broken open.

Seeing this, the ambassador gave his key to his secretary, who contrived to make his escape and went on before him. He then opened the casket, took out all the letters and ciphers relating to the Emperor's affairs and put them in a secure hiding-place, so that when the said gentleman and the escort arrived all the papers were out of sight.

The ambassador states that the King [of England] is preparing twelve or fourteen ships of war; that the captains are already chosen, and will soon be ready sea. They are to join double the same number of vessels furnished by the French.

The ambassador cannot discover what the French ambassador has been driving at during the last eight or ten days, visiting Dover, Sandwich, and other ports, unless it be to ship troops for the invasion of Zealand. He has been told that ten or twelve thousand Scots are also expected; but he does not vouch for the truth of this report.

The ambassador advises the equipment of a fleet as soon as possible, the ships to be procured, if so it can be, from captains having letters of mark,‡ because they are said to be naturally great enemies to the English, who fear them above all things.

The English merchants who have been arrested [in Spain?] should be well treated and sent home, but their goods detained, and after an inventory has been taken of them,

* "Memoire comment l'ambassadeur fust arresté à Londres." After the word "ambassadeur" the name of *Chapuis* is inserted between brackets. This was owing, no doubt, to a mistake of the clerk who drew out the copy, as Don Iñigo de Mendoza, not Etienne Chapuis, was the ambassador arrested in consequence of similar proceedings taken with the English ambassadors at Burgos.

† "En une maison hors de sa cognoissance."

‡ "Certains navires de guairre sur merre, et s'il estoit possible avoir les d'ung *marequois* ? pour ce que se dist estres grant ennemy des Engletz, et les craint bien fort."

1528.

placed in safe keeping. It may be stated at the same time that this measure is merely for the purpose of making war on the King and Cardinal, for the common people here side entirely with the Emperor. Had they not been his friends they must by this time have completely turned against him, with all that the Cardinal has been telling them about the Emperor detaining the English merchants prisoners, &c.

Has heard that the Cardinal has been trying to prejudice Parliament against the Emperor, hoping thereby to incite the country to declare war against him; but the members have replied that they have no intention whatever to go to war with their old friends, and ally themselves with their enemies. On another occasion the Cardinal stated [in Parliament] that the King himself desired war, but he was told that, if so, the Council ought to be consulted thereupon, and that otherwise war should not be declared, for that they would not undertake it in any other way.

Also that the cause of the arrest of the ambassador and the seizure of several ships from the Low Countries and from Spain is that an English ship has returned from the latter country without cargo, its master declaring that other English and French ships have been seized there since the declaration of war made to the Emperor. The ambassador having denied this statement of the Cardinal's, many angry words ensued between the two.

Is surprised at not hearing any tidings of the ambassadors whom the Emperor wrote that he was sending to England; supposes they are coming by sea.

Hears that it is the intention of the King to forbid the importation into England of corn and provisions and merchandise of all kinds; this measure will create still greater discontent in the country, and probably rebellion against the King and Cardinal.

Also that the Cardinal has offered to lend money to the merchants if they will transfer the woollen trade to the Osterlings; but this the merchants refused, saying that the Osterlings already owed them more than they were worth.

As soon as the King hears that his ambassador [in Spain] is set free, he (Don Iñigo) will also regain his liberty. The ships from the Low Countries are set free, but those from Spain are still detained.

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

11 Feb. 341.

LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 136.

The bearer will be Esteuan Spindola, who is about to leave Genoa for Spain. He belongs to one of the principal families of that city, is a good servant of His Imperial Majesty, and a partisan of the Adorni, and, therefore, will be able to report much better than anyone else can about the state of affairs in that city. He goes for the purpose of kissing the Emperor's hands and offering his services and those of his brother,

1528.

Agostino, the governor, now a refugee (*foraxido*) here, at La Mirandola. He will say how he and his friends, and indeed most of the principal citizens, are trying to proclaim the union, and appoint Andrea Doria "gonfaloniero," and that they have applied to the King of France for permission, promising him considerable help in money. Whether Spinola and his friends have made, or intend making, a similar application to His Imperial Majesty, is more than he (Soria) can say, but (*cipher*;) in his humble opinion, if the application has really been made, the Emperor ought not to grant it, for evidently the intention of the petitioners is to get the government of the city into their own hands, and then turn against the Emperor; whereas, if the King of France grants their request, and the union is proclaimed, there will be plenty of opportunities to punish the citizens for their disloyalty, and make them disburse double the sum paid to the King of France for his consent. Should the union not take place, and Genoa return to the obedience of its legitimate master, then in that case it will be easy to obtain from the citizens a considerable sum of money wherewith to pay a number of galleys, for when he (Soria) resided there as Imperial ambassador, a yearly income of 5,000 ducats, besides 25,000 down, was offered to the Doge (Antoniotto Adorno) if he would consent to the union, and the ambassador himself was tempted with a good bribe. In whatever way this is effected, His Imperial Majesty should have there a trusty governor, who may keep the citadel and the ordinary galleys at his service.

(*Common writing*;) Leyva wishes him (Soria) and the Doge [of Genoa] to go to him at Milan, but this is impracticable owing to the great distance, and to the roads being occupied by the enemy.

Has done all he could to ascertain the number and quality of Lautrech's troops. He has with him the 400 lances he brought from France—all young and inexperienced soldiers, —5,000 Germans and 800 Switzers, besides 2,500 infantry, composed of Gascons and Frenchmen, to whom he has since added 2,000 Italians. His artillery consists of 23 pieces of ordnance, of all calibres. Mons. de Valdemont (Vaudemont), whom they call King of Naples, is also with him, and it is asserted that the Marquis of Saluzzo (Michael Antonio) and the Duke of Urbino are to join him with about 3,000 foot and 400 lances; but all these forces put together will be no match for our army the moment it leaves Rome.

It is a great pity that there is not at present in that city a person of such reputation as fitly to represent the Emperor and watch over his affairs.*

Hears from Lucca, and also from Sienna, that Pirro Colonna and a son of Cardinal Farnese had been in treaty with some

* Perez must have quitted Rome about the 10th of February, for his last letter from that city is dated the 8th.

1528.

citizens of Orbieto to carry away or kill the Pope one night. The conspiracy, they say, was discovered, and some of those engaged in it executed. The news, however, requires confirmation.

Leonelo di Carpi, the brother of Alberto, a near relative of the Count de la Mirandola, is now here, owing to Novi, which he formerly owned, having been taken possession of by the Duke of Ferrara. The said Leonelo is a good servant of the Emperor, and ready to obey his orders.

Andrea del Burgo writes from Ferrara in date of the 10th, enclosing news from that locality, and Sanchez also forwards intelligence from Hungary and other parts. Twelve of the Venetian galleys returning from the Sardinia expedition had entered Leorna (Leghorn), but they were in such bad condition, and so destitute of men and crews, that they could not put to sea for a long time. Of the 6,000 Corsicans (*Corços*), soldiers or sailors, who went to Sardinia, upwards of 4,000 had died from hunger and the plague. The remainder were at Casar (Casale), closely invested by the Viceroy of that island, who certainly would not let one of them escape.

The Duke of Ferrara has already contributed his monthly quota of 6,000 ducats towards the League, and has the 100 men-at-arms in readiness for Lautrech.—La Mirandola, 11th February 1528.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 8.

12 Feb. **342.** DON UGO DE MONCADA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 147.

Wrote last on the 16th of December, informing His Imperial Majesty of the preparations made for the defence of Naples. Since then the danger has increased, it being now certain that Lautrech with all his forces is on this side of the frontier. Has despatched to the Abruzzi the Prince of Malfi (Amalfi), a chivalrous man (*gentil caballero*), and a good servant of His Imperial Majesty, who with his own company of men-at-arms, and that of Count de Motella, composed of 130, besides 800 Spaniards and 200 light horse, has undertaken to make head against the enemy in those parts. Fifteen hundred Germans from among those who came from Spain with the late Viceroy [Lannoy] have since been added to that number, so that for the present every preparation has been made to meet the enemy.

A copy of Leyva's last letter to him is enclosed as well as one received from the King of Hungary.* The latter had given a peremptory order for the raising of fresh levies to the amount of 15,000 men; but on the other hand the Switzers, at

* Leyva's letter to Sanchez is not in the Academy's volume, but the King's, dated the 7th of February, is under No. 333, p. 580.

1528.

the instigation of the Kings of France and England, were also preparing to come down.

Has given orders for two old galleys that were in the dockyard (*tercenal*) to be refitted, and two new ones to be built, so that they may be of service this summer.

Renews his application for a successor in the command, a person of authority and experience, who may take charge of the Emperor's affairs, civil as well as military.

At the solicitation of the Prince of Orange and the rest of the Imperial commanders who wished to have a resident at the Pope's court, Juan Antonio Muxetula, president of the "Camera della Sumaria," will be sent to Orbieto, there to hasten the fulfilment of the conditions stipulated with His Holiness at the time of his liberation. He (Muxetula) is an excellent and very learned man, who is sure to give satisfaction, and has hitherto served with fidelity and zeal. The post of Regent of the Chancery, now vacant by the death of Miçer Marcello Gazella, might be given to him as a reward for past services, and a sort of encouragement in the delicate mission with which he is now charged.—Naples, 12th February 1528.

Signed: "Don Ugo de Moncada."

Spanish. Original almost entirely written in cipher. No deciphering appended. Duplicate. pp. 12.

12 Feb. 343. HIERONYMO DE FRANTSO to SECRETARY PERO GARCIA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 149.

Has received his letter of the 1st December, and given the enclosed to the Princess of Sulmona.* She has sent Torpia, the chamberlain of her late husband, to Court to attend to her affairs.

On general affairs he can only refer him to Don Ugo's letters. Lautrech's army has 'already crossed the Tronto and taken possession of a small town called Civitella. Every effort has been made to procure money for the Germans, who are really insatiable. If on the 29th of each month they are not paid they are sure to mutiny. The Prince has just taken to them 50,000 cr. (*scuti*), which have been procured with the greatest difficulty through bleeding every vein of our body. With these, and 20,000 more which Miçer Antonio Sanseverino is to give for a cardinal's hat, it is to be hoped that two months' pay will be issued to the lansquenets, and the whole army induced to quit Rome.—Naples, 12th February 1528.

Signed: "Hieronymo de Frantso."†

Addressed: "To the most magnificent lord, Signor Pero Garcia, Secretary, and of the Emperor's Council."

Indorsed: "From the Lieutenant of the Sumaria. 12th February 1528. Answered."

Italian. Original partly in cipher. pp. 4½.

* Francoise de Montbel, widow of Charles de Lannoy.

† The same individual mentioned in Lope de Soria's letter No. 335.

1528

12 Feb. 344. COUNT DE NOYA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 153.

Avails himself of the departure of Archbishop don Juan de Centellas, bearer of the present, to inform His Imperial Majesty of the state of affairs at Naples generally, and particularly at Taranto, for the defence and repair of which (*in la custodia et reparatione di cui*) he has been appointed by the Viceroy and Collateral Council.—Taranto, 12th February 1528.

Signed: "El Conde de Noya."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From Count de Noya. 12th February 1528."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

12 Feb. 345. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 154.

Will be brief, as his letter of the 8th inst., sent by way of Naples, will most likely be delivered at the same time as this.

The Prince [of Orange], the Marquis del Guasto, and the Duke of Malfe (Amalfi) arrived last night. Immediately after the Prince spoke to the captains of the lansquenets, who hearing that two months' pay would be issued to-day, and two more, one every month, declared their determination to march at once against the enemy. As to the Spaniards, though no money was distributed to them, and they considered this an injury, they made no difficulty whatever, so that in five or six days at the most we shall all be out of Rome and in pursuit of the enemy, who, they say, has already crossed the Tronto, and taken possession of some villages within the territory of Naples.

Yesterday the light cavalry and certain companies of Spanish and Italian infantry that were quartered outside Rome came in. They will leave to-morrow for Palestrina under the command of Hernando Gonzaga, who takes with him some pieces of ordnance for the purpose of attacking Valmontone, where Giovanni Battista Conte, lord of that place, has taken up a strong position. This being done, the rest of the Imperial army will join, and all together march on Naples.

Antonio de Sanct Severino, newly created cardinal, brought 20,000 ducats, which, added to the 50,000 of the Prince, make up the sum of 70,000. The Legate (Campeggio) will give the 5,000 or 6,000 more that are wanting for the complement of the 145,000, but only on condition that the army evacuates Rome, which has been agreed to.

It is believed that the forces of the confederates in this neighbourhood will try to outflank our army, so as to cut off provisions, &c., but every precaution is being taken to defeat their plans.

1528.

In order to march more quickly no artillery will be taken, with the exception of one gun and two half guns. The rest shall be sent by sea to Naples or Gaeta, wherever it may be most wanted.

The Prince of Melfi (Amalfi), who came to Rome for the purpose of serving the Siennese with his 100 riders, Burgundian fashion (*ginetes á la Borgoñona*), has been appointed to the command of the van, and therefore will lead this army to Naples.—Rome, 12th February 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacrae., Cesaæ., Cathcæ. Majti."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Rome. Perez. 12th February."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

12 Feb. 346. The KING OF BOHEMIA AND HUNGARY to ALONSO SANCHEZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 175.

We do not think that the reinforcements (*socorro*) can be in Italy before the middle of Lent, owing to the difficulty of making levies in provinces so far situated from the seat of war, for although some might be raised much nearer, the men in general are not so well disciplined and obedient to their commanders as could be desired. This notwithstanding, you shall soon have in Italy a very efficient force under the Duke of Brunswick, but care should be taken by you (Sanchez), and the rest of the Emperor's ministers in Italy, that these new levies be properly provided for, as you must well know how it is with these soldiers, and that if food and money are not regularly issued to them they will desert and procure them from the enemy. It is also very necessary that the Emperor appoint a general-in-chief whom all may obey without scruple of any sort (*sin pundonor alguno*), for whenever the command of an army is in many hands, causes of discord arise, which bring on destruction and ruin.

With regard to the fresh letters of credit which the Emperor is said to have remitted, amounting to 100,000 ducats, We know nothing yet. Triple that sum would hardly be sufficient for the support of these men and of those already in Italy during a campaign of four months. As to Lope de Soria and other of the Emperor's ministers in Italy presuming that We can, with an empty treasury and a war of our own to maintain, help Leyva in the least, it is out of the question.

We shall be glad to see what Moncada and Leyva have to say to our plans for a future campaign.—Strigonia (Gran), 12th February 1528.

Spanish. Copy in the hand of Sanchez's secretary. pp. 2.

1528.

13 Feb. 347. The BISHOP OF TRENT* to ALONSO SANCHEZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 176.

(*Cipher* :) His Majesty, the King of Bohemia, has written to Madame Marguerite of Flanders, inquiring whether it is true that new letters of credit have arrived from Spain. He is daily expecting an answer in the affirmative, as he cannot persuade himself that the Emperor will forget him at such a critical moment. You yourself ought to work with your usual diligence to this effect, since you know that the sum hitherto received will hardly be sufficient to take these Germans half-way to their place of destination.—Strigonia (Gran), 13th February 1528.

Italian. Copy entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. p. 1.

14 Feb. 348. COUNT ARANDA† to the EMPEROR.

S. E. C. d. C. L. 13,
f. 7.
B. M. Add. 25,577,
f. 182.

On hearing of the challenge sent by the Kings of France and England, his first thought was to offer his personal services. Is now prevented by illness from leaving the house, but nevertheless he and his family are at the Emperor's disposal, fully trusting that he will make use of them.—Epila, 14th February 1528.

Addressed: "To His Catholic and Imperial Majesty."

Indorsed: "From Count Aranda. Answered."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

16 Feb. 349. DON UGO DE MONCADA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 156.

Wrote last on the 12th February.‡ Since then advices have come from Rome, in date of the 13th, stating that the Imperial army was on the point of marching out of the city. The Marquis del Guasto with the cavalry, and part of the Spaniards and Italians, was to advance first, and attack Valmontone. The rest of the army was to take the same route, and, according as the enemy's position might be, march towards Pulla (Puglia) or the Abruzzi.

The 16 Venetian galleys which were with the confederated fleet came yesterday in sight of Yscla (Ischia), but were soon obliged by stress of weather to run into the Fretto of Procida,§ where they are still. It is reported by a Neapolitan, who came in one of them from Liorna (Leghorn), that all are going

* The name of this prelate, whose letters to Sanchez occur so often in this correspondence, was Bernardus Clesius or Bernard de Clos, as French writers erroneously call him. He was already bishop of Trent in Maximilian's time, and before the year 1519, as appears from various letters published by Le Glay, *Negotiations*, &c. In 1530, and after Charles' journey to Italy, he was created cardinal by Paul III. under the title of Sancti Stephani in Cœlia Monte. He died in 1539.

† His name was Gurrea, one of the principal families in Aragon.

‡ See No. 342, p. 590.

§ The Fretto or Procida's Straits.

1528.

to Corfu to be refitted. Andrea Doria was at Genoa.—Naples, 16th February 1528.

Signed: "Don Ugo de Moncada."

Addressed: "To the Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From Don Ugo. 16th February."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

19 Feb. 350. ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 130.

On the 6th inst. Lautrech was still at Requenate (Recanato). He made no advance that day, as was reported, owing to the bad state of the roads for the transport of artillery. No news whatever, either from Rome or Naples. The Imperialists had not yet left. Cannot persuade himself that the Spaniards, at least, will refuse going to the assistance of Naples.

(*Cipher* :) There is here such a rumour afloat about Coradin, the colonel of the Germans, who was formerly at Cremona, being in treaty with the leaguers to go over to them with several companies of lansquenets, that he (Sanchez) considers it his duty to inform His Imperial Majesty thereof. The rumour is so general, and has lately gained so much ground, that he is inclined to believe it, the more so that it has now been ascertained that when Cremona was besieged by the confederates under the Duke of Urbino, he (Coradin) had secret intelligence with him, whereby the surrender and loss of that important fortress were facilitated.

(*Common writing* :) It is said that this Signory is making new levies for the purpose of laying siege to Milan, or, in the event of the Germans coming down soon, defending their own territory, (*cipher* :) which, they say, is very scantily provisioned, the last harvest having been very poor.

(*Common writing* :) Of the German reinforcements no news has yet been received, but this Signory must have some better sources of information, since the abovesaid warlike preparations can have no other object; besides which, the message sent to their proveditor-general at Corfu to place his eight or ten galleys at the disposal of Lautrech, confirms it.

(*Cipher* :) Miçer Andrea del Burgo writes to say that the Pope is actually in favour of the League, and waiting only for an opportunity to declare himself. He (Sanchez) shares this opinion. Whatever may be His Holiness' assurances in public of his desire for peace, and willingness to fulfil his engagements, there can be no doubt that his urging Lautrech on to the invasion of Naples, his not paying the money owing to our army; his not delivering Civittà Castellana as agreed; his ill-humour against the Duke of Ferrara, and even against Cardinal Cibo, who brought him over to the League and concluded with him the treaty which His Holiness now refuses to ratify, are evident signs of his decided leaning to the side of

1528.

our enemies. It is, indeed, asserted that the Cardinal (Cibo) is exceedingly angry at the Pope's not choosing to ratify a treaty made with his approbation and by his express commands brought by a special messenger from Sanct Angelo, and that he is only waiting for the recovery of the Papal Vice-Legate, who is now unwell in the Bolognese, to repair to Orbietto and represent in consistory the reasons he had for concluding the agreement.

Leyva still holds his ground in the Duchy, but should the enemy lay siege to the capital, and the German reinforcements tarry in their march, he will be in great danger, not so much from the confederates as from the Milanese themselves, for he has not a farthing to spend, nor provisions to feed his troops.

(*Cipher* :) Hears from the Bishop of Trent at Buda that His Highness the King of Hungary is daily expecting the answer he (Sanchez) sent him on the 15th ult^o, and holding a diet there, from which he expects a good contribution in money in case the Turk, yielding to the solicitations of certain people, should take it into his head to help the Vayvod and invade his patrimonial estates, which is very probable, for a gentleman of this city told a friend of Sanchez that King Ferdinand would not be able to come [to Italy], as he would soon have work enough on his own hands.

(*Common writing* :) News has come that Lautrech left Requenate on the 6th and marched upon Fermo, the last town in Romagna, there to decide on which way he would advance into the kingdom of Naples, though it is rumoured here that part of his forces has already crossed the river Tronto.

The fleet of the confederates that was in Sardinia has come to Liorna (Leghorn). It threatens to go to Naples.

Just as he was about to close this letter intelligence came that the whole of the Imperial army, Germans as well as Spaniards, has left Rome for Naples. May this news turn out true.—Venice, 19th February 1528.

Signed : "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed : "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty, in the hands of Secretary Soria."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

19 Feb. 351. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 163.

(*Cipher* :) After his despatch of the 12th was sent off, on the same night, there came a letter from Leyva, inclosing his answer to the questions put by the King of Hungary. It was dated the 1st, and he (Sanchez) forwarded it without loss of time. Has since heard that his packet has safely passed the frontier, which is no small event in the present state of the roads.

A courier has arrived with letters from France of the 7th inst. The intelligence is that a gentleman of the French ambassadors' retinue had escaped from the Imperial Court. He had met

1528.

the governor of a town on these frontiers, and related to him how the ambassadors of the League had publicly declared war, and how the Emperor had ordered the said ambassadors to be arrested. Hears that the moment this Signory heard the news, there was a talk of doing the same with him (Sanchez), but after some discussion it was resolved to wait for further particulars and confirmation of the news. Is prepared for any event, and has taken his measures in such a way that even if he should be confined to a dungeon the Emperor's work will be done all the same.

(*Common writing* :) Has been told that two of Perez's letters to him have been intercepted, of the 17th of January and 7th inst. In the latter of the two that Secretary announced as certain the departure of the Imperial army within three days in pursuit of the enemy.

(*Cipher* :) Has likewise heard, though he does not vouch for the truth of the report, that when the brother of the Duke of Lorraine, Mr. de Vaudemont, went up to the Pope [at Orbieto] to ask for the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, the Pope's answer was that he would first consult the King of France about it. Lautrech having equally pressed him (the Pope) to declare for the League, he has consulted his cardinals, who have resolved to write a letter to the Emperor, exhorting him to grant [the Pope and the confederates] fair terms, as otherwise he would be compelled to join the League. This information may be relied upon as communicated by a person in high position, and who has never told him (Sanchez) an untruth.

(*Common writing* :) No positive news of the Imperial army; some maintaining that it has already left Rome, whilst others say it has not. Lautrech has not passed Fermo, but the Venetian proveditor and the light horse are at Termini in the Abruzzi.—Venice, 19th February 1528.

Signed : "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed : "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty (to be delivered into the hands of Secretary Pero de Soria)."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

20 Feb. 352. The EMPEROR to POPE CLEMENT VII.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Muñoz, A. 80,
f. 127.

The Apostolic Nuncio [in Spain] can bear testimony to his (the Emperor's) good intentions, and say how very much grieved he has been at the Pope's long detention, and the evils and inconveniences that have resulted therefrom. Is rejoiced at his liberation, which would certainly have taken place much sooner had not Lannoy's death hindered the execution of his orders. The delay in replacing the Viceroy had no other cause but his wish to select a person of reputation and parts, who might conjointly with his Nuncio testify to

1528.

his sentiments of affection and respect towards the Holy See, efface any scruples that His Holiness might entertain, and repair the faults arising out of the Viceroy's death. Has now decided to commit that charge to Don Ugo de Moncada, a person of trust and experience, well acquainted with the integrity of his motives. Begs credence for him.—Burgos, 20th February 1528.

“De mano del humilde hijo de Vuestra Santidad.”

“Yo el Rey.”

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

20 Feb. 353.

S. E. L. 1,454,
f. 70.

B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 183.

The EMPEROR to PHILIBERT DE CHALON, Prince of Orange, and DON HUGO DE MONCADA.

Empowers them to go to Rome and tender obedience to the Pope in his name. “Quum ea semper nostra erga Apostolicam sedem pietas fuerit, ut Romanum Pontificem, qui Christum agit in terris, nec secus ac patrem colere ac observare curaverimus, nuper quidem audierimus Beatissimum in Christo Patrem D. Clementem Septimum Sed. Rom. ac universalis ecclesiæ Pontificem Maximum, qui de nostro animo atque voluntate secus fortassè cogitans ab amicitia nostra recesserat, &c.”—Burgos, 20th February 1528.

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.

20 Feb. 354.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 83,
f. 317.

B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 184.

The EMPEROR to SECRETARY PEREZ.

His letter of the 11th December last has come to hand. Thanks him for the information it contains, and also for his advice on matters concerning the army. Don Ugo de Moncada has been written to on the subject, and will inform him (Perez) of any arrangement that is to be made.

The said Don Ugo writes to say that His Holiness wishes to send him by land the General [of the Franciscans], accompanied by one of his own chamberlains, and that a safe-conduct has accordingly been obtained for their passage through France. If our ambassador* [to the Pope] has not yet made his appearance in Italy it is owing to his waiting for an answer to the letter asking whether his presence will be agreeable. In case he does go, We command you to attend him whenever he visits the Pope, &c.—Burgos, 20th February 1528.

Addressed: “To Secretary Perez at Rome.”

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

20 Feb. 355.

S. E. C. 1. C. L. 16,
f. 407.

B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 185.

The MARQUIS OF VILLENA to the EMPEROR.

Knows full well that the Emperor has done more even than was reasonable to expect in order to procure peace. He is perfectly justified in the eyes of God and men, and of his

* The ambassador was Mons. de Migliau (or Veyre), whose arrival at Naples has already been recorded at page 401.

1528.

Spanish subjects especially. Hopes that God will favour his cause as the just one, and give him strength to punish a second time that proud and overbearing King of France, and the ill-advised King of England. Illness has prevented him from writing sooner.—Escalona, 20th of February 1528.

Signed : "El Marques."

Addressed : "To His Imperial and Catholic Majesty the Emperor, our Lord."

Indorsed : "From the Marquis of Villena.* Answered."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

22 Feb. 356.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 158.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to
CHANCELLOR GATTINARA.

(*Cipher* :) The Bishop of Trent advises that the Turk is again making great preparations to invade Hungary. The news is grave, and appears to be true, if reliance is to be placed in the rumours current in this city. Yet it is very strange that, whilst the Infidel is stirring with such formidable power, so many Christian Princes and Potentates should persist in making war on the Emperor, and perhaps too in inciting against him the cruel enemies of our Faith.—Venice, 21st February 1528.

Signed : "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed : "To the Illustrious Sir the High Chancellor."

Spanish. Original in cipher. p. 1.

22 Feb. 357.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 161.

The SAME to the EMPEROR.

The fleet of the confederates at Leghorn is broken up; the Venetian galleys come to Corfú; the French go to Marseilles; Andrea Doria with his to Genoa. All go to be refitted, so that for some months at least nothing is to be apprehended from the enemy's forces.

(*Cipher* :) Has again had letters from the King of Hungary of the 30th ulto., and from the Bishop of Trent of the 5th inst. Both allude to the great preparations which the Infidel Turk is making to invade that kingdom.

One of the King's secretaries writes to say that the Bishop of Trent has just been appointed High Chancellor; a very good election indeed; considering that the Bishop is a man of great ability and virtue, and has proved on every occasion a zealous servant of the Empire.

Enclosed is a copy of Leyva's answer† to the King [of Hungary].

(*Common writing* :) It is reported that this Signory have sent orders to their proveditor at Corfú to sail for Pulla

* Don Diego Lopez Pacheco, Duke of Escalona and Marquis of Villena. The letter is docketed "from the Marquis of *Denia*" by mistake.

† Not in the volume. It is the same alluded to in Sanchez' despatch of the 19th February, No. 351.

1528.

(Puglia) with all the galleys under his command, to which end 1,500 soldiers and sailors are to be added from this city. They have likewise resolved to name two proveditors, one for Friuli and the other for the Vicentino, for fear of the Germans coming down and attacking those provinces.

Advices have been received from Orbioto of the 11th inst, that on the morning of that day the Spaniards and Italians had left Rome, and that the Germans were to leave in the evening. Pedro Navarro and the Venetians were already in the kingdom of Naples, close to Aquila, which some say has surrendered to them.

The Pope has given a cardinal's hat to Miçer Francesco Cornaro, but the preconisation is not to take place until Easter, when several more cardinals will be created; all this for the sake of the money which His Holiness no doubt destines for our enemies, since he is so backward in fulfilling his engagements with us.—Venice, 22nd February 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty (to be delivered into the hands of Secretary Pero Garcia)."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

22 Feb. **358.** DOCTOR DEL BARCO to FRANCISCO DE LOS COVOS, the Emperor's first Secretary.
S. E. C. d. C. L. 16,
f. 314.
B. M. *Add.* 28,577,
f. 186.

Three days ago received his orders commanding him to arrest all French, English, Venetians, and Florentines who might stay in, or pass through, the towns of Yecla* and Almansa. Has taken the necessary measures to have his (the Emperor's) orders executed.—Almansa, 22nd February 1528.

Signed: "Dr. del Barco."

Addressed: "To my most magnificent Lord and Master Francisco de los Covos, &c."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

23 Feb. **359.** ALONSO SANCHEZ to the EMPEROR.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 165.

Since his last of yesterday morning the Signory has received intelligence that Aquila surrendered to the leaguers on the 15th or 16th inst. It appears that the inhabitants sent away the garrison, saying that they did not intend causing harm (*hacer daño*) to anyone. The consequence was that the Imperialists fell in with Pedro Navarro, who was waiting in ambush in the neighbourhood, and surrendered to him.

* Both these towns are on the road to Alicante, Valencia, and other ports of the eastern coast, at that time very much frequented by French and English traders.

1528.

(*Cipher* :) God forbid that other towns of the Abruzzi and even beyond borders should follow the example of Aquila!

(*Common writing* :) The intelligence from Rome is being confirmed. The Spaniards and Italians had evacuated the city; the Germans were to leave next day, as the money had arrived from Naples. (*Cipher* :) If so, they will be there before the enemy; if otherwise most of the kingdom, with the exception of the strong places and castles, must fall into the enemy's hands.

(*Common writing* :) Hears that the Signory has just lent 40,000 cr. to the Duke Francesco [Sforza] for the purpose of raising troops and waging war in the Milanese, which intelligence, if true, coupled with the actual invasion of Naples, is so alarming that he (Sanchez) loses no opportunity of writing to the King of Bohemia and exhorting him to hasten with the supplies.—Venice, 23rd February 1528.

Signed : "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed : "To His most Sacred, &c."*

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins.

25 Feb. 360. MADAME to [DON IÑIGO].

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof- u. StaatsArch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 5.

We wrote the other day from Bruxelst† informing you that the French ambassadors [in Spain] had taken congé of the Emperor. As in the last despatches received from you no mention is made of this intelligence, We have reason to believe that our letter has miscarried; and as it might happen that the French, who are continually taking advantage of things and events, had informed the King and Legate of this circumstance, in order the more to excite their anger against the Emperor, We deem it necessary to relate to you what passed on the occasion.

The King of France, after recovering his liberty at the hands of the Emperor, behaved, as you know, most ungratefully towards him. Though His Imperial Majesty wished to convert him from an enemy into an affectionate brother, by giving him in marriage his own sister (Eleonor), who might have been his heir, as he had no children at the time; although there was no clause in the treaty of Madrid which he (the King) could not fulfil, he has ever since continued to break his faith and word of honour, and, immediately upon his return to his own kingdom, proceeded to attack His Imperial Majesty, and carry out manifold hostile acts by sea and land, in order to wrest from him the estate of Milan, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, besides provoking other princes and potentates to declare war against him and pursue the same hostile course.

* A note on the cover of this letter states: "Madame a ouvert ceste lettre inadvertemment, mais le contenu na este veu."

† This minute has no address, but it is evident from its contents that it was directed to Don Iñigo or to Madame's own ambassador in London.

1528.

His Imperial Majesty, therefore, could have no call whatever to alter the clauses of the Madrid convention for the French King's advantage and profit; rather, indeed, to demand larger sums and take the revenge, which he could well do, considering the very powerful armies he has in Italy and elsewhere.

Since then, on the interposition of the King and Legate of England, who wished for peace, His Imperial Majesty, in order to please them, has waived some of his own rights, no longer insisting on the restitution of the Duchy of Burgundy, which yet notoriously belongs to him, but consenting to accept instead the sum of money offered by the King of France. Upon all other articles of the treaty the Emperor made every possible concession, so that in reality there remained no other point under discussion but the recall of his Italian army and the restitution of Genoa and other territories accidentally conquered by him.

Knowing by experience the King's bad faith, the Emperor naturally stipulated that the withdrawal of the French army and restitution of Genoa should take place before the King's sons were released from captivity, which clause the King's ambassadors peremptorily refused to grant. His Imperial Majesty then, in order to show his trust in the King and Legate of England, and at the same time his ardent love of peace, offered to place in their hands such securities and hostages for the faithful execution of that clause on his part as had once been given for the restitution of Tournay, or might be considered necessary in the present case.

The French ambassadors having rejected the Emperor's offers, on the plea that they had no mandate to accept such a condition, the negotiations were broken off entirely by their own fault, and they accordingly took leave of the Emperor on the 21st of January, announcing that on the following day (the 22nd) they would read the act of defiance and challenge which their master, the King of France, sent to the Emperor; which defiance and challenge, however, is a very unusual proceeding, coming from one who in reality is the Emperor's prisoner, and has made incessant war upon him for the last six years without any previous notice, &c.

The Emperor, therefore, has done everything in his power to obtain peace. He has not attacked the King's dominions on the side of Spain, or elsewhere in France, notwithstanding that he (the King) has invaded Sardinia and other countries belonging to the Emperor, confined his ambassador [Granvelle] in a narrow prison, as if he were a felon, though His Imperial Majesty, after the challenge, only caused him to be arrested, but perfectly well treated, until he heard of the release of his own.

All which things put together sufficiently prove that the said King of France, far from promoting the peace of Christendom, wishes to keep it in continual disturbance, and that the money he has raised in his dominions, instead of being destined, as publicly stated, to the ransom of his sons, is only intended to carry on war against the Emperor.

1528.

You shall communicate the above to the King and Legate of England, and tell them that the Emperor will shortly send by sea a suitable personage (*un bon personnage*) to declare the same unto them, hoping that when they have heard his reasons they will refrain from making war on his subjects for the sake of pleasing the French, their traditional enemies.

We have been told that several libels and defamatory writings against the Emperor have been spread [in England] for the purpose of exciting the people against His Imperial Majesty, a sort of thing which appears to us rather strange. We can hardly believe that the King and Legate can be aware of this, for if they were they would no doubt speedily stop such proceedings, for certainly His Imperial Majesty is too great a Prince for such scurrilous treatment.* You will make inquiries about this, and if you should find the report to be true, and that the said libellous tracts are in circulation, you will not fail to apprise both the King and the Legate of the fact, that they may order them to be at once withdrawn.

You tell us in your last letter that the Legate wishes the commercial intercourse between the English subjects and the Low Countries to continue as before. We cannot conceive what made him open this subject to you, for certainly We never intended having it stopped, nor will We unless the King of England gives cause for it. You may say this to the Legate, whenever you have an opportunity, and let us hear as soon as possible how the King and Legate have taken your representations.—Malines (Mechlin), 25th February 1528.

French. Original draft. pp. 8.

26 Feb. **361.** The MARQUIS DE VILLAFRANCA† to the EMPEROR.

S. C. d. C. L. 16,
f. 314.
B. M. *Add.* 28,576,
f. 187.

There is a rumour that the King of England is making preparations for war, and intends attacking Coruña. Has written to the Governor of Galicia, inquiring whether there is any foundation for the report. Should it prove true, he (the Marquis) will go thither with his retainers and defend the country.—Corullon, 26th February 1528.

Signed: "El Marques de Villafranca."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From the Marques of Villafranca."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

* "Car la dite Majesté n'est pas si petit Prince qu'on le deust blasonner (blasmer?) de telle sorte."

† Don Pedro de Toledo.

1528.
13 March. 362.
S. E. L. 867,
f. 195.
B. M. Add. 28,577.
f. 196.

NEWS from ENGLAND addressed by ANDREA DEL BORGO to the ARCHBISHOP DON JUAN CENTELLAS.

As a certain bishop* was some time ago conferring with the King of England about the affairs of Milan, he happened to say that neither the Emperor nor the King of France wanted the Duchy [of Milan] for themselves, at which the King replied, "That is not true, for both wish for it." The Bishop himself related this to Andrea del Borgo.

Has heard from a credible source that the said King [of England] will do his utmost to prevent the Emperor's aggrandizement, and ardently desires (*en todas maneras del mundo*) to have his daughter, Princess Mary, married to one of the sons of the French King. He has repeatedly said so in the presence of many people.

The King of England, moreover, is said to be in treaty with the Switzers, to whom he has made large offers [of money] if they will come down to Italy.

On the 1st of February the undersigned ambassador (Borgo) received intelligence that the peace which the Emperor and King of France were on the point of making† together had been prevented by the intrigues of the English King. This information has come from France to the Duke of Ferrara through persons deserving all credit.

Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

3 March. 363.
S. E. L. 867, f. 196.
B. M. Add. 28 577,
f. 196.

The SAME to the SAME.

No less than six ambassadors of the League have lately made their appearance at the Court of Ferrara; namely, the Pope's Legate (Cardinal Cibo), one from France,‡ another from England (Gregorio de Casale), Venice (Gasparo Contarini), Florence, and Milan.§ Each of them brings a numerous suite of retainers. The Duke has given them apartments in his own palace, and entertains them most honourably, providing for their personal expenses as long as they remain at his Court. They came with their usual ostentation and pride, presuming they would get all their demands granted on the very first day of their arrival.

The Duke, however, has managed to dally with them for 17 consecutive days, waiting to see whether in the meantime the Imperial army would quit Rome and come to Lombardy.

The ambassadors, on the other hand, wishing to put an end to their commission, urged the Duke to declare himself and

* D. Iñigo de Mendoza Bishop of Burgos, was still ambassador in England; but some other bishop must here be meant, for he (D. Iñigo) did not leave London until 1529, and therefore could not possibly have seen Borgo at Ferrara.

† "Que la concordia e paz de la C. Mt. y del Rey de Francia fuera concluyda y hecha, y que el Rey de Inglaterra la abia estorbado."

‡ Giovanne Gioachino Seigneur de Vaux.

§ Florence was represented by Antonio Francesco di Albizi, and Milan by Comte Massimiliano Stampa.

1528.

join the League, for which they made him very advantageous offers. Among other things promised to the Duke, if he would desert the Emperor's cause, to make his eldest son [Hercole d'Este] king of Naples, with a pension or tribute of 80,000 ducats annually to be made over to the King of France. He himself (the Duke) to be appointed captain-general of the armies of the League, and Mons. de Lautrec to return immediately to France. The sea ports in Pulla (Apulia) to be given to the Venetians. The wife [of Hercole] to be conducted to Italy at the expense of the allies. These conditions the Duke at once rejected, and, in order to gain time, proposed others, which, as they mostly concern the Pope, he thought would not be accepted. The ambassadors, however, made no difficulty, and sent to consult His Holiness, who, being out of Rome, has naturally refused to ratify them.

The ambassadors of the League demanded 10,000 ducats every month; the Duke offered 6,000. The case being referred to the Kings of France and England, they decided for the larger sum, which the Duke gave at once. On the 4th of February, Mons de Lautrec started for Ancona, but up to that time the Duke had not sent his contingent of men-at-arms to the French camp, though he had been urged to do so.

The chamberlain (*camarero*) whom the Duke sent to the Pope at Horveto (Orbieto) had returned from thence, announcing that His Holiness refused to ratify the promises made to the Duke by the ambassadors of the League.

On the night of the day in which the Duke [of Ferrara] signed the treaty of the League, a protest was entered in his name before the Council, declaring that what he had done was only under compulsion, and for the preservation of his own estate, which he had held for 25 years at great expense. All his frontiers were open, and his towns defenceless, with the one exception of Ferrara, which might also be attacked by the Venetian fleet. Besides, the French being, as it were, at his door, and his own vassals not to be relied upon, he might lose in three days the whole of his dominions.

During the negotiations every night, at 12 o'clock, the Duke himself, or his agent (*fator*), came to the ambassador's* lodgings to inform him of what had been concluded in the morning with the delegates of the Italian League.

He was asked to send his eldest son to France, to be married there. When he (Borgo) left Ferrara the French ambassador had already taken leave of the Duke, offering to accompany Hercole to France. But the Duke cared little for his son or his marriage with the French Princess; the only thing he looked to was the Imperial service, for which he would willingly risk his life, his fortune, and estate.

The moment hostilities begin against the Venetians the Duke will do everything in his power to destroy the latter, for

* Andrea del Borgo.

1528.

as long as the negotiations lasted, it is well known that the ambassadors of the Signory never ceased threatening to send galleys and men down the river to attack Ferrara.

When George [Fruentsperg] with his Germans came to a town called Governo, which this Duke [of Ferrara] had given them for quarters, it happened that the Duke of Horbin (Urbino) and Joain (Giovannino) de' Medici, seeing that Fruentsperg and his Germans had no artillery, attacked them and gained some advantage over them (*los afrentaron*). Hearing of this, the Duke sent the Germans some of his own field pieces, and the captains of the League no longer dared attack him (Fruentsperg).

On the 28th of December last the King of Hungary wrote to his ambassador (Andrea del Borgo), enclosing credentials for the Duke, and requesting him to prepare provisions for a new division of Germans about to cross over [to Italy]. The ambassador delivered his message, and the Duke replied, "Not only provisions, but a bridge over the Pó; and anything else King Ferdinand may require shall be ready against the arrival of those troops, and if the Emperor's ministers only do their duty, I will willingly stake my fortune and life for his service."

When Rome was taken, the Duke wrote to the Imperial captains, recommending them not to allow 14 or 15 persons, whom he named, to leave the castle of St. Angelo. Among these were Laurencie (Renço) da Ceri; Alberto di Carpi, and several rich merchants, from whom sufficient money might have been obtained by way of ransom to pay the soldiers all their arrears. Instead of listening to the Duke's advice they released the above individuals without ransom, and kept only the cardinals, who, poor things, had no money to give; whence the mischances (*desconciertos*) of Rome have originated, as also has the harm done to the Imperial service.

When the Pope promised to give as security the cities of Parma and Piacenza, and the Imperial captains obtained letters to that effect commanding the governors, &c. to surrender, the Duke wrote to them not to come to these parts without a sufficient force, since the Pope would for certain deceive them, as he ultimately did; for happening to converse on the subject with the English ambassador (Casale), Borgo heard him say, "There is no hope of those cities surrendering, for as the Pope was going out of St. Angelo he sent secret orders to Parma and Piacenza by no means to open their gates to the Spaniards, but to disobey the briefs he had himself issued." Knowing this much, the Duke sent a messenger post haste to warn the Imperial captains against the Pope's treachery and deceit; they were not by any means to send the Papal letters without an army to support them, for if they did, they were sure to be duped. That is the reason why he (the Duke) would not send his own men on such an errand, as he was sure they would meet with humiliation (*afrenta*) and disappointment. When the royal patent came appointing him captain-general of the Imperial

1528.

forces in Italy, the Duke would have accepted the charge with gratitude, only he was in indifferent health at the time, and besides the Imperial army was in such a state of insubordination that the men would not obey their officers. Continual brawls were occurring between the soldiers of the different nationalities, Spaniards, Germans, and Italians, some of whom, as reported, had been bribed by the enemy.* Not considering himself sufficiently strong to take charge of such an army, the Duke declined the offer.

Even if after the taking of Rome the Imperial army had left that city, much might have been done for the Emperor's service, and the Duke can show numerous letters and applications of mighty barons and nobles in Italy who wished then to pass over to the Imperial service.

The Duke, therefore, cannot be held responsible for the blunders of the Imperial captains at Rome. If he is to serve the Emperor in future, he must be allowed to preserve his estate at any cost. That is why he has granted the French troops free passage through the Duchy.

Don Ercoles (his son) cannot do otherwise than obey his father's will. He used to come some nights to the ambassador's lodgings with tears in his eyes, complaining of the strait in which his father was placed, all owing, as he remarked, to the bad management of the Imperial commanders at Rome.

From Bologna Lautrec sent a message to the Duke asking him to dismiss Andrea de Borgo and George Fruntsperg from his court, also to send away several Spanish and other Imperial captains then residing at Ferrara, but this the Duke would never do.

Last Thursday night the treaty of the League was signed and on the ensuing Friday proclaimed in the public marketplace to the sound of trumpets, but as the omission was remarked of the words "friend of friends, and enemy of enemies," the proclamation was renewed on the following Saturday.

All the messengers and couriers whom the ambassador has occasion to despatch leave this place by the connivance and assistance of the Duke, notwithstanding that one of the articles of the League forbids any courier passing through his estates without previously informing the postmaster-general appointed by Lautrech at Rejo (Reggio) or Modena.†

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

* "Y estando con sus pasiones y diferencias, y algunos de ellos estando sobornados de dineros, como se decia."

† This apology of the Duke of Ferrara's acts, as well as excuse for his having signed the treaty of the Italian League on the 16th of November 1527, has no date. It must have been written about the end of February or beginning of March, when Andrea del Borgo was at Orbieto, and Bishop Centellas started for Spain.

1528.

4 March. 364.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
 f. 169.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to
 the EMPEROR.

(*Cipher* :) His last was dated the 23rd of February.* Let-
 ters have since been received from the King of Hungary and
 from the Bishop of Trent, copies of which are here enclosed.†
 Cannot say whether the King after reading Leyva's memoran-
 dum, which he must have received by this time, will agree to
 this captain's opinion, now that, by the departure of the army
 from Rome, the condition of affairs has considerably improved.
 He (the King) would act wisely in following it, for certainly to
 bring down such considerable levies without the proper means,
 in money and provisions, to support them, would only increase
 the confusion, &c.

(*Common writing* :) This Signory have just sent to their pro-
 vedor general of the sea 20,000 ducats to refit the galleys at
 Corfu. Fifteen hundred foot, mostly hackbutiers from Romagna,
 are also to be sent for the manning of the galleys, which, they
 say, are to go to Pulle (Puglia); but if Lautrech, as we expect,
 is worsted in the meantime, the Venetians perhaps will remain
 where they are.

(*Cipher* :) Hears that Prothonotary Gambara, who went to
 see King Francis on behalf of the Pope, has been unable to
 obtain the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia, which these Vene-
 tians retain. Has been told, on the contrary, that he (Francis)
 has written to the Signory inducing them not to restitute, as
 he says the Pope is unworthy of such courtesy. Cannot vouch
 for the truth of this report, but it is generally asserted here
 that the King of England is in favour of the restitution.

(*Common writing* :) Letters have come from France stating
 as a fact that the Imperial ambassador (Perrenot de Granvelle)
 and various other subjects of the Emperor had been arrested in
 Paris owing to similar treatment of the French in Spain, and
 that great preparations were being made against that country
 and Flanders, the King having imposed a certain tax on all
 the ecclesiastics of his kingdom, which they had begun to
 pay with very good will. (*Cipher* :) Some will have it that
 as soon as the courier whom this Signory has despatched
 to France returns with the answer, he (Sanchez) will be
 imprisoned; others think that he will not; but, however this
 may be, is quite prepared for the worst.

A provedor has just been appointed to command in the
 Veronese and Vicentino.

(*Common writing* :) Hercules de Mingoval, nephew of the
 [late] Viceroy of Naples, has just arrived in this city, a deserter
 from the Imperial camp. He served formerly in Milan,
 but having taken offence because Leyva refused to give him
 the command of a company of horse, vacant by the death of
 a lieutenant of the Marquis of La Tripalda, he deserted

* No. 359, p. 600.

† Nos. 346 and 347.

1528.

and came here with 34 of his men, intending to offer his services to this Signory. No sooner was he (Sanchez) informed of his determination than he went to him and spoke his mind plainly. He (Mingoval) offered his excuses, and said that his intention was to retire to Germany; notwithstanding which it is asserted that he has already accepted the command of 50 light horse with a proportionate pay from this Signory. (*Cipher* :) He is a mad fellow, as such strange conduct on his part sufficiently indicates.

Has already mentioned in some of his letters the departure of the whole Imperial army from Rome on the 17th ulto. Both Germans and Spaniards seemed animated with the very best spirit, and had taken all manner of engagements and oaths to stand by each other, obey the orders of their chiefs implicitly, not enter one single fortified town, but keep the field until they meet the enemy. Lautrech with the whole of the confederated forces, Pedro Navarro, and the Venetian provveditor have advanced towards Lanchano (Lanciano) and other towns of the coast, abandoning Sulmona and Aquila, with a view no doubt to being closer to Puglia, or the Marcks in case they might choose to retreat. The Duke of Urbino, who has scarcely 3,000 men, and very little money, will, they say, join Lautrech as soon as the Florentine contingent—a poor set of men, not exceeding that number—comes in.

The Duke Francesco Sforza is going to our Lady of Loreto to perform a vow.—Venice, 4th March 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Spanish. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 169.

6 March. 365. DON HUGO DE MONCADA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 180.

Since the departure of the ship that took the horses [to Spain] the Emperor's letter of the 30th of January, brought by Mons. de Ubauri,* has come to hand. Shall not be able to reply to it this day, because the caravel, which is to take this, is on the point of setting sail; but as within a week another will be despatched, full answer shall be sent upon all particulars.

Notwithstanding the activity and zeal displayed by the Prince of Orange and Marquis del Guasto in taking the army out of Rome, the Abruzzi were lost before they could come in sight of the enemy. Our troops were between Benafro and Loconvezino,† on the road to Aquila, and ready to attack Count Pedro Navarro and Valerio Ursino, who were there with 5,000 or 6,000 foot, and 500 light horse. Those commanders, however, on hearing of the approach of our troops, raised their camp and effected their junction with

* See Lope de Soria's letter of the 17th July 1527 (No. 119, p. 289), where the arrival from Spain of a gentleman there called *Vuldry* is mentioned.

† As there is no town of this name in the neighbourhood of Benafro, I am inclined to think that this word is erroneously written.

1528.

Lautrech, who with the bulk of the army was following the coast in the direction of Pulla (Puglia). The Imperialists therefore had to cross the valley of Benavente (Benevento) and take that route; but the enemy being several days' march in advance, entered the Capitanata, of which they instantly took possession, as well as of several towns and castles, which certainly might have offered some resistance. In short they are now masters of Sansever, Luchera (Lucera), and Foggia, all flourishing districts, abounding in provisions, and where the enemy will be able to maintain himself long, and make war against us with our own resources (*hacer guerra guerreada*). They are already making forays as far as Chirinola (La Ciri-nola), and hold the custom-house of the cattle (*la Aduana de las Pectoras*), from which they will get considerable sums of money and wheat to send to Venice and to their army in Lombardy.

Had given Cesaro Ferramosca the charge of keeping Barletta, and defending it against the enemy, but on his arrival there the inhabitants shut their gates and refused to let his men in. Foggia and Trani have done the same, and surrendered to the enemy. In short, as the Marquis of Corata advises in one of his despatches, it would seem as if the whole of the country had been waiting for the arrival of the French, for nowhere will the country people do their duty and molest the enemy.

It appears that some difference arose between the Prince and the Marquis respecting the route which the Imperial army was to take to go to the Puglia. Went to Benevento, and held a consultation there with them, when it was resolved that the Marquis should go to Troja and take up positions before the enemy arrived. He has now done so, as may be seen by his letter of the 2nd inst., which is enclosed. The Prince's plan of campaign will be better understood by a copy of his letter. Has sent him and his Germans 35,000 ducats, which is as much as could be obtained from the bankers of this city (*pidiendoselo como por Dios*).

That this city and the lands of Lauoro might have a sufficient force to protect them in case of need, he (Don Ugo) has issued orders for the 1,300 Germans who came from Spain with the late Viceroy, and 2,000 Italians who are to be detached from the army, to take up positions in the neighbourhood; first, because the combined French and Venetian fleets are likely to pay a visit to these shores; and, secondly, because the Marquis of Saluzzo (Michael Antonio), who is now in the counties of Tagliacozzo and Albi on the frontiers of the Abruzzo, might easily in a couple of days' march come to Sora, San Germano, and even Capua. Should the enemy advance this way, our means of defence are not great, but still everything shall be done to maintain the reputation of our arms. Money there is none, and we are anxiously expecting remittances from Spain.

Cardinal Colonna and Ascanio, his brother, are now here, helping us as much as they can in our present difficulties.

1528.

Has not yet sent anyone to reside at the Pope's court, because he has been expecting a proper agent from Spain ; but since the appointment has not been made, and there seems to be great need of one for the protection of the Imperialists [at Orbieto], who are in bad odour (*mal mirados*), not so much with the Pope, as with the courtiers, he has taken upon himself to appoint Miçer Joan Antonio Muxetula, who shall take his departure as soon as the Prince of Orange lets us know what are the instructions brought by Ubauri. This notwithstanding, His Imperial Majesty must be reminded that an ambassador is much wanted near the Pope's person.

Provisions are being stored at Capua and Castilnovo, though not in such abundance as might be desired.

There is a report that Mons. de Sanpo (St. Pol) is about to invade Lombardy at the head of 400 men-at-arms and a body of Swiss infantry.—Naples, 6th March 1528.

Signed: "Don Ugo de Moncada."

Addressed: "Sacrae, Cesaræ, Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From Don Ugo. 6th March.

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

6 March. 366. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 180.

As Don Ugo is writing of late occurrences since the arrival of Lautrech, and has announced the arrival of Bauberi, who came yesterday with despatches, he (Perez) will be brief, inasmuch as the caravel that is to take his letter is on the point of setting sail for Mallorca.

The Imperial army, as stated in his letter of the 18th, forwarded by way of Barcelona to the Emperor's treasurer in that city, left Rome the day before, and is now 10 miles from Troya, almost in sight of the enemy, who occupies Nuchera (Nucera) and Sancta Severina. The Marquess of Saluzzo (Michael Antonio) and the Abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsini) are still roving about the county of Tagliacozzo and doing all the harm they can.

Cardinal Colonna has come here at Don Ugo's request. He will undoubtedly do much good, for he is a very able politician and soldier.

The news from Orbieto is that the Pope intends removing to Rome in the holy week. There will be no lack of ambassadors of the League and others trying to win him over to their side, but if we are to believe what his cardinals, who reside in this city as hostages, say, he (the Pope) wishes to remain neutral. May it be so!

Ursino and Cesis, who were securities for the 145,000 ducats, have been set free, and the rest of the hostages are

1528.

very confident that His Imperial Majesty will give them also their liberty.

Has come up with the army as far as Sanct Germano, and is not sorry he has done so, for the account of the cruelties perpetrated by the Abbot of Farfa and others on the few Germans and Spaniards who chose to remain at Rome after the departure of our army is really dreadful. Writes for instructions as to what he is to do.—Naples, 6th March 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Naples. Perez."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

March. 367. First Overtures made by the LEGATE of ENGLAND [CARDINAL WOLSEY] to the IMPERIAL AMBASSADOR.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien, Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No 3.

The King of France to fulfil all his engagements, not only as regards the payment of a certain sum of money, but also the giving up of Genes (Genoa) and the county of Asti, with any other territories and lands appertaining to the same, previous to the surrender by the Emperor of the sons of France, whom he retains as hostages.

This done, the King of France to recall his army from Italy. As a security thereof, and in case of the King not withdrawing his army, the King of England engages to pay [to the Emperor] a heavy fine.

These overtures have many advantages over those made to His Imperial Majesty by the French ambassador in Spain. For, in the first place, Genoa is to be given up with all its territories and appanages before the King's sons are released. 2nd. The pecuniary fine is to be paid by the King of England in case of the French army not being immediately recalled according to stipulation. 3rd. The King of England besides will declare at once against France, and consider the King his enemy.

In case of these proposals being rejected by either party, another offer might be made, which is for the Emperor to release only one of the sons [the Dauphin of France], as soon as Genoa is given up, and the Duke of Orleans to be retained as hostage until the actual withdrawal of the French army. That part of the stipulation being accomplished, and the army recalled, the Duke [of Orleans] to be returned to his father [the King].

In case of the Emperor refusing to set both the sons of France free, unless Genoa and the county of Asti be first evacuated, the French army recalled, and all other stipulations fulfilled, which is considerably more than was proposed at first, the Pope and the King of England conjointly will be responsible for the recall and withdrawal of the said

1528.

army, which is to take place immediately after the release of the King's sons.

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

9 March. 368.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the
EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 187.

(*Cipher* :) Since the 4th inst., the date of his last, advices have come from Constantinople of the 28th January, stating that the Turk has received with great solemnity and pomp the ambassador of the Vayvod, and promised to make his master [Zapolsky] king of Hungary. For this purpose the Sultan has raised 50,000 cavalry, and given the command to Erabin bassa (Ibrahim Pashaw). The satisfaction and joy caused by such news among these people (the Venetians) are an evident proof of their antipathy to the Emperor and to his brother of Austria. May God permit that before the arrival of the Infidels the Vayvod be crushed !

His Imperial Majesty must already have learned from Miçer Andrea Del Burgo, at Ferrara, the successful issue of that Duke's affairs in France, and the letters he has lately received from the King of that country ; also that the Pope is endeavouring to persuade Francis to send a new army of 8,000 foot and 400 lances against Milan, assuring him that, if this be speedily done, success is certain. Such is the news sent by Burgo, who, besides being a very prudent, wise, and sagacious man, is doing very good service at Ferrara, where he resides, and should reside as long as the present state of affairs lasts. The news must be true, for he (Sanchez) has heard people of this city say that the Duke of Albany (John Stuart) is also coming down with 400 men-at-arms and 4,000 foot.

Has written to the King of Hungary, communicating the above intelligence, that he may hasten the sending of the reinforcements. But His Imperial Majesty must bear in mind that this new army and that already in the field, at Naples as well as in Lombardy, must needs be fed and paid, or else confusion and insubordination, so prejudicial to our interests, will again prevail. Provisions must come from Spain or from other countries quite independently of the general resources of Italy ; first of all, because the confederates are now in possession of most of the agricultural and corn yielding districts ; and, secondly, because famine prevails everywhere. In many towns, and even here at Venice, people drop down dead through hunger in the streets, and the plague besides is making great ravages in many parts of Italy, having, as he hears, broken out afresh at Florence.

The Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) is, they say, coming here at the Signory's express commands, whilst his men are to join Lautrech. (*Common writing* :) Leyva is prospering (*está gallardo*), occasionally striking a



1528.

blow (*repeloncillo*) at the enemy. The other day he relieved Lecco, which the Leaguers had invested.—Venice, 9th March 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord (to be delivered into the hands of Secretary Soria)."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary de-ciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

10 March. **369.** The BISHOP OF TRENT to SANCHEZ.

M. Rc. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 202.

The King, my master, had news yesterday that the forces he lately sent against the Vayvod have gained a most signal victory. Though much superior in numbers, the army of that rebel has been cut to pieces, the Vayvod himself taking to flight with only 20 of his followers. I lose no time in communicating to you this glorious victory.—Vienna, 10th March 1528.

Italian. Copy in the hand of Sanchez's secretary. p. 1.

11 March. **370.** DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 806.
f. 26.

Has received the Emperor's letter bestowing on him the bishopric of Burgos with all its endowments and pensions, on condition of his resigning half the revenue (*medios frutos*) of Coria, and the pensions on the bishoprics of Jahen (Jaen) and Leon. Returns thanks for the favour, which is indeed so great as to make him forget all the dangers and fatigues of the Imperial service.

Sends his powers to Secretary Covos, as instructed.—London, 11th March [1528].*

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

11 March. **371.** LOPE HURTADO, Imperial Ambassador in Portugal, to the EMPEROR.

S. E. Port. L. 368,
f. 173.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 197.

Don Miguel de Velasco arrived on the 8th. He found the Queen† free from fever, but still very weak. She has since recovered very quickly, not only owing to the arrival of the said Don Miguel, at which she was much rejoiced, but also to the manna and "unicornio"‡ he brought with him. The physicians

* The original of this letter is placed among papers of the year 1527, but as Don Iñigo was not made Bishop of Burgos until 1528, when the Emperor begins to address him as such, I have not hesitated in inserting here his acknowledgment and thanks.

† Doña Catalina, sister of Charles V., born 14th February 1507, and married to João III. in 1525.

‡ "Con la mana y olicornio que V. M^a. le mandó embiar."

1528.

are still thinking of administering to her some doses of manna that she may be completely cured of her past illness, as well as of that from which (*sarna*) she was suffering before.

Told the King how pleased the Emperor had been with his [Hurtado's] reception at the Portuguese court, as well as with the dismissal of Onorato (Honoré), the French agent. The King was pleased to hear of it, and still more to learn that he (Hurtado) had received orders to remain [in Portugal], at which Onorato, who is still at Santarem, was by no means content. The latter (he hears) has applied for another audience from the King, which has been denied. Begged the King to have him dismissed, as he might in future prove dangerous to the Imperial cause, and report to his King on matters and things which he could not have learned elsewhere. Should the King not send him away immediately he (Hurtado) threatened to leave Portugal, and return to Castille. The King replied that there was no fear of Onorato remaining much longer in his dominions, as he had been for some time making preparations for his departure, only he (Honoré) wished to go by sea, and had applied to him for a safe-conduct, as likewise for some compensation for the losses he said he had sustained at La Coruña. Has reasons to believe that the King of Portugal would very much like to get rid of him (Onorato), and, therefore, that both the safe-conduct and the indemnity demanded might be granted. It must, however, be observed that the Frenchman claims 6,000 cr. of gold, which he says is the amount of his losses on that occasion. His Imperial Majesty might have inquiries made as to his real losses, and send a memorandum to be shown to this King. Most likely his statements will prove false, and the King will then be at liberty to expel him from his dominions. Onorato lays great stress on his character and immunity as an ambassador; he alleges that the war had not yet been duly proclaimed [in Spain] when his ship was embargoed; and, besides that, there was express mandate of His Imperial Majesty not to interfere with merchant vessels, since those of Spain and Flanders had not been seized in France. All this is a joke (*burla*), as I have told these gentlemen. Will insist on the said Onorato's departure, with or without indemnity. Has had frequent audiences from the King, as well as from the Infantes and the rest of the Royal family. Always found them well disposed to give the Emperor such help as is in their power. Had also a private conversation with Pero Correa on this subject, the substance of which is enclosed.* Went two days after to the King, and asked his permission to explain his thoughts about some paragraphs of his last letter† to the Emperor. Having obtained such permission, began to lay stress (*cargar la mano*) on the quality and number of the persons who were to be sent as his

* Not in the packet.

† That in which he was requested by the Emperor to send an embassy to England to remonstrate against the divorce, &c. The letter, however, is not in the Spanish Archives.

1528.

ambassadors to England, observing that, although not sent conjointly with those of the Emperor, His Highness might extend their commission with the limitation alluded to by His Imperial Majesty in his letter.* This was but just and honest, considering the uncertainty of a sea voyage, and the danger of delay in an affair of such great importance. The Cardinal might in the meantime prevail upon the King of England to make his declaration (*podria causar declaracion del Rey*), and, if so, all chances of redress would be lost; whereas now they (the Cardinal and King) would certainly refrain when they saw two such powerful monarchs as the Emperor and the King of Portugal, and so closely related to the Queen, their aunt, take up her defence. Many more things did he (Hurtado) say to a similar purpose, pointing out the inconvenience likely to arise from delay to His Highness and to his brothers, as well as to the Empress (Isabella). The King replied that time and politics changed much, and though at present it might appear advisable to give such commission, the time might come when it would seem otherwise; and therefore he thought that the mandate could not be issued without previous deliberation. As to the ambassadors, he was ready to send them whenever the Emperor pleased.

Passing then to the paragraph of the royal letter, wherein it is promised, though in a vague manner, that this King will lend help and assistance when required, the ambassador begged to know what sort of help and assistance was meant. The King hesitated and answered, "When the time comes I will not forget my duty" (*no faltaré á lo que soy obligado*); upon which Hurtado replied, "The opportunity is now at hand, for, should Your Highness declare for the Emperor, certainly the enemy will not dare to attack two such mighty Princes."

Respecting the Spice or Molucco Islands, it was suggested that, since the arrangement proposed seemed to be beneficial to both parties, it only remained for him (Hurtado) to fix the sum wanted and the time of the payment, offering to go to Castille, 10 times if necessary, until the affair should be definitively settled. The King said, "I wish you had brought a special mandate and instruction to treat of this affair, for I am as anxious as the Emperor can be to have it settled at once."

Called next on the Infante [Dom Luiz] and told him that the King, his brother, could not repay the love and affection the Emperor bore him, by speaking only in such general and ambiguous terms. Dom Luiz promised his assistance in the affair, and showed much good-will, offering to speak to his brother, the King, about it. The best mode (he said) of settling matters to the Emperor's advantage, and obtaining money from Dom João, was, in his opinion, the speedy settlement of the Molucco question, for that would at once place a large sum of money at the Emperor's disposal, with which to

* "Diziendo que aunque no fuera con los de V. M^t, Su Al^o alargase la comision con la limitacion que V. M^t. dezia."

1528.

defray the expenses of the present war. Dom Luiz then sent for the Duke of Braganza, who confirmed his statement, especially as regards the Molucco, for that is after all the affair which all Portuguese, as Pero Correa has often told him, have most at heart.*

The Duke, after this, in the most courteous manner possible, went on enumerating the complaints which the King had to make. He considered that His Imperial Majesty might have been more explicit in his letter to the King, as it did not contain much more than the printed [declaration], and everyone in Portugal believed that the affection and close relationship of both Monarchs required a more detailed account of the reasons which had influenced the Emperor to set his prisoner at liberty,† as well as the causes for breaking off the negotiations for peace. One of the councillors present further said that the fact of His Majesty the Emperor's fleet at La Coruña being ready to sail [for the Indies] was an offence against the King, as one of the articles of the marriage settlements stipulated that the King [of Portugal] was to furnish vessels whenever required for such a voyage. The Duke complained also that the Emperor had forbidden the Portuguese to trade with Arzila (*quitava la saca á Arzilla*) and other towns [of the African coast], which the Catholic Kings, his predecessors, were in the habit of allowing. All this the Duke represented to the ambassador in the most courteous manner possible, protesting all the time that nobody was more interested than he was in union and agreement between the two Monarchs, that being the reason why he had presumed to mention those trifling matters which he knew had caused a certain amount of discontent in Portugal.

Two days after this the Duke sent for him (Hurtado), and said he had been pondering about the navigation treaty. He inquired whether he [the ambassador] had especial mandate from the Emperor. Answered that he had none, but that as he was soon going to Spain, would be glad to take any such charge. "The King (added the Duke) is about to despatch a courier to Antonio de Azevedo [his ambassador], telling him in substance what he can and is prepared to do in this affair. It is also his intention to draw out a memorandum, wherein, I have no doubt he will be more explicit than he has been with you. Be sure that the King, my master, will not be in fault towards the Emperor whenever he considers his help

* "Esto es lo que desde el menor hasta el mayor todos tienen atravesado."

† "El Duque como alargamos mucho la habla, dixome las cosas que diré. Dixome que le parecia que V. Mt. debiera dar alguna mas razon al Rey de los negocios de la que se havia imprimido, que aunque lo uno hera (*sic*) de mano, y lo otro de molde todo era una cosa, y que [á], algunos parecia que segun la sangre y el deudo y amor que de la soltura del rey de Francia V. M. huviera [de] dar mas razon al Rey [su amo], y que agora parecia que se pudiera decir la causa porque no se ayva concluido la paz." By "declaracion impresa" the King, no doubt, meant the Apology printed at Alcalá in 1527, and said to be the work of Gattinara, or rather of his secretary, Alfonso Valdés.

1528.

a necessity (*quando el tiempo sea necesario*). At the present juncture, were he to offer assistance, it would be detrimental to the Emperor rather than otherwise, for whilst it could be of but little use to the Emperor, it might destroy and exhaust his own dominions." Replied suitably to the occasion. Said that nothing was farther from the Emperor's views than to cause harm to his brother and neighbour of Portugal, whose prosperity and welfare he prized as much or more than his own.

The King has since held a council, where this matter of the embassy to England has been discussed, and it appears that a memorandum is now being drawn up to be sent to Azevedo. As His Imperial Majesty wishes him to stay [in Portugal], and the councillors know of it, he (Hurtado) fears that they will change purpose, and not inform him of their final determination. Will, however, insist on the fulfilment of the promises they have made, and when informed of their intentions will despatch an express messenger with the answer. The present one takes the bills of exchange, for his Imperial Majesty's wants are pressing, and no time is to be lost, and the fair [of Medina del Campo] is about to be closed. Hernan Alvarez says that the conditions of payment (*paga*) could not be better, or at shorter dates. He is right; 50,000 ducats are payable in this month of March, and the remainder in May.*

Recommends to the Emperor's attention Doña Maria,† who does many good offices with the Queen.

Don Martin [de Portugal] says that he wishes by all means to be useful to the Emperor. The King wants him to go to Rome, but Don Martin refuses in the present state of affairs, because he knows not how he can be of use to the Emperor. He thinks, however, that his presence at Rome just now might be desirable, for at the time the Pope resolved upon coming over to Spain he showed himself in so conciliating a mood that it seemed as if there would be no difficulty in persuading him now to accept the Emperor's conditions, if honourable. Don Martin further says that he cannot accept the Imperial favours until he has done the Emperor some good service. In order that he (Don Martin) may go to Rome, if such should be His Imperial Majesty's pleasure, a letter ought to be written to this King, stating the conciliatory message which Don Martin himself brought from the Pope, and that if the answer has been delayed it is only owing to the Emperor waiting for His Holiness' return to Rome. In his (Hurtado's) opinion, Don Martin ought to go to Spain as soon as possible, that His Holiness may not have further cause for complaint. He is to show the Emperor's letter to the King, and take his departure as soon as he obtains leave. Begs, however, that

* "No ha sido posible ser major ni mas breve de a los pagamentos desta feria de Março y la de Mayo."

† Doña Maria de Velasco, daughter of Don Pedro, Count of Haro. She married Don Alonso Enriquez, third Admiral of Castille, of the family of Cabrera.

1528.

the whole matter be kept a secret from the Nuncio, or from any other person who might write to Rome and inform the Pope, because His Holiness' impression is that he (Don Martin) is taking this step merely to serve him.*

There are at this Court at present a Portuguese, chaplain to the Infanta [Doña Maria], and a Savoyard named Ysobio, his servant. Knows the chaplain well enough, for he came to Lisbon four or five months ago upon certain business of the Duke and Duchess [of Savoy]. Ysobio, in particular, has made various journeys to and fro, and when he (Hurtado) was [in Savoy] brought letters of introduction from him for people [in Spain and Portugal], as the Duchess seemed to entrust most of her affairs to him. This Ysobio says that he has been lodging some time with Onorato (Honoré), who has entrusted to him a packet of letters and despatches for Italy, as he knows that he is going thither in a couple of days. Now as Ysobio and his master, the chaplain, are at this hour requesting the King to obtain passports from the Emperor, it might be advisable to have them detained until Honorato himself should embark, or else that in or about the frontiers of Perpiñan the letters should be taken from them. This last expedient appears more dangerous than the former, because King Dom Luiz might take offence at it, as likewise the Duke and Duchess [of Savoy], who might perhaps withdraw the information that comes from them. It is for His Imperial Majesty to decide which of the two expedients proposed is [more advantageous.

It would appear that this King sent some time ago to Malaga for 300 able seamen (*de la xabega*) to man the oars of certain of his galleys now going to India, and which are expected to sail before the end of this month. When the corregidor of Malaga heard of it, he seized the Portuguese agent and the sailors engaged, and put them all in prison. The agent managed to escape, and has since come here. Orders should be sent to all the corregidores of towns and cities on the coasts of Spain not to molest the King's minister in such trifling matters, for these are the things which the Portuguese most resent.

The King's Privy Council is composed of the Infante [Dom Luiz], the Duke of Braganza and the Marquis of [Villa Real?], the Counts of Penela, Vimioso, and Linares; the Bishop of Lamego, Luys de Sylveira, and Pero Correa. Has spoken to them all in His Majesty's name, but only delivered letters to the Duke, the Marquis, Luis de Sylveira, and Pero Correa. This last was of opinion that, in order that the Duke and the Marquis should better appreciate the distinction, no letters should be given to the rest of the councillors.

The Duke [of Braganza] has a son named Don Theodosio, already grown up, good-looking and handsome. It would

* "Por que por Su Santidad se cree que él (Don Martin) ha hecho la diligencia, principalmente por le servire."

1528.

be advisable to find him a wife in Castille. If so, the King ought to be informed of it beforehand, for they are exceedingly touchy in such matters. For the same reason it is the ambassador's opinion that a letter should come as soon as possible informing this King of the reasons which the French and other ambassadors of the League had for rejecting the conditions of the peace offered to them.

Onorato (Honoré) sent the other day to ask him (Hurtado) for an interview. His answer was that they had nothing to treat of in common. Onorato sent a second message to say that he might perchance have something to propose equally advantageous for the Emperor and for the King, his master. The reply was that he (Hurtado) knew very well how the King's affairs stood at present.*

An Easterling vessel (*hurca de Esterlines*) arrived some time ago from Flanders after 15 days' passage. She found in the channel several English vessels armed. One of them boarded her, searched the hold, but, finding no other merchandise in it except masts, let her go. Similar orders ought to be sent to the coast of Biscay to have every English vessel in those seas boarded and searched, and if Mons. de Veure [Beurren] is not yet gone, he ought to be duly informed of this fact. Hears that in a week's time a vessel is to sail for Flanders. If there are any letters for that locality they had better be sent by this way.

Since writing the above, intelligence has reached him that Onorato has called to take leave of this King. It would appear that he wishes to keep his departure as secret as possible, from fear of being detained on the road. They say that he has taken his passage in a galleon, now in port. He (Hurtado) intends sending to-morrow one of his own men to ascertain if there be any truth in this report, and whether the galleon and other vessels about which Secretary Cobos last wrote are really in port.†

Since Onorato has been at this Court no one has taken any notice of him (*no hubo onbre que se llegase á él ni le mirase el rostro*). He brought letters from the Duke and Duchess of Savoy for this Queen (Katharine), but it would have been better for him not to have delivered them, considering the rude reception he had from His Highness (Dom João) as well as from the Infantes Dom Luiz and Dom Fernando, who happened to be in the room at the time. In fact he (Hurtado) hears that the said Onorato is going away very much disappointed and offended (*muy corrido*).

Is expecting every day the King's answer on pending matters. Thinks it will be favourable, as Luis de Silveira, Count Vimioso, and others are continually telling him so.

* "Yo dije que no hera (*sic*) menester nada; que ya sabíamos las cosas del Rey de que manera andavan; que yo no tenia que hablar syno con onbres para ser oydo."

† "Y á que sepa de los otros quel Secretario Covos me escrevió, que me dicen que estan allá."

1528.

The Queen has begged him to write in favour of Doña Maria [de Velasco] and her suit at law.

Juan Francisco de la Fetad shows great desire of serving His Imperial Majesty. So does Hernand Alvarez, who has often requested him to write in favour of the former. As no good can be done here without the assistance of these two individuals, it is for the Emperor to decide how their co-operation is to be secured.*

A few lines of thanks ought certainly to be addressed to Hernand Alvarez, who has done and is doing much to forward the quick payment of the money.

The Duke of Braganza recommends Don Hernando de Castro, his nephew, now at Court, and begs that justice may be done in a case now pending before the Council [of Castille].—Almeirim, 11th March 1528.

Addressed: "A la S. C. C. Mt. del Empr. nuestro señor."

Spanish. Original. pp. 7.

11-14 March. **372.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 191.

(*Cipher* :) Since his last of the 9th a letter has come from the King of Hungary in answer to his despatch. Notwithstanding Leyva's opinion, the King thinks that the new German army must be of the kind and numbers originally intended, and gives his reasons for this. He (Sanchez) is of the same opinion; the only difficulty lies in procuring provisions and money for so many thousands.

Said in his last that letters from Constantinople, dated the 28th, announced as a fact that the Turk was arming in favour of the Vayvod [of Transylvania]. Has since heard that immediately on the arrival of the letters the Signory sent for an agent of that rebel, who resides here, and showed him the letters which their bailiff (*baylio*) at Constantinople had written with the news. The agent replied that he was aware of it, and that his master had offered the Turk a considerable annual tribute if he replaced him on the throne.

(*Common writing* :) Hears likewise that this Signory is preparing a fine present of brocade silks, jewels, and other things for the Turk as a return for some saltpetre (*sal nitre*) and grain which he sent them on a former occasion.—Venice, 11th March 1528.

P.S.—To-day, the 14th, advices have come from Milan, stating that two days before (on the 12th) Leyva had defeated the confederates at Bergamasco with a loss of upwards of 2,000 men in killed and prisoners, not counting in that number 100 men-at-arms and several captains. Soon after this feat of arms

* "Por que acá no pueden hazer cosa buena syn él, y pues agora hay necesidad de tales personas, V. M. lo deve mandar."

1528.

he (Leyva) marched on Lecco, which 500 of the enemy were investing, and, having surprised them, slew them to the last man. Their captain, a brother of the warder of Mus, he caused to be killed and quartered (*hazer quartos*), owing to his having hung two or three Spaniards who happened lately to fall into his hands. Has been told that in consequence of this all the confederates who were on the other side of the Adda have crossed it in a hurry, for fear of; Leyva making an incursion upon Bergamo, which is not probable.

The Pope is raising 4,000 infantry, for what purpose it is not known. He is still at Orbieto, and most likely will not return to Rome until he hears how things turn out in Naples. —14th March 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Perez."

Addressed: "To the Most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

12 March. **373.** MADAME'S INSTRUCTIONS TO GUILLAUME DES BARRES.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof- u. StaatsArch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 3, bis.

You shall go with all diligence to London to Mons. de Burgues,* the Emperor's ambassador at that Court, and exhibit your credentials. You will tell him that We have received his letter of the 11th inst., and heard of the overtures of peace made by the Legate.

We are indeed very happy to see the good turn the affair is taking. You will tell him that We shall spare no personal trouble or fatigue to bring about a general peace, although our enemies have certainly given us no motive for it after their rupture with the Emperor, our nephew, without previous defiance.

Respecting the overtures lately made by the Legate to the Imperial ambassador (Don Iñigo), to the effect that the King wishes us to co-operate with him in the establishment of the said peace, and to extinguish the fire lately kindled by our common enemy, you will assure him in our name that if the King of England sincerely takes this affair to heart, We shall do everything in our power to persuade the Emperor to make concessions.

And though it seems to us, and indeed to almost all other people of honest intentions and quick understanding, that King Francis ought to have accepted at once the Emperor's offers, by recalling his Italian army and giving up Genoa and

* By Mons. de Burgues, the Imperial ambassador, Don Iñigo de Mendoza is meant, who this very year was appointed Bishop of Burgos in Castille. It was then the custom in France, and in the Low Countries also, to designate bishops and archbishops by the name of their respective sees, as Mons. d'Arras, de Bayonne, de Gurze, de Carpentras, &c.

1528.

his other conquests before his sons were actually released from captivity, although there is no probability of the French being able to stand their ground [in Italy], now that the Imperial army in Rome and the reinforcements sent both from Spain and Germany have been ordered to march against them, yet if the Legate will put forward overtures more ample than those communicated to the Imperial ambassador, We shall be glad to forward the same to the Emperor conjointly with him, or separately, as it may best suit the King of England.

We, therefore, send you [to London] that you may ascertain the Legate's real intentions, and how he purposes acting in this affair. You will also request Mons. de Burgues to acquaint the Legate with our readiness to help towards the accomplishment of peace, as above said; that We have sent you for that purpose, and wish this affair to be conducted between us without the intervention of any other person whatsoever. Should the Legate persist in his idea that We should take the affair in hand conjointly with him, in that case the Sieur de Burgues is to ask him to explain to him and to you the best terms and means to be used in our application to the Emperor, and when obtained and put down in writing, you shall, immediately return [to the Low Countries], that We may at once communicate the same to the Emperor. If, moreover, his advice is that We ought to send a messenger [to Spain], it would be necessary to procure a safe-conduct for him to pass through France, as the sea at this season is very uncertain. We shall then use such arguments with the Emperor, our nephew, as easily to persuade him that our interference in the affair cannot be disregarded.

Should the Legate remark that We ourselves can procure the safe-conduct by merely asking for it, you will tell him that, considering that We are on bad terms with the French just now, We would rather not apply for it; besides which, it is but proper that he himself should have the honour of the affair, since the proposal originated with him. For our part We can only say that had it not been for his sake (*pour l'amour de luy*), and for the sake of so great a boon as universal peace, We should never have undertaken to send a message to His Imperial Majesty, much less still if We had doubted of his (the Legate's) sincerity in the affair.

You will, moreover, beg Mons. de Burgues to acquaint the Legate with the fact that the very moment we heard of his peaceful intentions We gave orders for the English merchants, their ships and merchandise, to be released as soon as those of this country, as well as of Spain, obtain their liberty in England.

We are happy to learn that the King and Legate have heard of the good treatment shown to the English ambassadors in Spain, and also that the Emperor is about to send Montfort to London.—Malines (Mechlin), 12th March 1528.

French. Original draft. pp. 4.

1528.

13 March. **374.** The KING OF HUNGARY to [ALONSO SANCHEZ].

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 195.

Yesterday a courier brought us the happy news of the great victory obtained against the "Comes Seepulsiensis,"* one mile from Cassan.

At the very first onset of our troops the enemy, who had taken up positions on the summit of a mountain, fled in great confusion, making for a river in the neighbourhood. "Quos cum nostri propter flumen propinquum quod iidem hostes fuga transierant, noctis item nigrumentiam (*sic*) et asperitatem viam sectari nequirent, ad castra eiusdem Comitibus redeuntes, omnem illius artelleriam, petias circiter XVIII., una cum impedimentis omnibus, utpotè curribus et id genus aliis, inibi reppererunt quod nunc apud se tenent."

Sends him the details of the glorious affair, that he may contradict any false rumours that may reach him [at Venice], and establish the truth.—Given at Vienna on the 13th day of March 1528, and second of our reign.

Indorsed: "Copy of a letter from the King of Bohemia to Alonso Sanchez."

Latin. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

13 March. **375.** The BISHOP OF TRENT to ALONSO SANCHEZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 177.

(*Cipher* :) Respecting Lautrech's progress and the state of affairs in Italy I have conversed with the King at length.

The reinforcements are getting ready, and will certainly be sent, though not so soon perhaps as you and other Imperial ministers expect, for the King, my master, has just despatched a man to Flanders to learn from the Lady Margaret whether the second instalment of bills of exchange has been received there, for although the rumour here at Court is that such remittances have come, the truth is that we have not yet been officially informed of it; and without money, as you may well imagine, no armaments can be of use.—Strigonia, 13th February 1528.

Italian. Contemporary copy in cipher. Deciphering on separate sheet. p. 1.

14 March. **376.** The PRINCESS OF SULMONA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 196.

Her late husband (Charles de Lannoy), wishing to reward the services of several of his old retainers, gave to Secretary Seron, some time before his death, a list of such as he wished to be appointed to certain offices in his gift. The Viceroy died soon after his return from Gaeta, and the Secretary had no leisure to draw out the patent letters and submit them to

* John Zapolsky, the Vayvod of Transilvania, is generally called by the writers of the time Joannis *Sepusius*.

1528.

his signature. An application since made to Don Ugo and the Collateral Council has been disregarded on the plea that they could do nothing in the matter without the Emperor's sanction.

The Viceroy, when he came last from Spain, borrowed considerable sums of money to pay the Germans under his orders, by which he so impoverished himself that the Princess, his widow, has scarcely any fortune left to support her rank. Her petitions to the Collateral Council, asking for a portion at least of what her late husband spent in the Emperor's service, have also been disregarded, as there is no money in the treasury to defray the most peremptory wants of the army.

The Viceroy bestowed upon Girart de Betancurt (Bethencourt) and Harnao (Arnault), two of his servants, certain offices at Gaeta, which they were afterwards allowed to sell to Hieronymo Ciaño (Ciagno?), of that city. This sale, which was duly authorised, the Council now refuses to sanction, and the consequence is that the heirs of the said Bethencourt and Arnault—both dead since that time—have not received the price stipulated. Begs the Emperor to attend to the Princess' just claims, and not leave the late Viceroy's family and servants in poverty.—Naples, 14th March 1528.

Signed : "La tryste Francisca de Monbel."

Addressed : "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed : "To His Majesty. From the Princess of Sulmona, the Viceroy's widow."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

19 March. 377. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 198.

Encloses duplicate of his despatch of the 6th. As His Imperial Majesty cannot fail to get intelligence from the Prince of Orange, from the Sieur de Vere (Veyre), Bauberi, Girolamo Moron, and others in the army, as well as from Don Ugo, will be short and explicit.

Don Ugo is doing all he can to provide the Imperial forces with money, artillery, and everything else required. Nobody can do more.

Stated in his last how he (Perez) had come to Naples, flying from Rome, and the cruelties there practised against Spaniards and Germans. Begs for instructions as to his future movements and conduct. To Rome he cannot return, as he has no business there, and besides would require a fresh mandate. Should very much like to go elsewhere, particularly to Spain, and serve the Emperor, but will not move from Naples unless he receives orders. Thought that Bauberi would have brought them, but he says he has none for him.

The Pope is still at Orbieto, and, it is said, will remain there until he sees what Lautrech's army can do in this kingdom [of

1528.

Naples]. Meanwhile he is about to send an ecclesiastic to Rome to preside over the "Rota," and despatch Chancery business. He has already placed on the road between Orbieto and that capital 200 hackbutiers and 50 horse, that all who have Church business to transact may travel in safety. It so, a good number of Spaniards now here will go back to Rome.

Cardinal Colonna and his brother Ascanio have received letters from their agent at Court stating that their affairs had been favourably settled by the Emperor, and that he (the agent) was returning. Vespasiano [Colonna] has been very unwell of late, so much so that his life was despaired of. He is now much better at Paliano (Pagliano), his usual residence. —18th March 1528.

The 19th.—Since the above was written Vespasiano died on the 14th. He orders in his will that his daughter, who is to inherit his estates in this kingdom, be married to a son of Giovanni de' Medici, at which neither the Cardinal nor Ascanio are pleased, though they console themselves with the idea that it is for the Emperor to decide who is to be the husband of the heiress, since the renewal of the fiefs she has here must come from him. Prospero's patrimonial estates, inherited from his forefathers, go to Æscanio (*sic*) Colonna, and to Prospero Colonna of Civittà de Vina (Indivina?), his uncle, for so it was stipulated by Pope Martin when he made the entail. Has been told that Don Ugo and the Collateral Council have sent for Vespasiano's daughter for fear she should be detained where she now is through the Pope's favour, for the son of Giovanni de' Medici, whose name is Cosmo, is the Pope's nephew, and very much loved by him.

The agent of the Colonnese has just landed with good tidings from Spain. Has heard him say that everything had been settled to his master's satisfaction. He brings news from Sicily that 1,500 Spaniards had landed there, and that 3,000 more were soon expected, who were to embark at Malaga. Yesterday, the 18th, Don Ugo had advices from Messina that not only the 3,000 men announced, but a good many more had actually landed.—Naples, 19th March 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. From Naples. Perez."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

19 March. **378.** DON MARTIN DE SALINAS to FERDINAND, King of Bohemia and Hungary.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
c. 71, f. 193 vº.

On the last day of February His Highness' letter, dated Strigonia (Gran), the 31st of December, came to hand. The

1528.

Emperor was immediately informed of its contents, and very glad to hear of the provision made in those parts. He himself was about to remit 400,000 ducats, which had been procured, before the letter arrived, as the war must now be prosecuted with the greatest vigour.

Luis de Taxis, the courier who went away with Monforte, as already on board at the date of his (Salinas') last despatch. They had, however, met with some impediment at sea, and been obliged to return to the port. His Highness therefore will not hear so soon the news of February last, and of the ambassadors of France and England challenging His Imperial Majesty. Two or three days after orders were sent to all the seaports of Viscay, Guipuscoa, &c. to do all possible injury to the natives of England and France, for the Emperor, now that war is unavoidable, has decided to strike first. Already about 6,000 men of the above-mentioned provinces have taken up arms on their own account (*a sus aventuras*) and inflicted much harm on the enemy.

The Emperor left Burgos [on the 20th ult^o.], and came here [to Madrid] for the purpose of holding Cortes, and explaining the causes of the rupture, as he actually did on Monday, the 16th inst. Nothing can surpass the enthusiasm of the deputies of cities there present on the occasion, vying with each other as to who should answer first. In short, the cities, towns, nobles, and ecclesiastics offered unconditionally to supply all the money required.

The Cortes over, there was a talk of the Emperor going first to Valencia, to be there sworn as King, and thence to Monçon, as it was considered opportune that his subjects of Aragon should also be informed of the declaration of war. The journey is not yet decided upon, but it is confidently believed that it shall take place very soon, and that the Emperor will take with him the Queen of France (Eleonor), so as to represent his person and authority at the said Cortes, that he may soon return here, and attend to the business of war.

The Emperor, after the challenge made conjointly by the ambassadors of France and England, has had the King's sons more closely confined and watched.* Orders have also been issued for all their servants from France, men and women, to be removed and sent to various castles. The ambassadors of foreign powers in the meanwhile are detained until those of the Emperor be allowed to return home. They are all together, those of France, England, Venice, Florence, and Milan at a castle called Poza,† under the keeping of Commander Figueroa. —Madrid, 19th March 1528.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1½.

* "Y los puso á buen recabdo en fortalezas, e asy hizo de sus embaxadores qu estan detenidos."

† Close to Burgos.

1528.

20 March. **379.** LOPE HURTADO DE MENDOZA, Imperial Ambassador in Portugal, to the EMPEROR.
 S. E. Port. L. 368,
 f. 171.
 B. M. Add. 28,577,
 f. 206.

Since he wrote on the 11th,* the King sent for him yesterday [the 19th], and told him that his affairs were in such a state as to prevent his giving effectual help under present circumstances. In case of the Emperor engaging in a long war with his enemies, he neither could help with money, as his treasury was completely exhausted, nor with men, as otherwise his frontiers against the African Moors, and his Indian fleet, from which he derived most of his revenue, would be left unprovided. This notwithstanding, if the Emperor's affairs required his personal assistance he would not fail to give it. His Imperial Majesty will no doubt send him an answer laying stress on the English business, for it is evident that these people dislike making a public demonstration, to avoid which they will perhaps consent to give us secret assistance or lend [us] money.

To this end, and in order that this King may increase his offer for the Spicery Islands, His Imperial Majesty ought still to insist on a more explicit declaration on his part, because he (Hurtado) has always maintained, and still maintains, that should this King make such a declaration as we want him to make, peace might be concluded at once. This they themselves believe to be the case, but they object that, the Emperor once at peace, Portugal would by that very act entail upon itself a perpetual war with foreign powers. Finances being in the state in which they are, and the resources of this kingdom being chiefly derived from trade, King João says he is bound to look more closely than any other Prince at the consequences of a war with European powers.

The Emperor ought again to ask him for money, for though he will say that he has none to lend, any amount may be procured on his credit, which is good, and then the Cortes of Aragon, which are soon to meet [at Monzon], can make a considerable grant with which to repay him both principal and interests.

All these things will promote the treaty (*concierto*) respecting the Moluccas, and make them improve their offers, for if he (Hurtado) is not mistaken, Portuguese of all classes wish immensely for the settlement of that question: firstly because it is advantageous for them, and secondly because they think that, should His Imperial Majesty be satisfied on this point, he will no longer insist on the public demonstration now demanded, and that in case of the offer being accepted by the Emperor, sufficient money may be got out of their King to pay the whole or the greater part of the stipulated sum.

The King has begged him (Hurtado) to suppress that paragraph of his letter which relates to Onorato. What he had said about that French agent was under the impression that

* See No. 371, p. 614.

1528.

he (Hurtado) would quit Portugal before him, but that not being the case, and Onorato having actually sailed off, there was no occasion to take further notice of him. All his efforts to get permission to come to Almeirim and take leave of the Queen had been in vain. He also wished to go to Lisbon, but was not allowed. Upon the whole the reception he has met with at this Court must be anything but satisfactory to the King of France, his master. Pero Correa assures him (Hurtado) that the answer made to his overtures has not been more favourable, since he has completely failed in the three things he came for, viz., peace, the marriage of the King's third son [Charles Duke of Orleans] to the Infanta Doña Maria,* or that of Madame Raneta (Renée) to the Infante Dom Luiz.

A vessel from New Spain has arrived at Peniche (*corriendo fortuna*). Alonso de Tapia, who came in command of her, took out the gold and landed, but the mayor of the place (*Justicia*) laid an embargo on it. He himself came here yesterday, begging him (Hurtado) to have the embargo raised, that he might continue his journey to Seville by land. He brings 27,000 ducats for His Imperial Majesty, and about 20,000 more for private individuals. The enclosed† memorandum contains news of those countries.

On the 13th another caravel from the Island of Santa Martha went on shore at the Oscathojos (*sic*), one league from Lisbon. Her cargo, which consisted chiefly of cassia tree (*cañafistola*), was lost, but the gold and passengers saved.

News from Lisbon state that Mons. de Veurre (Beurren) passed in sight with six galleys; weather stormy.

The King has given him (Hurtado) lodgings in his own palace, thus showing his attachment for the Emperor, a proof of which is that since the ambassador's arrival in Portugal nobody dared looking Onorato in the face.

The Queen recommends Doña Maria de Velasco. Juan Francisco de Lafetad writes from Lisbon in date of the 17th inst. that on that day a Portuguese caravel arrived from Plemua (Plimouth). She had left that port a fortnight before, and had been detained four days. There was no sound of war or preparations for it; on the contrary, it was reported that the King was adverse to it.

The Emperor, at the ambassador's request, gave permission for certain arms to be brought from Viscay to this kingdom. A vessel loaded with them was obliged to run into La Coruña, where Don Simon de Alcaçar, who commands there as corregidor, seized them, notwithstanding that the master of the vessel showed the Imperial warrant. As the Portuguese minister resident at the Imperial Court cannot fail to complain of this and similar irregularities, he (Hurtado) considers it his duty to mention the fact.—Almeirim, 20th March 1528.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

* Maria, daughter of King Dom Emanuel and of Eleonor, the Emperor's sister.

† Not in the volume.

1528.

21 March. 380. DON MARTIN DE SALINAS to FERDINAND, King of Bohemia and Hungary.
 M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
 c. 171, f. 194.

Wrote on the 19th inst. by two different ways, and sent besides a duplicate of his despatch. The Emperor also wrote by Monforte and by the Provost of Balcrigue (Valtkirk), both of whom set sail on the 12th with fair wind, so that it is to be hoped that long before the arrival of this despatch they will be in His Highness' presence.

Nothing new to report except that His Imperial Majesty is still holding Cortes in this town (Madrid) with no ordinary success, since the deputies are granting without contradiction anything that is asked. After the closure of which Cortes, on the 15th, he is to go to Valencia, and thence to Monçon in Aragon, and, after appointing a proper person to represent him there, return to Madrid.

As he (Salinas) last informed Secretary Castillejo, the confessor (Loaysa) has been deprived of his place in the Council of State. It remains to be seen whether he will also cease in his office of Imperial confessor. Cannot say for certain what reasons the Emperor may have had for this measure, but in his letter to the secretary some of the motives are given.

Returns thanks for the place of steward or chamberlain of the Royal household which has been conferred on him.—Madrid, 21st March 1528.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

21 March. 381. THE BISHOP OF TRENT to ALONSO SANCHEZ.
 M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
 Salazar, A. 42,
 f. 215.

On the 12th and 15th inst.* we advised you the glorious victory obtained over the Vayvod. Now we learn that he has been deserted by his own people, and fled to Poland. Most of his captains have applied for safe-conducts, which have been granted. All the towns and castles that were still in that rebel's possession must have surrendered by this time, and if any still holds out, it shall be besieged and taken.—Vienna, 21st March 1528.

Signed: "Il Vescovo di Trento."

Italian. Copy in the hand of Sanchez's secretary. p. 1.

21 March. 382. ALONSO SANCHEZ to the EMPEROR.
 M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
 Salazar, A. 42,
 f. 203.

(*Cipher:*) Heard last night from the Bishop of Trent in date of the 10th inst. from Vienna, where the King [of Hungary] had arrived. The letter announced a signal victory of the Royal troops over the Vayvod, so that should the Turk come, as these Venetians confidently assert, he will not find the assistance he expected. Knows from an authentic source that last week the Signory sent to Ibrahim Bashá, at Constantinople.

1528.

a present of 20,000 ducats, that he may induce the Sultan (Solyman), whose favourite he is, to send 40,000 horse to the assistance of the Vayvod. Besides which the Signory is preparing considerable presents for the Turk himself, which an ambassador, who starts to-morrow or the day after, is to take. That he may the sooner reach Constantinople he has orders to go by land through Ragusa.

Letters from Nuremberg of the 6th inst. have been received, stating that on the 8th the Duke of Brunswick was expected there with 1,000 horse. On the other hand, advices from Trent say that 300 men were daily employed there in casting ordnance and preparing pontoons, and that on Palm Sunday the whole army will be there or in the immediate neighbourhood. This Signory has no doubt had scent of it already, for they are preparing for the worst, and the Duke Francesco [Sforza], who had actually started on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Loretto, has returned from Ravenna without accomplishing it. Has no news from Naples, save that the two armies were close to each other.

The Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) was expected in the city yesterday. Some say that he has arrived, and brings 100 lances for his escort.

The galleys of this Signory that went to the coast of Sardinia touched at La Bellona, and are now going to Corfu to be refitted. One of them foundered at sea.—Venice, 21st March 1528.

P.S.—Merchants of this city have letters from Aquila stating that on the 10th inst. that town was sacked by the confederates, and that the plunder taken was estimated at upwards of 300,000 ducats.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

23 March. **383.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 206.

Encloses duplicate of his despatch of the 19th. Since then news has come that the belligerent armies in Pulla (Puglia) were in sight of each other. Leyva is working wonders, Now recently he has surprised two companies of the enemy, numbering 500. He has besides relieved Lecco and cut to pieces the besiegers, who had so fortified the approaches on the land and water side that the garrison could only be succoured by such an enterprising captain as he himself is.—Venice, 23rd March 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

1528.

- 23 March. **384.** ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the
 M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
 Salazar, A. 42,
 f. 210. EMPEROR.

Received last night letters from Vienna of the 10th inst. The Bishop of Trent writes that His Highness the King had arrived there on the 8th. The news of the Vayvod's defeat is confirmed, and likewise that of the present which this Signory is said to have sent to Constantinople to Habrahin Bassa (Ibrahim Pasha), the Turk's Grand Vizier and favourite.— Venice, 23rd March 1528.

Indorsed: "Deciphering of letter of Alonso Sanchez."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

- 24 March. **385.** The BISHOP OF TRENT to ALONSO SANCHEZ.
 M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
 Salazar, A. 42,
 f. 220.

(*Cipher*.) You ought to know that whilst the men-at-arms and infantry destined for Italy was getting ready, the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave believing this to be a stratagem of our King, "incontinente al incontro incominciarno a dar gente," but when they really saw the new levies take the road to Italy they refrained. You will soon see a very fine set of men, the flower of Germany; the men-at-arms, who are almost all gentlemen, looking like a mountain of iron.—Vienna, 24th March 1528.

Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

- 24 March. **386.** The CARDINAL'S proposals for the peace between FRANCE and the EMPEROR.
 K. u. K. Haus-
 Hof-u. Staats Arch.
 Wien. Rep. P. C.
 Fasc. 224, No. 3.

In consequence of Mons. de Bourgos (D. Iñigo de Mendoza, bishop elect of Burgos), the Emperor's ambassador in England, having at the Legate's request invited Madame to take in hand this business of the general peace, and more particularly that between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France, work at it conjointly with the Legate, and endeavour to persuade the said Majesty to consent to some arrangement through which that desirable object may be attained; the said Lady being well aware of the advantages of peace, and of the want the Christian world has of it; knowing also that she could not employ her exertions for a work more meritorious than this in the eyes of God and of the world, has just sent her Secretary, Guillaume des Barres, to Mons. de Bourgos (Mendoça), that through his means and address (*adresse*), and in his presence, he (Des Barres) may declare to the Legate her wishes concerning the aforesaid peace to be concluded, if possible, between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France.

The Sieur de Bourgos, having heard and understood the mission brought by the said Des Barres, waited upon the Legate, and there, in his presence, Madame's ambassador proceeded to declare her intentions and wishes respecting the peace, expatiating at large on the evils and inconveniences resulting from the present war to Christendom in general,

1528.

and most particularly to the dominions and subjects of the Emperor and King of France, as it afforded the Turk every facility for an invasion, and encouraged the Lutheran heresy to spread far and wide.

The subject having been discussed at length between the Legate and the Imperial ambassadors (Mendoza and Des Barres), the following expedient was agreed upon as most likely to remove the obstacles standing in the way of the desired peace.

All the articles of the treaty [of Madrid] to which no objection was offered by the ambassadors of France and England, at the last conferences, to be perfectly valid.

The King of France to give up, before the release of his sons, Genes (Genoa), the county of Asti, Hesdin, &c.

To pay all and every one of the sums stipulated by the Madrid convention, he (the King) sending or causing to be sent to Bayonne the money, there to be received and counted by the Emperor's clerks and officials deputed for that purpose, and put into coffers, of which they only shall have the keys, thence taken to the frontiers of Spain and delivered to the Emperor, who, immediately after the receipt of the same, shall give up and deliver the Dauphin of France; this double operation (the surrender of moneys and Dauphin) to be conducted respectively by an equal number of attendants on each side.

This being done, the King of France will recall his army from Italy in three months, or any shorter period of time, as may be agreed between the two parties.

The army being recalled, and the French forces withdrawn from Italy, the Emperor to release the Duke of Orleans and send him to France.

As security for the said recall of the French forces the Duke of Orleans shall remain a prisoner [in Spain] until the whole of the King's troops have evacuated Italy.

Besides the above security for the recall and withdrawal of the French army within the stipulated time, the King of England offers his own, and engages to pay, conjointly with the King of France, a fine of 500,000 cr., and besides to declare in favour of the Emperor and against the King, upon whom he will make war by land and sea, as if he and his subjects were his enemies.

The better to settle this matter to the satisfaction of both parties, the King of England is now sending to France the Bishop of Baden (Dr. John Clerk, Bishop of Bath and Wells) to advise the King of the expedient adopted, and persuade him to accept it, writing to his ambassadors [in Spain] to conclude peace on these terms. And the said Bishop of Baden will besides send an English gentleman [to Spain] to inform the English ambassadors of what has been settled and agreed between the Kings of France and England.

The Legate hopes that the King of France will make no difficulty, but will approve of the proposed arrangement, unless

1528.

It is that he wishes to have hostages for the liberation of the Duke of Orleans; in which case, should he insist, the King of England will warrant him the delivery of the said Duke after the recall and withdrawal of the French army from Italy, provided the Emperor consents to give him proper hostages chosen among personages in Spain or Flanders.

Should the Emperor agree to the above terms, the Legate's intention is that the treaty be made and signed in Spain, the English and French ambassadors promising to have it ratified by their respective masters in the shortest possible delay. The war to cease immediately, taking care that the commanders of the forces on both sides be acquainted with the signature of the peace.

The Legate begs Madame to send immediately a messenger by land to the Emperor, in order to acquaint him as soon as possible with the result of the conference held with his ambassadors [in London], and the means which they and he [the Legate] conjointly propose for the furtherance of peace. The Legate will immediately apply for a safe-conduct through French territory for the gentleman whom Madame may appoint.

24 March. **387.** DOM LUIZ, Infante of Portugal, to the EMPEROR.

E. L. 368, f. 112.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 188.

Has received through Lope Furtado (Hurtado) and Don Miguel so many kind messages (*tantas boas palavras*) from him, that he knows not how to reply except by assuring him of his respect and affection.—Almeyrim, 24th March [1528].

Signed: "Inf. Dom Luiz."

Indorsed: "A Su Mt. del Infante D. Luis."

Portuguese. Original. p. 1.

24 March. **388.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 368, f. 113.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 189.

Lope Furtado (Hurtado) spoke to him of certain business which the Emperor seems to have much at heart. Wishing to give him pleasure he has conversed on the subject with Don Lope, much longer than he could do in writing. Begs credence for the said Furtado.—Almeyrim [24th March] 1528.

Signed: "Inf. Dom Luiz."

Indorsed: "A Su Mt."

Portuguese. Original. p. 1.

24 March. **389.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 368, f. 46,
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 190.

The King has shown him his letter concerning the challenge of the Kings of France and England. Hopes God will help him. Offers his services.

Signed: "Infante D. Luiz."

Addressed: "To the most High and Sacred Majesty of the Emperor, &c."

Portuguese. Holograph. pp. 2.

1528.

26 March. 390. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 211.

Had closed his despatch of the 19th March, when on the 20th inst. Giuliano della Speça (Spezzia), the Doge's servant, arrived with a packet of letters from His Majesty of the 27th of October, 24th December, and 29th January.

Since the Emperor's orders are that he (Perez) should remain where he is until a new ambassador to the Pope be appointed, he will not move from Naples, though he would have much preferred serving the Emperor in Spain. The Astorga and Castro suits, as well as that of the Cathedral (*Iglesia Mayor*) of Burgos and other ecclesiastical, must needs stand still, for out of 20 letters written at Orbiato, where His Holiness is still residing, only one reaches us; no Spaniard dares go thither or to Rome from fear of being assassinated on the road. The Astorga affair, however, does not require his presence, for Don Juan Pimentel, who is now here [at Naples], tells him he has letters [from Spain] advising that the Marquis of Astorga and Count of Benavente* have come to an agreement, through the mediation of Secretary Cobos, and that he (Don Juan) has in consequence been recalled to Spain. He is now going to Gaeta.

The provision in money and men made for these parts, and announced in the Emperor's letter, has been anxiously expected by all parties. Already there is news of the Imperial fleet having reached Sicily. Should it come this way its presence could not be more opportune, for the two armies are half a league distant from each other, and the Imperialists very impatient to engage the enemy, whose forces, as our scouts report, are not so numerous or so well appointed as was thought at first, only that they have a very powerful artillery, whilst we have none, that which was sent from hence, together with 4,000 foot and three companies of men-at-arms, not having yet joined. Had it not been for this impediment the generals would certainly have engaged the enemy before this and obtained an easy victory.

The bills of exchange for 400,000 have arrived, but the thing is kept secret for various reasons. Don Ugo says that part of the money is to be handed over to him (Perez) for the pay of the Neapolitan army.

Wonders how it is that Captain Gayoso has only delivered his (Perez's) despatch of 11th December last, for certainly he was the bearer of another dated the 29th of November with a postscriptum of the 6th December. As to his letters between the 12th October and 26th November he imagines they are all lost, for the caravel in which he (Gayoso) and the Bishop of Gerona (Don Guillen Boil) sailed was captured by the French.

* Don Alonso Pimentel, fifth Count of Benavente. As to the fourth Marquis of Astorga, Don Pedro Alvarez Osorio, and the cause of his journey to Rome, enough has been said elsewhere. At his father's death, in 1523, he had been engaged to Doña Maria Pimentel y Velasco, daughter of the Count of Benavente, but he afterwards tried to break off his engagement.

1528.

Don Ugo left on the 23rd inst. for Ariano, to hold a conference there with the Prince of Orange. Before departing Don Ugo inquired from him (Perez) what instructions he had respecting the sum he was to receive. His answer was that he had none, but had no objection, until they came, to hand over to him a portion of the money.

A captain of one of the Imperial galleys, named Mosen Perpiñan, assures him (Perez) that were eight more to come from Spain, with three or four smaller vessels (*fustas*), besides four of the Sicilian galleys, so as to make, with eight of Naples, twenty in all, His Imperial Majesty would easily become lord of the sea.

The Prince has just written on the subject of this very money which he (Perez) is to receive and Giuliano della Spezzia is gone to the camp about it. As most likely the Prince is in want of funds, and his drafts must needs be honoured, the forthcoming instructions must contain a clause to the effect that all sums paid by Secretary Perez for the support of the Imperial army be duly accredited.

The news of the war is that the French are at Asculi. Whether their intention is to march through the Pulla (*Puglia*) to Barletta and other towns on the sea coast, or come this way, nobody knows, though most think that they will follow the former route.

Six hundred foot from Sicily have just arrived at Gaeta in three vessels; 200 more had preceded them. The rest are expected in a couple of days, when the whole force, with ordnance, ammunition, and a good supply of wheat, shall be directed towards the Imperial camp.—Naples, 26th March 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Perez. 26th March."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

31 March
to 10 April.

Pap. d'Et. de
Granvelle.

391. NICOLAS PERRENOT to the EMPEROR.

Ever since his last he has been confined at Vincennes. On the 28th ult^o. a gentleman of the Grand Steward of France (Montmorency) came with orders to take him to Paris, without allowing anyone to approach or talk to him on the road. The same day the King arrived, and on the next sent his chamberlain, Bonnells, by whom, under an escort of six archers, he (Perrenot) was conducted to the Royal presence. Was first introduced to the Grand Master, who, after politely making his excuses for his (Perrenot's) long detention—which he said the King regretted much, and had only been effected in consequence of the arrest of the French ambassadors [in Spain]—offered his services, and inquired whether he (Perrenot) had anything particular to tell the King, his master.

1528.

His answer was that as the last letters addressed to him [from Burgos] had been opened and read, he had nothing to say, except, in obedience to the Emperor's commands, ask for leave and apply for a safe-conduct to go home; upon which the Grand Master changed the conversation, and said how much he regretted seeing matters in such a state, principally at the instigation of parties who profited thereby. The King, he added, had something to say, and to offer his excuses respecting the paper which His Imperial Majesty had placed in the hands of his herald, after which he (the Grand Master) would try to obtain for him an audience from the Queen Regent (Louise de Savoie). Answered courteously, and told him he was sure that he (the Grand Master) had always wished for a lasting peace between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France. He was duty bound to do so for the honour of God, his master's convenience, and his own profit and comfort. After which he (the Grand Master) went back to the King, leaving him (Perrenot) alone with his secretary for about an hour, waiting no doubt for the councillors and noblemen mentioned hereafter. Then came Mons. de Warty, of the King's Chamber, who, accompanied by the said Bonnells, conducted him (Perrenot) to the King, who was at the end of a long gallery, sitting on a platform (*parquet*), covered with fine tapestry and raised of two degrees. On the King's right sat Mons. Dallebrecht (d'Albret) on a chair, and close to him standing was the Grand Master of France (Montmorency). On the left, sitting on a bench, were Cardinals Salviati and [Du Prat], the Chancellor of France, and last of all Lorraine. Lower down at the extremity of the platform (*parquet*) were, to the right, Mons. de Vendome, Mons. de St. Pol, and several prelates and nobles, and on the opposite side the Papal Nuncio, lately arrived, and who was to have gone to His Imperial Majesty; the ambassadors of England, Venice, Duke of Bar,* Florence, and others, surrounded by several gentlemen and officers of State. On his knees before the King was Guyenne the herald, holding the King's coat of arms.

Having approached the platform and made his reverence, the King made him (Perrenot)† sign to come nearer, and said he might take his place among the ambassadors, and there declare in high and intelligible voice what he had to say in the Emperor's name. Upon which he (Perrenot) stated how he had received thirteen days ago, through the Grand Master of France, the Imperial letters of the 7th of February, announcing that on the 21st of January the French ambassadors had publicly taken leave of him (the Emperor), and that on

* Francesco Sforza, who having forfeited the Duchy of Milan, which he held from the Emperor, was generally designated by the title of "Duke of Bari" by the Spanish diplomatists of these times.

† A full account of the audience given to Nicolas Perrenot, sieur de Granvelle, on the 28th of March, appeared first in the "Apologia," &c., p. 271-7, and subsequently in the "Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle," tom. i., p. 350.

1528.

the 22nd a king-at-arms had challenged him and declared war ; in consequence of which he (Perrenot) had received orders from Court also to take leave of him (the King) as soon as possible. He very much regretted that things had come to such a pass, thus destroying all hope of that lasting peace and friendship which all parties had reason to expect after the conclusion of the treaty of Madrid, by which he (the King) recovered his liberty ; and since the blessings of that peace, which His Imperial Majesty had done so much to promote, were no longer attainable, he (Perrenot), in obedience to the Emperor's commands, now came to take leave of the King of France, and to apply for a safe-conduct, which he had no doubt would be easily granted, as honesty and reason demanded, and all magnanimous and virtuous princes had always done on similar occasions. He (Perrenot) was not aware of having incurred the King's displeasure in any way, or done anything by which the safe-conduct should be refused. If, however, in the delivery of his commission he had given involuntary offence, or otherwise behaved uncivilly, he begged to be excused, and asked for the King's pardon, after thanking him for the honour which he, his courtiers, and the nobles of his kingdom had conferred upon him during the time of his embassy (*legation*).

His address at an end, the King said that there were in the Emperor's writing, as given to his herald (Guyenne), many things respecting his honour, to which he wished to answer in the presence of those there assembled for the purpose ; upon which a paper was placed in his (Perrenot's) hands purporting to be the reply of the King of France to the Emperor's answer, which the Bailli Robertet was ordered to read to those present. Remonstrated and said that by the Imperial letters which had been given to him open, and which he supposed had been previously read by the King and his councillors, his powers as an ambassador were revoked, and therefore that he (Perrenot) could not listen to the lecture of any document addressed to the Emperor, much less be the bearer of it.

The King replied that if he (Perrenot) refused to hear what he had to say, and be the bearer of his message, or else consent to his herald accompanying him on his journey [to Spain], and deliver his message and note, he protested that he had sufficiently safeguarded his honour and done his due in the matter, whereof he at once took the audience to witness. Upon which the King caused Robertet to read the said note, wherein besides the denial (*dementissemment*) of His Imperial Majesty's assertion that he (the King) had betrayed his faith and done an ungentlemanly act, there was a renewal of the private challenge declaring that he (the King) was ready without any further writing to meet the Emperor at the place and with such arms as might be appointed, after the field had been ensured for both parties. As regarded him (Perrenot) he had no complaint to make ; he had delivered his charge as befitted him, without unnecessary offence to him or his subjects ; but

1528.

hearing that his ambassadors had been arrested [in Spain] against all right, divine or human, he could not do less than retaliate. He (the King) had never solicited or given cause for the Emperor to place faith in him. The promises which the Emperor said he had made were snatched from him at a time when he was under guard of 500 hackbutiers, seriously ill, and in danger of death; besides which it is notorious that no faith given by a prince under restraint can be considered as valid. As to the treaty of Madrid, had he been in his own kingdom nobody would ever have compelled him to sign it.

After this the King referred to another memorandum he had in his hand, being a refutation, as he said, of some of the charges brought against him in the above-mentioned answer. "The Emperor, said he, wants to excuse himself from the taking and sack of Rome, and yet everyone knows how the thing happened, and that the whole was tolerated and favoured by His Imperial Majesty; the Pope's person, who, as the Vicar of Christ on earth, ought to be inviolable, remained long a prisoner in the hands of the Imperial generals, and when Mons. de Bourbon, who executed the deed by which such profanation of the holy things and such a destruction of private property were accomplished, was mentioned he was spoken of in the most honourable and praiseworthy terms.

With regard to the King of England, his good brother and best ally, and the charges brought against him in the Emperor's note, he (the King) considered him so virtuous a Prince that it would be doing him injury to take up his cause. He expected that he would himself answer and safeguard his honour; yet should he be prevented by illness or other legitimate causes, he (King Francis) undertook to defend and guard his honour as long as he lived.

To say that he (the King) has long carried on war against the Emperor without previous defiance is not correct; on the contrary, he was certain that the Imperial ambassador, the Provost of Utrecht, had been the first to defy him at Dijon, declaring in his master's name that should any of his allies or others assist him in the future contest, he would consider him as his enemy.

Besides it was easy to know who were those who wished for the peace and quietness of Christendom and those who did not. As far as he himself was concerned he aimed not at universal monarchy, knowing very well that it did not belong to him; he only wanted to live in peace within his own kingdom.

Respecting the Emperor's assertion as expressed in his note, intimating that he (the King) knew very well how and why the Princes, his sons, were prisoners in the Emperor's hands, he was aware that they were in suzerainty for his ransom. It was also evident that he was anxious for their liberation, and would have been equally so, had they been mere gentlemen of his kingdom, since he had offered two

1528.

millions of gold, besides the security of the King of England, which was three or four times more than any Prince had ever paid for his ransom.

With regard to the Emperor's message through Guyenne, the herald, reminding him (Francis) of certain words which he (the Emperor) had said to the President of Bordeaux [at Granada], he (the King) could only recollect that the said President, his ambassador, had written at the time about many things, and had certainly done his duty in that respect. He could not guess what the Emperor meant thereby, unless it was that his ambassador had offered his co-operation and help for the Turkish war. If so, he did not hesitate to say that though the danger of an invasion was not very imminent upon his own kingdom, owing to the long distance from Turkey, yet for so commendable a work he was ready to assist with all his forces.* The danger, in his opinion, was not so imminent as the Emperor pretended in his note, and seemed to him rather a pretext the better to nourish the troubles of Christendom.

Had the Emperor's note contained further specific charges against his honour, he (the King) would not have failed to answer them. The Emperor without any more writing could now answer him "en gentilhomme," and make him know his intention, not in writing or by means of proxy or ambassador, but personally, and as a gentleman would act towards another."

Matters having come to such an extremity, and fearing lest by his (Perrenot's) refusing to accompany the herald with the King's missive an impression unfavourable to the Emperor might be made upon the audience, he replied that, having no powers to treat of affairs which were private between him (the King of France) and His Imperial Majesty, he could not take upon himself the responsibility of such a message. He could not prevent the King from sending it through his herald or whomsoever of his vassals he pleased. The Emperor, he had no doubt, would answer the King's challenge to single combat in a suitable manner, and as befitted a Prince of his high reputation and honour. Ended by begging the King to grant him a safe-conduct and allowing him to depart; with which words, after making due reverence, he (Perrenot) left the room and went back to his lodgings, accompanied by Mons. de Warty. Must add that during the conference it seemed to him (Perrenot) as if most of those present were considerably agitated and had tears in their eyes.

Next day the bailli Robertet came to his (the ambassador's) lodgings to arrange the preparatives for his departure. He also informed him that Madame the Queen Regent wished to

* "Mais que ne pouvait entendre ce que pouvoit estre, sinon que ce fut de ce que le dit Sr. roy s'estoit offert d'accompagner Vre Mte. et l'assister a faire entreprise contre le Turcq; et que par lui n'a jamais resté, combien quil soit assez long du danger, quest evident et apparent pour la nouvelle descente du Turc, et que encore demeure-t-il en meme vouloir; et vous n'auriez jamais sittot le pied en lestrier, que pour si bonne œuvre quil auroit le cul sur la selle, &c."

1528.

see him. Answered that he had nothing else to do at the Court of France but get his safe-conduct and return to Spain, but since the Queen Regent (Louise) wished to speak to him, he would go and pay her his respects as soon as he was informed of the hour at which she would grant him audience. Robertet added that he had been ordered to draw out an act of everything that had been done and said at the conference, and upon the ambassador expressing a hope that he would be true and exact in what he (Perrenot) said, it was agreed that he should send him his own report, which was accordingly done the next day in the manner and terms above described.

On Monday evening the Grand Master sent word to the gentleman in whose charge he (Perrenot) was, to get ready to accompany the Imperial ambassador to St. Germain, where the Queen Regent was residing at the time. She spoke at length of the great desire she had always had of seeing peace firmly established between her son and His Imperial Majesty, and how much she regretted to see things in such extremity, owing to past matters having been misunderstood. After which, with many commendations to the Queen (Eleonor), and the request that the King's sons should be well treated, she dismissed him (Perrenot), and he returned to Paris the same evening.

8th April.—Since the last day of March, when the above was written, until to-day, the 8th of April, he (Perrenot) has remained at his lodgings under the keeping of the above-named gentleman (De Warty) and a guard of archers, during which time he has never ceased applying for the promised safe-conduct, which has to-day been brought to him, with the proviso that he is not to leave this kingdom until the departure of the French ambassadors [from Spain] is known in Paris.

10th April.—The Chancellor (Du Prat) has sent to-day one of his clerks, a prothonotary, to submit to his (Perrenot's) approbation the act drawn up by Robertet. Has declined to look at it for the reasons contained in his speech to the King. Nevertheless, lest the King should find a plausible excuse to protest, he (Perrenot) said in the presence of De Warty and the said prothonotary that if the King wished to send the act to Spain by one of his heralds or some other person, he would inform the Emperor of it, when he had no doubt a safe-conduct would be prepared for the messenger.—Paris, 10th April 1528.

Signed: "Nicolas Perrenot."

French. Original. pp. 7.

— April 392.

THE EMPEROR'S DECLARATION respecting the DIVISION of the DUCHY of MILAN.

S. E. L. 1,454,

f. 49.

B. M. Add. 28,577.

f. 32.

Be it known to all. Whereas, notwithstanding our constant endeavours to conclude a general peace between the Princes of Christendom, We have hitherto been disappointed, chiefly through the confederated powers suspecting that We pur-

1528.

posed retaining the Duchy of Milan, or giving it to our brother Ferdinand, the King of Hungary and Bohemia, We hereby declare that, far from having entertained such ambitious designs, We fully intended, after the said Duchy of Milan had, at our own expense, and by the force of our arms, been reduced to obedience, to restore it to the illustrious Francesco Sforza (though he has no right whatever to it), and graciously grant him again the investiture of the same on condition of his paying a moderate sum as indemnity for the expenses of the war, before such investiture, and taking the usual oath of fidelity. Francesco Sforza, however, instead of showing his gratitude for our favours, has tried to work out our ruin and that of our army, entering into alliances with our enemies, carrying on war on the said Duchy, &c. Things being in this state, and our longing for peace remaining as great as ever, We proposed to the Apostolic Nuncio, then residing at our court, that should the Duke Francesco Sforza be legally deprived of the said estate, and the fief falling in reversion to the Sacred Roman Empire; should the Pope think it more advantageous for the peace and tranquillity of Italy, and for the conclusion of universal peace, that the said Duchy of Milan should be entirely broken up and dismembered, and apportioned among several lords, in such case We were fully prepared, without retaining for ourselves or for our brother the King [of Hungary] any part, however small, of the said Duchy, to divide the same between various lords, princes, potentates, and other private persons, "*jure feudi disponere, debitasque investituras sub rationabili pretio seu servitio juxta rerum ac personarum qualitatem unicuique concedere, taliterque providere ne de cætero quispiam ad ipsius status occupationem, illius ampliacione disjuncta atque suppressa, verisimiliter aspirare, seu Italiam propterea turbare præsumeret.*"

We then appointed Don Ugo de Moncada, the Prince of Aurentia (Orange), and Mr. de Verey (Veyre), our chamberlain, to be our orators and ambassadors, to treat and negotiate with the Pope as to the manner in which the said Duchy should be divided, and to whom the investiture should be given.*

393. DRAFT of TREATY sent to the CARDINAL.†

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 29.

1. The Emperor to give His most Serene Highness the King of England hostages for the release of the [King's] sons, after receiving in the very act of the restitution 1,200,000 crowns of gold, besides the obligations which the aforesaid

* Two drafts of this document are to be found at Simancas (Leg. 1454), one bearing the date of the 1st December 1527, the other that of — April 1528. It may be that the older of the two was never sent to the Pope, or, if it was, that another copy was forwarded in April.

† Probably by Margaret of Savoy, who began about this time to exert herself to bring about a peace between the belligerents.

1528.

King of England holds from the Emperor for the money lent to him; after receiving also the lands and territories which the Duke of Vendome, and the most illustrious Lady, the Queen mother of the most Christian King, possess within the Emperor's dominions. The said delivery being accomplished, the most Christian King shall make over to the King of Portugal, or to the Duke of Savoy, the towns and castles of which mention is made in the overtures (*oblationibus*). This done, the Emperor shall give back the sons [of France] in the manner above described, and as soon as the delivery is effected shall recover his own hostages, whilst the King of Portugal or the Duke of Savoy, whoever is appointed, shall also give back to the Emperor the said towns and castles; on this condition, however, that, previous to the liberation of his sons by the Emperor, the most Christian King of France shall give security through the King of England that immediately after the release of the hostages he will recall his army from Italy.

2. Or if the Emperor prefers, the most Christian King will pay him 800,000 crowns of gold, besides the obligations which the King of England holds, and the Emperor will then give up the Dauphin [of France]. As regards the restitution of the towns [and castles] the following order may be observed:—The most Christian King shall make over to the King of Portugal, or to the Duke of Savoy, Genoa and Asti, and to the King of England the town of Hesdyn; on this condition, that they shall deliver and give them up to the Emperor immediately after the liberation of the Dauphin. That the Duke of Orleans will remain in the hands of the Emperor until the most Christian King recall his Italian army, and the Emperor receive the rest of the money completing the total sum of two millions, whether by giving in payment the lands and estates of the Duke of Vendome, or otherwise, with this stipulation, that the Emperor shall be bound to give hostages to the King of England for the liberation of the said Duke of Orleans, immediately after the recall of the French army and payment of the remaining money up to the total sum of two millions, as above said.

3. Or if the Emperor so prefers, let him on the receipt of the money, obligations, and lands above mentioned, give back the King's sons, and the most Christian King deliver as hostages all the persons designated in the Madrid convention, "*qui in præsent sunt in suo regno, exceptis suis filiis, pro consignatione et restitutione Januæ, Ast et Hesdyn, et revocatione exercitus, qui remanebunt obsides in manu serenissimi Regis Angliæ quoad rex Christianissimus omnia perim-pleverit quæ superius dictæ sunt.*"

4. If neither of the above proposals should be accepted, the most Christian King engages himself, immediately after the conclusion of the peace, to give back to the Emperor Asti and Hesdyn, in which case the Emperor, after receiving the money, obligations, and lands to the amount of two millions,

1528.

as above stated, will give up the Dauphin only, the Duke of Orleans still remaining in his hands. This being done, the most Christian [King] will give Genoa back to the Emperor and recall his Italian army; on condition, however, that the Emperor will also give security to the King of England that, immediately after the restitution of Genoa and recall of the French army, he (the Emperor) will deliver the Duke of Orleans to the most Christian [King] his father.

5. Should the Emperor reject all the above proposals a fifth mode might be suggested, which is for the most Christian [King] to pay down in cash 1,200,000 crowns of gold, and the rest as in the first article; on condition, however, that simultaneously (*uno et eodem tempore*) with the consignment of the said money, obligations, and territories to the Emperor, he (the Emperor) be bound to give back both the King's sons; and that equally before the Emperor gives back the hostages the most Christian King engage himself (*obliget se*) to give up all the towns and castles mentioned in the overtures (*oblationibus*) previously made, and also to recall his [Italian] army, under pain of incurring ecclesiastical censure, and a fine of one million of gold. Further, that the King of England, after receiving from the most Christian King satisfactory securities and hostages, promise and pledge himself to the Emperor that the said towns and castles shall be duly restored, and the French army [in Italy] recalled, and that in case the most Christian King should not fulfil and accomplish the said conditions, the said King of England will take up arms and declare war against him conjointly with the Emperor.

6. Again, should the Emperor prefer it, the towns and castles may be returned, the money paid, and obligations given simultaneously with the delivery of the sons of France, after which the Italian army will be recalled. The better to bind both Princes to their engagements, each party shall give security to the King of England of one million of gold to be paid by the party failing to keep such engagements to the other.

Latin. Original draft. pp. 4.

6 April. 394. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 223.

Since his letter of the 26th ulto., advising the arrival of Julian de la Speça (Giuliano della Spezzia) with bills of exchange, (*cipher* :) he (Perez) has been told by Thomass^b de' Fornar[is], who came with him and is now here in concealment, (*common writing* :) that he was ready to fulfil the engagements taken [in Spain], and would pay the money as he received it. Accordingly, a few days ago, he paid him, by Don Ugo's order, 2,000 ducats, which have not yet been spent, but will be as soon as Don Ugo and the Prince will give him the requisite vouchers and receipts, &c.

1528.

The aforesaid Thomasso has given him four bills of exchange, drawn by Stefano Centurione and Ansaldo de' Grimaldi, for the receipt here and at Rome of 33,300 ducats. Those that were to be paid here by Cosmo Pinelo and Agustin Calvo have been presented, but are not yet accepted. Another bill for 10,000 ducats on Rome, payable here at Naples by the said Cosmo, in case of the Grimaldi not being at Rome, the former banker refuses to accept, on the plea that the bank of the Grimaldi on whom it is drawn has its fixed residence at Rome. Is about to send thither a messenger for the acceptance of that bill, and of another also drawn upon that house.

Don Juan Pimentel is about to start for Spain by way of Sicily. He takes with him a writ forbidding the judges the Marquis [of Astorga] took with him to Spain, to take cognizance of the marriage business, but the whole thing to be brought [to Rome] for the decision of the Rotta.

The bills of exchange were about to be accepted by Stefano Centurione, when his brother, Agostino, interfered, saying that the 5,000 ducats advanced by him to Don Ugo and the Prince of Orange for the pay of the Germans were still owing to him, and that he had also in his possession promissory notes of the Emperor for another 5,000 advanced in Spain, and the interest thereupon, which he says ought to be discounted from what his brother Stefano has to pay. In this emergency, for fear lest this claim and protest of Agostino should prevent the acceptance of the said bills of exchange, it has been agreed that the whole of the debt shall be deducted from the amount.

Thomasso de' Fornariis has paid in 9,000 ducats more, and offers to do his utmost in this respect.

The Prince of Orange, the Marquis del Guasto, and Alarcon have arrived. They will, no doubt, write [to Spain], saying what they intend doing, whether bringing the Imperial army into Naples, or keeping it outside in the neighbourhood. Whatever they do, it is quite evident that they will be able to defend themselves against Lautrech, who is said to be approaching; the only fear is that the enemy's fleet may stop the supplies, &c. Geronimo Moron came also four days ago to attend conjointly with the Collateral Council to the provisioning of this city and army. He is a very good man of business, and his presence is likely to be of great service.

On the 4th inst., as the Marquis del Guasto was going out to receive the Prince of Orange, accompanied by Cardinal Colonna and Don Ugo [de Moncada], he remained behind with five or six of his own retainers on horseback, and made abruptly for a street where the Count of Potencia lived. He found him riding on a mule, and his son on a horse. The Marquis went up to them, and gave the Count two sword cuts in his arms, wounding the son through the breast, after which he rode away and went to Iscla (Ischia). Neither of the wounds is said to be dangerous. What the cause of the assault

1528.

may be, nobody knows, except it be on account of the differences existing at one time between the Count and the Marquis of Pescara (Don Hernando de Avalos), Guasto's uncle. The Prince and Don Ugo, however, have sent for the Marquis to make up the quarrel (*para entender en las pazes*), and again place him in command of his men.

The other day, also, Juan de Urbina had words with Captain Salzedo in the very presence of the Marquis del Guasto, and gave him a sabre cut. Some say that there was even more than that. The cause of the broil was that Urbina charged Salzedo with being the promoter of a mutiny that had taken place among the Spaniards two days previous. Salzedo gave him the lie, upon which Urbina drew out his sword and wounded him as related. Salzedo came here to his lodgings in Naples, and the affair might have assumed a serious aspect, had not the Marquis interfered and blamed Juan de Urbina for his hasty temper. The Spaniards, who love the latter, had nearly taken up arms, but through the prudence and moderation of the Marquis the whole was satisfactorily arranged. Salzedo and Urbina are friends again, and a deputation has come from the Spanish infantry, begging the Marquis to return to the camp. He has actually come back from Ischia, and is about to start for the camp.

Thomasso de' Fornariis has made over to us the 35,000 "tumbanos" of wheat he ordered from Sicily. They shall be given to the municipality (*ciudad*), to divide between the inhabitants and the army. The cost of the whole amounts to 38,000 ducats, "de carlines." Thomasso and Giuliano della Spezzia are going to Rome to forward the Emperor's money affairs in that city.—Naples, 6th April 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Perez. 6th April."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering between the lines. pp. 4.

6 April. 395.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.

Salazar, A. 42,
f. 225.

B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 210.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the
EMPEROR.

Has received no letters from Spain since August of last year. Encloses copies of those of the King of Hungary and Bishop of Trent.

A courier has just arrived, who left Augusta (Augsburg) on the 31st March. He says that the day before the Duke of Brunswick arrived there at the head of 1,000 cavalry. Feels certain that by this time the Duke is with his forces between

1528.

Insbruck and Trent, and that about Easter he will be in Italy. These people must be already aware of the fact, since, besides the 4,000 infantry mentioned in his (Sanchez's) last despatch, they have now very recently ordered 6,000 more to be raised. They are to be in all 10,000, but he (Sanchez) fancies that they will be none of the best, and that most likely they will never reach that number. (*Cipher* :) Against the arrival of these German reinforcements ample funds must needs be provided from Spain, as he (Sanchez) has had occasion to point out in several of his despatches ; otherwise the confusion likely to arise from so many thousands being without money or provisions will be awful.

The son of the Duke of Ferrara (Ercole) left on the 3rd inst. for France. (*Cipher* :) He will pass through Modena and Reggio, where he will spend the Easter festivities. The Germans might, however, arrive in Italy about that time, and in that case the Duke is sure to tell his son not to proceed on his journey. Of the machinations (*andamientos*) and intrigues of the Duke, there must be sufficient proof at Court, and therefore there is no need for him (Sanchez) to say anything more on the subject.

(*Common writing* :) This Signory's proveditor at Lautrech's camp writes in date of the 21st March that the Imperial army at Troya had retreated 12 miles to a place called Ariano. Fancies that the movement can easily be explained by the desire of the Prince of Orange and others in command of the Imperial forces to join Don Ugo, who with 5,000 infantry, 200 lances, and 14 pieces of artillery, besides several barons and nobles, was coming from Naples. The same proveditor writes again on the 25th, announcing that Lautrech's people had stormed Melfi, inside which place were 600 foot, all of whom had been put to the sword, not sparing women or children. The reason for so much rigour must have been that two bands (*bandas*), which Lautrech had sent against that place, had been repulsed by the inhabitants with great loss, and that since the commencement of this war that general is said to have lost before Naples alone 40 of his best captains. He therefore went to Melfi with the whole of his force, resolved upon punishing the inhabitants, and, when the city was stormed, ordered a general massacre. The Prince of Melfi (Caracciolo) was, they say, inside the place, and consequently was either killed or taken prisoner ; but others assert that he was not there. He (Sanchez) rather inclines to the latter opinion. The Venetian proveditor adds that at the date of his letter the Imperialists were at Ariano, 14 Italian miles from Melfi.

Leyva is doing wonders in Lombardy. Having taken up positions on the banks of the Adda, he is waiting no doubt for the German reinforcements. He had lately made some sort of agreement with the Castellan of Mus (Gianiacopo de' Medici), through which the Switzers and Grisons, who used to

1528.

come to Italy that way, will now be obliged to take a very circuitous road.

Rumours are afloat of the great preparations the Turk is making against Hungary. The Duke of Urbino arrived yesterday. He will not make a long stay.

The Signory, it appears, have lately had letters from France, about the great preparations now being made in that country, as well as in England, to invade Flanders. The same intelligence has been brought from Orbieto by a gentleman coming from those parts, who says that in a conversation held with the Pope on the 24th ulto., whilst lamenting together the present wars, he said, "Your Holiness might wait and see what turn affairs will take," and that the Pope answered, "Yes, I would if my estates were entire as formerly,"* which declaration on the part of His Holiness would show that he intends soon to decide for one of the contending parties, and wait for the issue of the war in Naples. The same gentleman says that the Pope announced to him the arrival at Orbieto of an English ambassador with most exorbitant demands in the name of the King, his master. Among other things he wanted his marriage with Doña Catalina, the Emperor's aunt, annulled; which petition the Pope was disinclined to grant for the present, though there is no saying how he may think hereafter. It is rumoured here that the Spanish fleet, or at least 28 of the vessels (*barchas*) of which it is composed, has arrived at Naples. Whence the news has come, or by whom conveyed, he (Sanchez) cannot guess; all he can say is that a Spaniard, coming from Sicily, asserts that at the date of his departure from that island seven vessels (*barchas*) had arrived at Trapani, and several more were expected.—Venice, 6th April 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3½.

7 April. 396. LOPE DE SORIA, Imperial Ambassador at Genoa, to the
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. EMPEROR.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 235.

Received on the 2nd inst. the Emperor's letters of the 13th of December and 20th of February; the former being a duplicate of that which was intrusted to Miçer Juliano,† the Doge's secretary. However, as the latter has not yet made his appearance, he (Soria) is at a loss how to act in his new charge of Commissary General to the Imperial army in the room of the Abbot of Najera. Therefore, until the said Giuliano arrives,

* By the negligence of the deciphering clerk the sense of this passage is rather obscure. It stands thus: "Que doliendose Su Santidad de estas guerras, este le dixo que Su Santidad se estoviesse al ver, y que le respondiò sí, si sus tierras estoviesen enteras como estavan."

† Giuliano della Spezzia mentioned in former despatches.

1528.

he (Soria) does not intend moving from La Mirandola, unless the reinforcements expected from Germany should come in the meanwhile, for in that case he will join them, and enter at once upon the exercise of his functions. Were he indeed to attempt even going to Milan now, it would be impossible, as the country round this place is in the hands of the enemy, who keep very strict watch at all the passes, stopping all messengers and letters sent by the Imperialists. He himself is so well known throughout the Genoese territory that he could hardly expect to pass unnoticed, however secret he might try to keep his journey.

(*Cipher:*) The bearer of this and other letters will be Estevan Espindola. Suspecting that he was about to proceed to Spain, and might possibly have messages and letters from him (Soria) and other Imperial agents, the present governor of Genoa* ordered his arrest, but he had time to escape. Recommends him to the Emperor's notice, as he and his family remain faithful and do good service.

Is glad to hear that ample provision of money has been made for this Imperial army, and that reinforcements of ships and men are to be sent to Naples and Sicily. The 100,000 ducats in bills of exchange remitted to the King of Hungary will help effectually towards raising a considerable force in Germany, although if this war goes on that sum will only last a few days, and further provision must needs be made.

The 13,000 ducats now remaining in his hands out of the last 20,000 to be spent in the building of galleys and so forth, he (Soria) will lay out according to the Emperor's orders. (*Common writing:*) As Antonio de Leyva has applied very urgently for money, stating that he has not one farthing with which to pay his men, he (Soria) has sent a message to Jorge de Fransperch (Fruntsperg), now at Ferrara, inquiring whether he has been reimbursed of his advances to the German troops at the request of the late Duke of Bourbon. Having heard from him that not only has he not received a quatrino, but is in a state of desperation about it, he will be paid according to orders, and the remainder of the money sent to Leyva.

(*Cipher:*) As soon as Secretary Giuliano arrives with instructions care shall be taken to present the bills of exchange for 400,000 ducats, and cash the amount, that it may be fairly distributed between the various branches of the Imperial service.

(*Common writing:*) The late challenge made by the Kings of France and England, and the Emperor's answer to it, are now known to the world. Since the King of France pretends to seize by force of arms his two sons, given as hostages for his word of honour, let the Emperor take up arms in his own defence, and compel him to the fulfilment of the stipulated conditions.

* Theodoro de' Triulzi.

1528.

(*Cipher* :) The Pope is still at Orbieto, affecting neutrality in public, though secretly he is as much disposed as ever he was to do all possible harm to the Imperial cause.

(*Common writing* :) Don Hercules, the Duke's son, left Ferrara for France on the 3rd inst., there to be married to Madame Renea (Renée). He is now at Modena, where and at Reggio he intends staying until after Easter.

(*Cipher* :) He is most probably gaining time to see what the armies in Pulla (Puglia) are likely to do. If nothing decisive takes place soon, he will no doubt determine upon his journey to France.

(*Common writing* :) The defeat of the Vayvod [of Transylvania] turns out to be true. It happened on the 6th of March. It is again stated that the Turk is arming both by land and sea with the intention of assisting him.

(*Cipher* :) Has just heard from Alonso Sanchez in date of the 30th ulto., and from Andrea de Burgo of the 5th inst. Both write to say that on the night of the 20th the Imperial army left Troya without the enemy becoming aware of its departure until it was broad daylight. They had reached a village called Ariano on the road to Naples, and had there been joined by Alarcon, who came from that city, with a reinforcement in men and artillery. On the other hand, letters from Troya of the 23rd, received at Orbieto, and copies of which were also forwarded by Sanchez and Burgo, state that on the evening of that day (the 23rd) Mons. de Lautrech had marched with the rest of his force upon Melfi, which Count Pedro Navarro was already battering with heavy artillery. The Prince [of Melfi] was inside the place, making a stout defence. Cesaro Ferramosca was at Barletta, and his brother, Count Minamon (*sic* ; Mignano ?) at Monrredoni (*sic*), which he had sacked owing to the inhabitants having refused to admit him, and their being in treaty with the enemy. Aquila had been completely sacked by Orazio Ballon (Baglione), who had afterwards joined Lautrech's camp at the head of the Florentines. Luis Pisani with the Venetians, amounting to about 4,000 men, had also joined the French on the 20th, so that the enemy's forces muster now about 20,000.

Hears that the Pope has commissioned Cardinal Salviati to ascertain whether the King of England can divorce his wife and marry another, and that His Holiness asks a large sum of money for the dispensation, which money the King of England is willing to pay on condition that it shall be spent in war against His Imperial Majesty. It is generally believed that the Pope will grant the dispensation required.

(*Common writing* :) Antonio de Leyva has taken the field, and is now between Milan and the river Adda, inflicting all possible harm upon the Venetians, whom he has defeated with great loss in several encounters, so that he is complete master of the country.

1528.

(*Cipher* :) In Germany some ecclesiastical Princes and others are taking up arms against the Lutherans ; a bloody war is likely to ensue.

(*Common writing* :) There is a rumour afloat that Signor Vespasiano Colonna, the son of Prospero, is dead, but there is no certainty about it.

(*Cipher* :) A person of credit, lately arrived from France, says that great preparations are being made in that country to invade Flanders and Spain, but three things he says will make the undertaking fail ; namely : The want of counsel and fit commanders for the army. 2ndly. The King's disease, which is supposed to be incurable. 3rdly. The want of money. All wise Frenchmen are of the same opinion.

(*Common writing* :) Count Giovanni Francesco [Pico] della Mirandola has married his daughter [Giulia] to the Lord of Arrimini (Rimini), Sigismondo [Malatesta], to whom the Pope has lately granted the investiture of that fief, to please, as he says, His Imperial Majesty. His father-in-law, the Count, is a good servant of the Empire, and therefore the Pope ought to be written to in acknowledgment of the favour granted, &c.

Estevan (Stefano) Grimaldo is also here. He left Genoa the day it was lost, and has never returned thither, though the French Governor [Theodoro de' Triulzi] has had him tried as a rebel, and confiscated all his property. He wishes to be employed in the Emperor's service ; is a man of great ability, and fit for any office. All his brothers, moreover, are good servants of the Emperor.—La Mirandola, 7th April 1528.

Signed : "Lope de Soria."

Addressed : "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 5.

9 April. 397. COUNT BURELLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 241.

Would have written before concerning the affairs [of Naples] had he not been sure that both Don Ugo and the Prince of Orange send frequent reports. He will not, however, let the courier depart without assuring His Imperial Majesty of his readiness to sacrifice his person, family, and fortune for the Imperial service.—Naples, 9th April 1528.

Signed : "El Conde de Burrello."

Addressed : "Sacrae, Cesareæ, Cath. Mti."

Indorsed : "To His Majesty. From Count Burrello. 9th April. Answered."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

1528.

11 April. 398. JUAN DE MIRANDA to LOPE HURTADO.

S. E. Port. L. 368,
f. 184.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 218.

The messenger about whom I wrote [to you] is a servant of the Queen mother of France [Louise of Savoy]. He is now lodging at the house of a French merchant of this place. He goes about with his ears down (*con las orejas baxas*), and must be a spy, for I do not ever see him buying jewels, which is the avowed purpose [for which he came here]. They say he does not intend returning [to France] so very soon. Will follow his track and inform you of his doings. As to the other agent [of France] who you say has been dismissed, I can only tell you that the general belief in this town is that he has not received his congé, but, on the contrary, has lately had letters from Court, and is about to despatch a courier to France on board of a Portuguese galleon bound for Flanders, which is to land him in England. He lately received bills of exchange to the amount of 1,500 ducats to recover at a French merchant's of this place. So that all this put together convinces me that he is far from having received his congé as asserted, and my informants are persons who ought to know. The vessels bound for France are still in port. It is not known when they will sail. Will let you know.

I will write to the Bishop [of Burgos] of what you tell me, and will name a trusty person in London to take charge of his letters and despatches which may come under cover [to me]. This galleon of the King, now going to London, will take my letters and any more you choose to send for the ambassador bishop [D. Iñigo de Mendoza]. Onorato (Honoré) is at a monastery, one league from this place. After these festivities are over, we shall see what resolution he comes to.—Lisbon, 11th April 1528.

Addressed: "Al magnífico Señor el Señor Lope Hurtado embajador de Su Mt."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

14 April. 399. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 279.

Duplicate of his letter of the 7th with the following postscriptum.

Melfi was taken by storm on the 23rd of March. All the inhabitants, women and children not excepted, were put to the sword; only twenty persons of both sexes escaped the general massacre. The Prince, lord of the place, was inside, and fell a prisoner into the hands of the enemy. He had only 600 men with him, including the inhabitants of the place, capable of bearing arms, and a few Italians, most of whom with their captains were slain in the assault. From Melfi Mons. de Lautrech was to proceed to Naples.

(*Cipher* :) Has heard from Lucca in date of the 31st ulto., that on that day the Imperial army had come to Naples in full retreat, either because they did not consider themselves

1528.

sufficiently strong to meet the enemy, or perhaps because they hoped to draw them out where they could be attacked more advantageously. However this may be, he (Soria) fears that there is not among the captains and their men that conformity of opinion so desirable under the circumstances. Now that our forces are united, it is to be hoped that they will behave in such manner as to obtain victory over their enemies. The kingdom of Naples is in great confusion and danger just now, owing to the fall of Melfi, which, now that the Imperial army is retreating before the French, is likely to be followed by the loss of other towns, no less important. Baubery* had arrived at Naples, and also the fleet of Sicilian galleys.

Hears that the German reinforcements will be ready at Trent before the end of April, and that they will march in haste upon Lombardy.

(*Common writing* :) Antonio de Leyva was cut of Milan towards the Adda. He had relieved Lecco, besieged [by the Venetians], and defeated the confederates in several encounters. He was thinking of marching upon Bergamo, and had made an arrangement with the warder (*alcayde*) of Mus for that purpose.

The Duke of Urbino [Francesco Maria della Rovere] is collecting troops near Venice, either for the purpose of meeting the Germans on their way to Lombardy, or for the protection of the Venetian territory.

The Genoese are very angry with the French just now because their King has granted to Savona all that part of the western coast which formerly belonged to them, and because he has also allowed them to sell salt, and carry on trade just as the people of Genoa used to do. For this reason they are discontented, and intend proclaiming the Union before Passion week, notwithstanding that the King of France has forbidden them to make any change in the form of government.

Don Hercules, the Duke of Ferrara's son, has embarked at La Spezia for Marseilles. He is escorted by four French galleys. Most likely he has passed Easter at Genoa.

(*Cipher* :) It is reported that the Pope has already granted the dispensation applied for by the King of England to obtain a divorce from his Queen, and marry the other lady to whom he is attached.† This news, however, requires confirmation.—La Mirandola, 14th April 1528.

Postscriptum.—The above is in part a duplicate of other letters. Has nothing to add except that on St. George's day the Germans were to pass muster at Bulcan (Bolzano), and then march on Lombardy, where they expected to arrive by the 10th of May. They have a considerable force, horse and foot, with upwards of 30 pieces of ordnance. The news from Naples is that on the 7th inst. the Imperial army

* Written Banberg.

† "Que el Papa ha concedido la dispensacion para que el Rey de Inglaterra dexe su muger, y se case con la otra que quiere."

1528.

entered that city. Though letters have come stating that the troops entered against the will of the inhabitants, and that, once inside the city, they had sacked it, he (Soria) hears from good sources that this is false, and that the entrance was effected by general consent of the citizens. (*Cipher* :) The Imperial forces are reduced to 8,000, whilst the enemy's amount to 18,000. The latter are now encamped at the Tripalda, in order to rest, and consider what they are to do next. Almost all the lands (*tierras*) in Pulla (Puglia) have surrendered, and some have hoisted the Venetian flag. Manfredonia and Taranto only still hold out. Every inch of ground will be regained in one day, through a mere trumpeter, if God be with us.

The Union has been proclaimed at Genoa; but when the citizens hear of the German reinforcements being in Lombardy they are sure to shake off the French yoke, which they detest. They will not have Antoniotto Adorno for their Doge, or another such *capellaco*, as the tyrants are here designated, but in case of returning under the Emperor's protection, will ask for their liberty and a foreign governor.* In view of the above, His Imperial Majesty will have to determine at once what is to be done, for Genoa is a very important city to keep.

Encloses a letter just received from Alonso Sanchez,† containing news of the German reinforcements, as well as of Hungary and the Turk, and of the 16 galleys which the Venetians are now sending against Naples.

Has also heard from Andrea del Burgo, at Ferrara, that the Duke had received letters from the camp of the League, in date of the 12th inst., with the following intelligence. The confederated army was six miles from Naples. Capua, Nola, and other towns had tendered their submission. Lautrech intended to advance on Naples, where four Sicilian vessels laden with corn, and having some infantry on board, had just arrived. Most of the inhabitants had fled to Iscla (Ischia), Gaeta, and other places. The Marquis del Guasto had had angry words with the Count of Potenza (Potenza) concerning the Marquis of Pescara's inheritance. The Count had been wounded, and a son of his slain, upon which the Marquis del Guasto had been obliged to quit the place.‡ Such is the intelligence from the enemy's camp as communicated to the Duke of Ferrara.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 7.

* "Pero no querran al Duque Antoniotto Adorno, ni otro *capellaco*, que ansi llaman á qualquier tyranno, sino que si habran de estar debajo del dominio de V. M. querran que los mantenga en libertad, ó que les dé un gobernador extrangero."

† Not in the volume.

‡ For an account of this affair see Perez's letter of the 6th, No. 394, p. 646.

1528.

16 April. 400.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
 f. 246.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to
 the EMPEROR.

(*Cipher* :) Wrote last on the 6th, and on the 9th two of the Emperor's letters came to hand, one dated the 13th December 1527, the other the 20th February [1528]. It would have been far more satisfactory if the various measures announced in the former of those letters had been taken sooner, the Emperor's affairs being in the state in which they are. As to the Spanish fleet, which His Imperial Majesty wrote would be on the shores of Italy at the beginning of January, we are now in the middle of April, and there is as yet no news of it. Neither has the money for the pay of the troops been received, and the consequence is that the Imperial army is still at Rome, and that the enemy has invaded Naples, and taken several towns in the Abruzzo.

Some delay has likewise occurred in preparing the German reinforcements, Leyva being of one opinion as to the quality and number of the troops, and the King [of Hungary] of another, though at last letters from Trent of the 7th inst. advise that by St. George's day a general muster will be passed at Bolzano, Marran, Tremen, and other towns [of the Tyrol], after which the reinforcements will come down without loss of time.

Finding that there was no money to pay these troops, or the Germans who are with Leyva at Milan, that there were no horses for the artillery, and no provisions for the men, the resources of Lombardy, and indeed of the whole of Italy, being completely exhausted, he (Sanchez) thought it advisable that the new reinforcements should march at once against Florence, which is almost defenceless, and might easily be again brought under the Emperor's rule. Money and provisions might thus be obtained from the Florentines, as well as from the Duke of Ferrara; the Imperial armies would gain in reputation, and the enemy's progress in Naples be checked. Wrote to Leyva about it. His answer was that it was too late; the affairs at Milan were in a desperate state; the Germans could not stand it any longer, and he doubted much whether he could maintain himself during Lent. And yet he (Leyva) says in another of his letters that, to render the German reinforcements really serviceable, it is requisite that they should have with them a number of Spaniards or Italians, and he points out the places where the latter could join. Should this be done, the opinion of that captain is that money could be easily obtained. Has written to the King, informing him of Leyva's plan, and the places whither the Germans are to march, so that he (Leyva) may join them. The harm lies in the delay which these consultations naturally cause, and likewise in the total want of money and provisions, without which no great progress can be made in military enterprises of this kind.

1528.

This Signory meanwhile is greatly alarmed, lest the Germans should invade their territory. Hears that the Duke of Urbino, who has been a few days here in Venice, but has since gone away, has stated as his opinion that, unless Venice take 10,000 Switzers into its pay, they will not be able to resist the onset of the Germans, however numerous their Italian levies may be. They have therefore decided to take some thousand Switzers into their pay. Cannot vouch for the truth of this statement, but, should it be so, the Swiss cannot possibly come before the next harvest.

He (Sanchez) is very much astonished at not hearing from Court respecting the detention of the ambassadors of the League, or receiving instructions upon the contents of his own despatch of the 20th February. Of the arrival of Micer Julian (Giuliano) he has no news yet.

As the Emperor seems pleased at hearing his opinion about public affairs in Italy, he (Sanchez) will state unreservedly what he thinks of them. Certainly they are not in a flourishing state, especially at Naples, owing first to the unaccountable stay of the army at Rome, and then to the delay in providing money and supplies from Spain. Measures ought to have been taken beforehand for strengthening His Imperial Majesty's sea forces, as he (Sanchez) had occasion to point out more than a year and a half ago. Recollects that when he made the remark the answer was that a powerful fleet would soon be fitted out to come to these seas, and yet never at any time have 20 Imperial galleys been seen together. They would now be most wanted for the defence of Naples, and to convey thither the fresh levy of 6,000 infantry which there is a talk of raising, though he firmly believes there will be no occasion for it, as the enlistment will not take place for want of money. Considers it, nevertheless, imperative that His Majesty should order a powerful fleet to be fitted out with 10,000 men on board to land in Sicily, or wherever the greatest need of them exists; the fleet to bring money for its own support and that of the troops in general. Three hundred thousand ducats at least ought to be sent to Germany for raising and paying fresh auxiliary forces to come down, precisely of the quality and number specified by Leyva, and to the places he himself has designated. The troops under the latter to be paid all their arrears, that they may be serviceable and ready for work. And above all, the Emperor should not allow himself to be deceived by words and peaceable overtures from his enemies, but either accept peace at once, or make a vigorous war instead of losing time in negotiation.

The Venetians, though their territory is well guarded and in a good state of defence, (*si bien tienen las tierras fuertes*), have nothing to eat. If their lands were invaded and laid waste, so that they should not be able to reap the harvest this year, it is almost certain that they would withdraw their forces from Lombardy to guard their own territory. Has written to

1528.

His Highness on the subject. Cannot say whether his opinion will prevail, but thinks, and so does Leyva, that there is no other way of distressing the enemy. The King, however, is so much engaged just now with his Hungarian and Turkish wars, that he may possibly not have leisure to attend to our wants. The Signory's territory is completely exhausted, and though they still get money by means of taxation, the people begin to be tired, and pay with reluctance. A tax of 100,000 ducats has lately been imposed upon their clergy, without consulting the Pope or asking his permission, a measure which, joined to their still occupying, under various pretences, Ravenna, Cervia, and other towns of the Church, is the cause of His Holiness being in very bad humour with them just now. Hears that the Florentines have imposed a similar tax on their own clergy, also without the sanction of the Pope, at which he is, as may be supposed, exceedingly angry.

The Duke of Ferrara is sending his eldest son to France, &c. Andrea del Burgo still keeps saying that he is in reality a good servant of His Imperial Majesty, and that he will take the very first opportunity of deserting the League. That may be, but the fact is that he (the Duke) has always swayed with the wind as if he were a weathercock,* and that no reliance is to be placed on what he says or does. Really believes that, should the new German army approach the Ferrarese, he (the Duke) will make some demonstration in favour of the Empire, rather than risk the loss of his estate, but in his opinion his offers should not be accepted unless accompanied by a large sum of money. The Pope being on such bad terms with him just now, it is to be assumed that the Duke would feel disposed to contribute in money, and pass over to the Emperor's side, if only the possession of Modena and Reggio were assured to him. Has written to Andrea del Burgo on the subject, and expressed his astonishment at the Duke sending his son to France to be married, when the Emperor's daughter (Marguerite) had been promised to him.

It is now many months since the Pope left Sanct Angelo, and yet the Council of Naples has not appointed anyone to reside at his Court.

The rumour still prevails in this city of the great preparations the Turk is making to invade Hungary. The people talk of him as they would of the King of France.

(*Common writing*.) This Signory's proveditor,† now with Lautrech, writes in date of the 29th of March that Barletta and all the towns of the coast of Puglia, with the one exception of Manfredonia, have surrendered to the French. The news is confirmed by merchants' advices of the 31st. Trani, Mo-

* "La verdad es que se mueve como beleta al viento, y quiere tener dos çapatos en un pié."

† Pietro Pesaro, procuratore di San Marco. See Vianoli, *Historia Veneta*, p. 135.

1528.

napoli, Mola, and Poliniano (Polignano) have declared for this Signory. All this has been caused by the retreat of the Imperial camp. Letters have since come from the said proveditor, dated Gruta Menara the 3rd inst., announcing that the Imperialists were at La Tripalda and in the neighbourhood. What their plan of campaign may be nobody here seems to know, but it is supposed that they will fall on Capua, Gaeta, and Naples, principally to defend the latter city. It is not yet known whether the Neapolitans will agree to this plan; they had raised 4,000 infantry for their defence.* Has been told that Lautrec has letters from Naples of the 3rd inst. announcing that on the following day the citizens were to meet and consult whether they should admit the Emperor's army within the city or not, which is by no means a good sign.

There is no news of the arrival of the Spanish fleet. On the contrary, these people say that it is a hoax (*burla*), and he (Sanchez) begins to think it is so, for had it arrived, as some still persist in saying, certainly the Imperialists would have taken the offensive instead of retreating.

The King of France has given orders for his fleet at Provence to fit out for sea. This Signory has done the same with respect to theirs. It is added that this latter is to go to the coast of Puglia.

The Prince of Melfi (Caracciolo) was really taken prisoner at the storming of that city, and the Marquis of Quarata (Corato) close to Monopoli.

(*Cipher* :) Such being the state of affairs in the kingdom of Naples, he (Sanchez) has written to the King of Hungary and Bohemia, recommending that, over and above the force which he intends sending us, he should raise 6,000 more men to defend Lombardy in case Leyva should march, as it is supposed he will do, with the new reinforcements and the Milanese army to the relief of Naples. Cannot say what His Highness will decide, or what he will be able to do, for certainly there is no other way of getting out of the present difficulty, especially as late advices from France, of the 24th ulto., state that Mons. de St. Pol was soon expected to cross the frontier with 400 lances and 6,000 Germans.—Venice, 16th April 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "Sacrae, Cesaræ, et Cathce. Magti."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. From Venice. Alonso Sanchez. 6th April."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 9.

* "Si los Napolitanos estaran acordes, que no se sabe sino que habian hecho 4,000 infantes para guarda de la Ciudad."

1528.

10 April. 401. ——— to the EMPEROR.*

S. E. L. 806,
f. 25.B. M. *Add.* 28,577,
f. 25.

Begs to be excused if he errs in what he is about to say, as he has lived so long in retirement away from Court, and a stranger to State affairs. Believes that there is no better way of putting down the tyranny and ambition of the French King than living in friendship and preserving a good understanding with the King of England. Nothing, indeed, can instil courage into the French and embolden them to make war upon him (the Emperor) so much as the chance of a rupture between England and the Empire. Had he (the Emperor) been on good terms with the English, the French, he is persuaded, would never have dared to send an army to Italy, or advance as far as Naples. Ferdinand, the Catholic King, knew that very well. Whenever he was obliged to make war on the French he always took care to secure the English alliance. He never failed in his attempts to gain them over to his side, for however firm and closely knitted the alliance between England and France may have appeared in public; in secret they have always been rival and hostile to each other. This enmity is not of recent date; it is old, and time has rendered it a second nature with them. Feels sure that it would not be very difficult to sever the present alliance between England and France, especially if he (the Emperor) were to promise the former power to help them in the conquest of the duchies of Guienne and Normandy, which belong by right to England, and are unlawfully retained by France. King Henry need not despair, though he failed in his last attempt. Whenever an opportunity occurs the trial must be repeated, and hatred and mistrust of the French must be fomented in every English heart. King Henry must be frequently warned not to trust Francis or rely on his friendship; he must be told that France would already be the mistress of the whole world had not he (the Emperor) prevented her from carrying out her ambitious plans, and care must especially be taken to convince him of this one fact, that the Emperor's opposition to those ambitious projects is beneficial to all parties. In short, King Henry must be told how dangerous to all, and how unprofitable to himself, is his alliance with the French.

On the other hand, the Emperor might expatiate on the true and brotherly affection he bears to King Henry, and how he has never betrayed, nor will ever betray, his interests. The writer is of opinion that if he (the Emperor) will only treat King Henry in this way (and it is to be hoped that he will) he will easily gain him over to his cause, and do what

* This remarkable paper is without date or signature. The handwriting is very similar to that of certain notes and corrections on State papers and drafts of letters of the time of Ferdinand. As both Almazan, Ferdinand's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Bernardo de Mesa, his ambassador in England from 1514 to 1523, were still alive about this time, the authorship of this paper can be safely attributed to one of the two.

1528.

he pleases with him (*creo que acabará lo que con el Rey de Inglaterra quisiere*). The writer recollects that King Ferdinand the Catholic was once on very bad terms with the King of England, who had threatened to make war upon him, and help France against Spain, having ill-treated his ambassadors [in England] and all the Spaniards then residing in that country. The Catholic King, however, soon tamed (*amansó*) him by a present of horses, saddles, and bridles, besides a splendid necklace (*collar*) set with jewels for himself; by which means he (Ferdinand) gained his friendship so completely that at his death England was more attached to Spain, and more disposed to help her in a war against France, than it had ever been before. Thinks that a similar conduct towards this King would now have a similar effect.

Does not know the actual state of affairs, and therefore it may be that the Emperor does not consider it prudent or expedient to employ the aforesaid means. Should that be the case, it seems advisable that a peace be at once made with the French King on terms that can be honourably accepted, setting his sons free on the payment of a good ransom, and so forth. Countries may be easily conquered and subdued, but possession can only be retained by peaceful measures. The Catholic King (Ferdinand) knew this well. When he had fairly turned the French out of Naples he concluded a peace with them, married Germaine de Fox, and the kingdom of Naples was made over to her and to her issue. The King of France (Louis XI.) happening soon after to die without male children, affairs took such a turn that his posterity was entirely excluded from the succession, and King Ferdinand invested with it by the Pope. If the Emperor only imitates the prudent policy of his grandfather he will be able to exclude King Francis and his successors through all futurity from the Duchy of Milan and the rest of Italy. King Ferdinand never carried on war except for the purpose of making peace, even at some sacrifice, and having made peace he then employed his time in again preparing for war.

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

18 April. 402. MARTIN DE SALINAS.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
c. 71, f. 194.

Has received the letters of the 2nd and 15th February, brought by Don Pedro de Ascoytia, who arrived on the 2nd inst. Informed the Emperor of their contents, as well as of the extreme want of funds in which His Highness was. Found the Emperor very willing to provide money and anything that might be required for the contemplated expedition. The affair was then submitted to the Council, and on the 6th inst., before its deliberations had come to a close, Don Pedro de Cordova and Don Antonio de Mendoza arrived with instructions and despatches; after the perusal of which both those gentlemen and himself (Salinas) waited upon the Emperor,

1528.

and fully explained to him the nature and extent of the wants according to the tenour of the said letters. His Imperial Majesty, however, was of opinion that what with the 100,000 previously remitted, and actually spent according to the list of distribution forwarded by His Highness, and the 50,000 more, for which bills of exchange are now being procured, there was sufficient provision for the present emergency.

The Emperor has the Queen of France [Leonor] in his company. Whether it be on account of the title she bears, or in the hope that her marriage will take place, certain it is that she has kept up a larger household and spent more money than was needed. She has contracted considerable debts, and has now applied to the Emperor to advance her part of her marriage portion, amounting to 200,000 ducats. His Imperial Majesty has agreed to pay her 12,000 doubloons (*doblas*) for her annual maintenance as the interest (*juro*) of one half of her dower. The remaining 100,000 ducats to be paid to her by instalments in six years' time.

There can be no doubt, as His Highness says in his last letter, that the Venetians, the Vayvod of Moldavia* and others are trying to bring the Turk into Europe. The Emperor is fully aware of this, and consequently the proposal to send ambassadors [to Constantinople] has met with his full approbation. Nevertheless, he thinks that Christian Princes ought to avoid as much as possible any sort of diplomatic intercourse with the Infidel. But since the Venetians have been the first to treat with him, there is no reason to neglect a step calculated to defeat the plans of the confederates.

The agreements (*apuntamientos*) entered into with the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d' Este) and Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) have also met with His Majesty's approbation.

Respecting Luther and his sect, the Emperor is of opinion that the Provost of Balerique (Waltkirk) be again instructed, as he was at his departure from Spain, to treat him with mildness and try to persuade him to return to the good path, so as to set the Suabian League free, dispose of some of its forces, and invade France on the German frontier.—Madrid, 18th April 1528.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2½.

20 April 403.

LOPE HURTADO, Imperial Ambassador in Portugal, to the
EMPEROR.

S. E. Port. L. 368,

f. 171.

B. M. Add. 28,577,

f. 220.

As the Emperor's answer was not forthcoming, and it was important to get advices of what the French and English Kings were doing, he (Hurtado) requested this King to write to his

* Perhaps Transylvania is meant.

1528.

ambassador in France, and also to send a prudent and cautious person to England, who might secretly ascertain what warlike preparations were being made in those countries. The ambassador to England might be sent under some specious pretence, and His Highness the King (João II.) or the Queen might write to their aunt (Katharine) and ascertain how she was treated by her husband, the state of the country, and the warlike preparations, if any, that were being made. The ambassador, after sending the information required, might remain at the English court on the plea of proposing a marriage between the Infante Dom Luys and Princess Mary. Your Imperial Majesty (he took leave to observe) was bound to seek his own aggrandizement as well as that of his brother the King of Hungary. So great was the Emperor's power, and so many were his connections with England, that the least change in that kingdom—the Cardinal's death or that of the King—might bring about the said marriage.*

For this reason it was very desirable to have there [in England] a proper person to represent Portugal, who might advise of any change in politics, &c.; and lest the King should excuse himself on account of the cost attending such an embassy as this, he (Hurtado) observed that it was not necessary to send thither a very high personage, a wise and prudent gentleman would do just as well. The King replied that he would look into it. Told the Queen what he had been suggesting, that she might help in the same direction. Called next upon the Infante [Dom Luys] and prepared him also. Spoke twice again with the King, who said he had resolved to accede to the Emperor's wishes, and send an ambassador [to England]. Begged him not to lose time, but appoint one, who might sail in one of the ships (*naos*) now in this port. Asked the Infante what the King thought of his proposal. The King (he said) approved of the plan, but he was rather slow (*largo*) in his determinations; the councillors were very numerous and divided, which circumstance gave rise to much delay, besides the danger of things getting bruited in the meantime. Advised him to speak to the King again. He (the Infante) would do his utmost to forward our views; he had already pointed out to him a very shrewd politician well versed in the ins and outs of courts, who had been in England in his father's [Don Manuel's] time. Should the King, his brother, make any more scruples about it, or delay the accomplishment of his promise, he (Dom Luys) had no objection to send the said person to London at his own expense, that he might remain there as long as the Emperor pleased, and report by means of a cipher placed in his hands at the right moment. He (Hurtado) might at once draw out the instructions for the agent to

* "A qualquiera mudanza que en el Reyno huviesse, pues V^a. M^d. havia de procurar su acrecentamiento como el del Rey de Ungria, y que segun la parte que V^a. M^d. tenia en Inglaterra, y su grandeza, qualquiera novedad del Reyno, o muerte del Cardenal o del Rey, se podria muy bien hazer el dicho casamiento."

1528.

take with him. He might write to the Emperor by that very post, whilst the Infanta [Maria] would inquire from the Empress [Isabella] whether it was the Emperor's wish that he (the Infante) should send such an agent to England. If the plan met with the Emperor's approbation, the agent could be instructed at once respecting his behaviour in England, and how he was to set to work with Queen Katharine and such of the Imperial servants in London as could be trusted.*

This being the state of the affair, a speedy answer is needed, that this King, or the Infante as proposed, may send a person to England.

Yesterday despatches were received from Antonio de Azevedo, the ambassador, advising that His Imperial Majesty, after closing the Cortes, and having his own son [Philip] sworn as successor to his kingdoms, was about to start for Valencia. The King of Hungary had written to say that the Turk was preparing and the Vayvod showed still signs of rebellion.

Has no news either from France or England. Onorato (Honore) and another Frenchman, a servant of the Queen Regent of France (Louise de Savoie), are about to quit Portugal, as the enclosed letter just received will show.† The former most likely will sail in one of the French ships now ready; cannot say as to his companion. Has set spies upon him, and will report.—Almeirim, 20th April 1528.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

20 April. 404. COUNT MADDALONE to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 260.

Must tell the exact truth and describe the miserable state of Naples. His Imperial Majesty knows already that the enemy entered this kingdom by way of Tronte, and reduced the whole of Abruzzo before our army could leave Rome. When they came in sight of Lautrech at Troya, that general had already made himself master of the Capitanata of Puglia, and of its principal towns, such as Nucera, San Siveri, &c. Once at Troya, eight miles from Nucera, our men began skirmishing with the French, but not being closely united (*non essendo uniti*), and being besides unprovided with artillery, could not do much. Then came the Marquis of Saluzzo, and joined the enemy's camp with his infantry and light horse, quickly followed by Orazio Baglione, who, arriving by way of Abruzzo, seemed determined to invade the country of Lavoro by Castello de San Juro (San Giorio?) and Benafra (Venafro). For this reason it was considered advisable to leave in that country the 1,500 Germans, the rest of those who came with Lannoy, and about 3,000 more infantry, besides

* "Que mandasse enviar la instruccion de la forma que avia de llevar, y de lo que alli havia de hazer ó trabajar con la Reyna ó otros servidores de V. Mt. de quien se pudiesse fiar."

† The one from Miranda at page 652.

1528.

100 lances. Since then, hearing that Baglione intended to join the camp of the League with his forces, orders were sent to the said Germans to make a rapid march towards Troia. The army of the League, however, after forming two strongly fortified camps, took up certain positions, whence they could easily stop our supplies, as well as prevent the junction of the Germans, and thus the operation failed, and our generals were compelled to retreat in order to protect the passage of the light horse and artillery coming from Naples, as well as that of the 5,000 Germans from the Terra di Lavoro.

The retreat commenced at night without losing a man, and the army is now encamped close to Naples, at a place called Poggio Reale, about one mile distant from that city. The captains have decided to abandon Benevento, Montefusco, and other villages, but have erected parapets and other works, with strong artillery, to defend their camp if attacked. Naples in the meantime has been almost completely deserted, the rich citizens and gentlemen having gone away with their families and valuables, chiefly from fear of the Imperial army, whose want of discipline is as great as it ever was, many of the villages through which the soldiers passed having been wantonly sacked.*

Has come to Gaeta on account of bad health, otherwise would have remained at Naples assisting the generals, as all good servants of the Empire ought to do under present circumstances,

News has just come that 16,000 Germans with a division of Burgundian light horse and practised artillery have entered Italy; also that His Imperial Majesty is fitting out a fleet of galleys. This is most needed to drive Andrea Doria away from this port, for with his eight galleys and two "fuste" he is doing all the harm he can, and intercepts all vessels coming from Sicily with wheat and provisions.—Gaeta, 20th April 1528.

Signed: "Lo Comte di Matalune."

Addressed: "Sacrae, Ces., et Cath. Mti."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From Count de Matalon. 20th April 1528. Answered."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

21 April. 405. ALONSO SANCHEZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 258.

[Duplicate of his letter of the 16th with the following postscriptum.]

Lautrec's forces are estimated by some at 60,000 men, 24,000 of whom are stipendiary soldiers, the rest adventurers (*aventureros*). It is stated that instead of the concerted invasion of Flanders by the King of England, as stipulated in their secret treaty, Lautrec is to be helped with funds, &c.

* "In la cita di Napole sono sfractati tucti le Signori gentilhomini et Cittadini con le robe et domne de modo che ey restato vacua, per timor de lo felicissimo exercito di Vostra Mta. Ces. lo quale como abuctinato (*sic*) et disobediente en omni loco che e passato have talmemente desfacte le terre che jo per non dare despiacer a la Mta. V. Ces. voglio piu presto tacerlo che narrarlo."

1528.

Hears that this Signory's fleet at Corfu, consisting of 16 galleys, was to sail on the 6th inst. for Puglia.

There is a report that Lautrech has lately sent a message to the Pope urging him to declare in favour of the League. Should he refuse, he (Lautrech) will consider and treat him as the enemy of the King, his master. Cannot say whether the report be true or not, or what the Pope's answer has been.

This Signory, it is said, has written to King Francis, pressing him to send here the army he has ready for the invasion of Flanders. Once victorious in Italy, they tell him he will be successful everywhere.

At the news of the German reinforcements these Venetians are already on the stir, and making all manner of military preparations in the provinces. Eight gentlemen (*gentiles hombres*) have been despatched to Verona, each having 20 men under his orders, for the express purpose of guarding the city gates. The Duke of Urbino is actually fortifying Vicentia (Vicenza); a proveditor has been sent to Brescia, and the garrisons of Ravenna and Cervia have been reinforced, as they have their misgivings that the Pope will try to recover them by force of arms.

Letters have been received here from Constantinople of the 20th ulto., stating that there had been in that city and at Andrinopolis a most terrible earthquake, which had overthrown many houses and destroyed thousands of people. The earthquake had been much more violent at Andrinopolis than at Constantinople. (*Cipher* :) Has had letters from His Highness of the 31st ulto. He was then at a place in Moravia called ——. He was to leave for Praga in Bohemia in a couple of days, and thence proceed to the diet of Ratisbon. The affairs of Hungary were going on prosperously; the whole of the Vayvod's patrimonial estates had acknowledged the King's rule, as had all the rest of the country. Sepusio was in Poland, eight miles from Cracow, accompanied only by a friar of the Observant brothers of the name of Frangiapani.*

Hears that the Signory have letters of the 6th and 7th inst. from their proveditor (Pesaro) at Lautrec's camp, confirming the retreat of the Imperial Army to Naples and Gaeta; others add to Capua. Four vessels laden with Sicilian wheat had entered the former port, having also 1,000 Spanish infantry on board.—Venice, 21st April 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

* "Sepusio era en Polonia, a viii millas tudescas de Cracovia, y solo havia quedado con el un frayle de la horden de San Francisco observante de Frangiapan" (*sic*). By Sepusio the Vayvod Zapoli or Zapolski is meant, Italians and Spaniards of this time generally designating him under that name, but it is not easy to determine who the friar of *Frangiapan* may be. There was about this time in Hungary, and indeed serving under Zapoli, the Vayvod, a Count Frangiapani, descended from the old Roman family of that name, but whether the friar was his confessor or his relative is not an easy matter to determine.

1528.

24 April. 406.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the
EMPEROR.M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43.
f. 272.

Since the 21st, the date of his last despatch, news of the 11th has come from Lautrech's camp, stating that Capua, Aversa, and Nola have surrendered in consequence of the Imperial army having retreated to Naples. The Marquis del Guasto had some words with the Count of Potença; he had wounded him and killed one of his sons, and then gone to Iscla (Ischia).

(*Cipher* :) The Signory is sending a fleet to those seas to blockade Naples and stop the supplies.

Knows for certain that Lautrech has written to France complaining of his not being sufficiently provided with money, and recommending that the forces destined for the Flanders expedition be sent to his assistance; otherwise, he says, everything that he has gained will be quickly recovered by our troops.

The last advices from Germany are that the reinforcements were to pass muster on St. George's day. He (Sanchez) thinks, however, that the 6,000 men alluded to in his last despatch have not been levied, and, if so, they will not be of much use, for unless a sufficient force is left in Lombardy with Leyva, and the remainder sent to meet Lautrech at Naples, there is no chance of overpowering the enemy completely.

(*Common writing* :) The Bishop of Trent (Clesio) writes from Prague in date of the 11th inst. that the Moravians had offered the King of Hungary 3,000 infantry, paid for six months, and had promised besides, in case of His Highness' patrimonial estates being invaded by the Turks, to march to his assistance. The King was in Bohemia for the purpose of obtaining a subsidy in money, and was shortly to attend the Diet at Ratisbon. (*Cipher* :) Hears that some letters of the Emperor to the King, his brother, have been intercepted by the Duke of Albany (Stuart).

Hears also that the Venetian ambassador at the Emperor's court writes in date of the 24th of February, from the castle of Poza, where he is detained with the rest of the ambassadors of the League, that he has no hope of recovering his liberty and taking his departure until he (Sanchez) is allowed to go back to Spain, and yet he knows not how that can be, for he has received no intimation to that effect, and certainly, though closely watched, he has hitherto experienced no restraint. Wonders how it is that no instructions come [from Spain] as to what he is to do, and where he is to go, especially as the kingdom of Naples being almost entirely occupied by the enemy he cannot be of any avail there.

The Pope is said to have answered Lautrech's message by these words: "Let the League give back the towns and lands

1528.

which they now withhold from me, and I am ready to declare in favour of Italy."—Venice, 24th April 1528.

Signed : "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed.

Indorsed.

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

25 April. 407. LOPE DE SORIA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 279.

The Emperor's letters of the 13th of December and 20th of February have come to hand. The former seems to be a duplicate of the one entrusted to Miçer Julian (Giuliano), the Secretary, who has not yet made his appearance. May he come soon, to enable him (Soria) to enter upon the new charge which the Emperor has been pleased to confer on him. Will not move from where he is until he hears of the arrival of the Germans in Lombardy, for the roads to Milan are intercepted by the enemy, &c.

(*Cipher* :) Is glad to hear that a fleet is being fitted out in Spain, that the Imperial army has been provided with money, and that 100,000 cr. more have been remitted to the King of Hungary. All that will be required if Lautrech and his Frenchmen are to be driven out of Italy and the country pacified. As George Fransperch (Fruntsperg) has written to say that he has never been reimbursed of the advances he made to the Germans under his orders, he (Soria) intends, with the Emperor's permission, to pay him out of the 20,000 cr. remaining in his hands. The remainder shall be sent to Leyva. As soon as the bills of exchange which Miçer Giuliano brings are cashed, the amount shall be distributed according to the Emperor's orders.

(*Common writing* :) The Pope is still at Orvieto, to all appearance neutral; (*cipher* :) but the general impression is that secretly he is the Emperor's enemy, and will do him all the harm he can.

(*Common writing* :) Melfi was taken by storm on the 24th ulto., and the garrison, as well as all men, women, and children in the town, put to the sword. The Prince himself (Caracciolo) fell a prisoner into the hands of the enemy. (*Cipher* :) Lautrech was marching on Naples, whither the Imperial army had retreated. Many towns had in consequence surrendered to the French. The whole of Puglia had sent in its allegiance with the exception of Manfredonia and Taranto, which still held for us.

The Genoese have proclaimed the Union. Has no doubt that immediately upon the arrival of the German reinforcements in Lombardy they will shake off the French yoke. Has received a letter from Sanchez advising the march of the Germans, the probable invasion of Hungary by the Turk, and the sailing of 16 Venetian galleys for the coast of Naples.

1528.

Leyva was prospering in Lombardy, and had made an agreement with the warder of Mus. The Duke of Urbino was raising troops for the defence of the Venetian territory in case of its being invaded by the Germans.—La Mirandola, 25th April 1528.

Signed : "Lope de Soria."

Addressed : "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1528. Soria. 25th April."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

25 April. 408. COUNTESS GOLISANO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 284.

The present war being carried on at the very gates of her patrimonial estates, she has thought fit to take refuge in Sicily for her own security and that of her son. Begs for a letter of introduction and recommendation to the Viceroy (Duke of Monteleone), that he may protect her and her eldest son and heir against the Marquis of Giraco (Chirazzo), who has instituted a most iniquitous lawsuit against her and her family.—Palermo, 23rd April 1528.

Signed : "La Contessa de Golisano."

Addressed : "R. C. C. M. del Imperatore, nostro Signore."

Indorsed : "From the Countess of Golisano. 23rd April. Answered."

Italian. Holograph. p. 1.

26 April. 409. MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING OF BOHEMIA AND HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 196.

Wrote from Madrid on the 16th inst. advising the speedy remittance of bills of exchange for 50,000 ducats. They are now being sent at all risks (*à la ventura*) by Mons. de Beurre (Beurren) as the safest way that is possible. A further supply in bills shall be sent from Valencia, and Pedro de Ascoytia take them on his return, and whenever an opportunity occurs, more bills of exchange shall be procured and sent.

The Emperor left this town (Madrid) for Valencia on the 23rd inst. He is to make his public entrance on the 2nd of May next, and immediately after the ceremony of the oath, &c. is to go to Monçon, for which place the Cortes of Aragon have been convoked, and are to meet on the 1st of June. Letters have come from the Imperial ambassador [in England] announcing that King Henry and Cardinal Wolsey were striving to become the mediators of peace (*se quieren entre-meter en la paz*). The Emperor, however, will not hear of the proposed interference, because the English in the first instance took the part of France.

1528.

Will write at greater length from Valencia, for at the present moment the Emperor is quitting this village and setting out on his journey.—Villar de Cañas, 28th April 1528.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

28 April 410. The SAME to SECRETARY CASTILLEJO.*

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 196.

Wrote in his own hand from Valencia on the 12th inst., enclosing bills of exchange. Kept no copy of his letter because there was no time for it, as an Imperial courier was leaving for Portugal. His Highness' ambassador in Lisbon will take care that the despatch be sent to its destination, as there can be no safer conveyance at present.—[Camino de] Valencia, 28th April 1528.

Addressed: "To Secretary Castillejo."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

28 April. 411. The EMPEROR to [his AMBASSADORS at Rome].†

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-
u. Staats Arch.
Rep. C. 234.

We have frequently written to you concerning the affair of Her most Serene Highness the Queen of England, our dearest and most beloved aunt. We now hear that the King, her husband, has sent two lawyers to Rome to acquaint His Holiness with his reasons for considering his marriage with our aunt as null and void, and also that all the bishops of his kingdom share his opinion. The King wants the Pope to commit the inquiry to the Cardinal of England and Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom and for the greater justification of his case, as he says, he wishes the Bishop of London to be joined, on condition that what the majority decide shall be held as good and valid, knowing, as he does, that if the latter takes the part of the Queen, the other two are sure to pronounce against her and in his favour.

You shall do everything in your power to prevent this case being committed for judgment to any ecclesiastical judge in England, because, should it be so, We should consider the case as lost. You will try, on the contrary, the matter being so arduous, and of so great importance, to have it reserved for the Pope's inspection and that of the College of Cardinals.

It is quite false that all the bishops of England are against the marriage, and counsel the King's divorce. You may

* The celebrated poet of the 16th century, whose collected works, though expurgated by the Inquisition, appeared first at Madrid, 1573, 8vo.

† There can be no doubt that this letter was addressed conjointly to the General of the Franciscans (Quiñones) and to Juan Antonio Muxetula, who at this time were the Emperor's ambassadors at the Papal Court. Perhaps Mons. de Veyre was also included among the *magnificis fidelibus dilectissimis*, apart from the *Reverendo Patri*, who cannot be other than the General of the Franciscan Observant Friars.

1528.

assure His Holiness that with one or two exceptions, at the most, all the English bishops stand for the Queen, and would willingly, if they dared, subscribe their names to a public declaration in her favour. You shall, therefore, beg His Holiness to reserve to himself the cognizance of this case, and have it tried and decided in consistory, since the original briefs of dispensation, of which We have already sent you copies, and now send duplicates, are so explicit that they cannot be invalidated without detriment to the authority of the Holy Apostolic See, as the contradiction would necessarily imply that the Pope had no power to dispense in similar cases.

Of your progress in the negotiation you will apprise us as soon as possible, as well as the Lady Margaret [of the Low Countries], that We may forthwith acquaint the Queen, our aunt.—Madrid, 24th April 1528.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Jo. Alemanus, Sec."

Addressed: "Reverendo ac Illustrissimo, Reverendo Patri ac magnificis fidelibus delectissimis, &c."

Indorsed: "Cerrada en el Campillo, camyno de Valencia, á 28 del dicho Avril."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1½.

30 April. 412. COUNT BURRELLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 286.

His Imperial Majesty must already have heard the disastrous news of the loss of four out of the six Imperial galleys, the death of Don Ugo, Ferramosca, and others. Since then, on the 21st inst., Mons. de Vere (Veyre) was killed in a skirmish outside this city. Vaury was on board Don Ugo's galley, and we do not know whether he was slain or only taken prisoner.—Naples, Thursday, the last day of April 1528.

Addressed: "Sacratisimæ, Cesareæ, et Catholicæ Mati."

Italian. Original. pp. 1½.

30 April 413. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.
to 1 May.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 300.

Encloses duplicates of his letters of the 19th and 26th March and 6th inst. by the bearer,* who also takes the Prince's despatches.

Since his last the enemy has approached close to Naples, and skirmishes take place daily, in all of which our soldiers come out victorious. In one of these, however, on the 21st ulto., Mons. de Vere (Veyre†) was unfortunately killed.

* Monsieur de Balançon. The despatches here alluded to may be found under Nos. 377 and 390.

† Or Verey, as in page 407.

1528.

On the 27th Don Ugo, the Marquis del Guasto, Ascanio Colonna, Cesaro Ferramosca, and others went out in six galleys to attack Philippino Doria's eight that were cruising along this coast. Besides the galleys Don Ugo took with him two light vessels (*fustas*), three brigantines, and seven or eight large boats (*barcas*) armed, on board of which he placed 600 picked men. On the 28th they met the enemy in the Gulf of Salerno, where our six galleys grappled with Philippino's six with so such fury that when, after the death of Don Ugo, they wished to retreat they could not. Four out of the six Imperial galleys were captured by the enemy; the other two, the "Perpiñana" and "Calabresa," managed to escape. A sailor who swam on shore states that one half hour before the arrival of our galleys, the enemy having heard from Naples that they were to be attacked, took 6,000 men on board as a reinforcement. It is supposed that the Marquis, Colonna, and Ferramosca are prisoners of war, though the first news received in this city reported them dead. Garci Manrique was on board one of the galleys that escaped. Of Bauberi,* who went also with Don Ugo, nothing is known.

The Marquis [of Guasto] with about 2,000 Spaniards had formerly charge of La Montagna de San Martino and the castle of Santelmo. Thinks the defence of that part of the city will now be entrusted to the Duke of Malfi (Amalfi) an excellent soldier. Juan de Urbina commands in another quarter; the rest is in the hands of the Germans. Gironimo (Girolamo) Moron is here at the head of the provision department. A wise and experienced official he is, and most useful to the Emperor. Both he and Urbina well deserve that the Emperor should think of them when the estates of some of these barons, who are one day with us and even attend Council, and the next with the enemy, come to be confiscated. The Marquis of Monte Charcho (Monte Sarchio) is a good instance of this, for though as much trust was placed in him as though he were a grandee of Spain, he fled the other day to the French camp.

One of the Pope's chamberlains came some days ago with briefs addressed to the Prince and to Don Ugo. Cannot say for certain what the contents are, but has heard that the Pope sends word that Civittà Vecchia is very closely invested by the French, or by Andrea Doria, and in danger of being lost, and that it is much better to return it to him than let the French have it. Knows not what the answer may have been, but has been assured that the place is in no danger at all, as it is provisioned for more than a year, and the governor, Don Alonso de Cordoba, is a very resolute man, though he is now very ill in bed, as the report goes. Ostia is likewise well provisioned.

* "De Bauberi que fue tambien con Don Ugo, no se sabe nada."

1528.

The Genoese are on bad terms with the King of France, owing to his having refused them Savona. It is reported that they intend constituting themselves into a sort of republic (*comunidad*) like Florence or Venice, and that Andrea Doria, whom they intend electing for their chief (*mayor*), though without the title of Dux or governor, is the principal instigator of the movement.

The son of Count Potencia (Potença) has died of his wounds. His father is at Gaeta. Vespasiano's daughter is still at Pliano (Pagliano). What he (Perez) stated in his despatch of the 19th of March respecting her father having on his death-bed ordered her marriage with a son of Giovanni de' Medici was a mistake; it was to Ypolito (Hippolit), the Pope's nephew, who possesses estates in this kingdom, that she was promised.

Don Juan Pimental is still here, but intends sailing in company with many Spaniards in the same vessel that took the Marquis of Astorga home (*en la nao que llevó al Marques de Astorga*).

The Viceroy of Sicily (Duke of Monteleone) is about to send the Spanish infantry in the island, and 4,000 more to Calabria to co-operate with the Imperial forces at Manfredonia, and cut off the enemy's supplies. These are commanded by Count de Miñano (Mignano), a brother of Cesaro Ferramosca, and by Colonel Aldana. Count Burrello is now being despatched [to his father, the Viceroy,] to hasten the expedition.

Advices from Orbieto state that the Pope is on the point of granting to the King of England a dispensation to get his divorce and marry whom he pleases. The report is not generally believed here; it would be a monstrous affair.

Leyva goes on prosperously. The other day he took 18 pieces of ordnance from the Venetians. He is daily expecting the Germans in Lombardy to come this way.

Of the victory obtained by the King of Hungary against the Vayvod the Emperor must already have been apprised. It is reported that 40,000 Germans, all Lutherans, have arrived at Frigoli (Friuli), and are actually attacking the Venetians. The news requires confirmation. The Pope's chamberlain, who came here lately, says that his master perseveres in his neutrality notwithstanding the great offers that are made to him.—Naples, the last day of April 1528.

P.S.—After the above was written the two galleys saved from the late disaster have entered this port. About 300 infantry, Garci Manrique, Mosen Puch, and several Spaniards who managed to escape from captivity, are on board; but there seems to be no doubt of the death of Don Ugo, Ferramosca, and Secretary Seron.

Believes that Giuliano de la Speça (Spezzia) and his companion will start this day on their mission.

1528.

Two Neapolitan gentlemen are also about to go to Spain. One of them is Colantonio Caracholo (Caracciolo).—Naples, 1st of May 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacrae, Cathocæ. Mati."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. 1st May. Duplicate.* Answered."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4½.

1 May. 414. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 304.

As stated in his despatch of the 6th ulto., Agostino Centurione, the brother of Stefano, refused to accept the bills of exchange unless he was first paid the 11,240 ducats which Don Ugo borrowed. The affair has since been arranged, and the brothers have commenced payment. Has received up to this time 22,300 in specie, and 28,000 in wheat, out of which 3,400 were the other day lodged in the Treasury for the pay of the Germans who came from Spain [with Lannoy]. Giuliano de la Speça (Spezia) is going to Lucca and Genoa for the remainder, and Thomasso de' Fornariis has also paid in a considerable sum.—Naples, 1st of April 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Perez."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

1 May. 415. FRANCISCO DE TOVAR to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 298.

Petitions the Emperor to confer the command of the company of men-at-arms, vacant by the death of Don Ugo de Moncada, on the Duke of Malfa (Amalfi), whose services during the present war are notorious.—Naples, 1st of May 1528.

Signed: "Francisco de Tovar, *por toda la compañía.*"

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

1 May. 416. CARDINAL [POMPEO] COLONNA to CAMPEGGIO.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 338.

Acquaints him with the disastrous affair at Salerno. Six Imperial galleys attacked six of Andrea Doria, commanded by his nephew, Philippino. After one of the bloodiest battles ever fought in these seas in our times (*la piu crudele et sanguinolenta che fosse facta mai in mare alli tempi nostri*), in which great numbers (*una infinità de persone*) were slain on both sides, the Imperial galleys were defeated with the

* Duplicates at fol. 290 and 294.

1528.

loss of Don Ugo, Cesaro Ferramosca, Petro Urias (Pedro de Urries), and others; the Marquis del Guasto, Ascanio Colonna, Signor Camillo [Colonna], my nephew, and several more being taken prisoners.—Gaeta, 1st of May 1528.

Indorsed: "Copia de una lettera del Rmo. Colonna al Rmo. Campeggio legato a Roma."

Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

2 May. 417. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 308.

Yesterday, the 1st inst., Don Ugo's death was officially announced in Council and his post declared vacant. All present voted unanimously for the Prince [of Orange], and the viceroyalty was offered to him. He declined at first, but was so pressed by the councillors that at last he accepted. He has already entered upon his functions and despatched Count Burrello to Sicily.

Giuliano della Speça (Spezzia) left yesterday.

Secretary Seron, whose death was reported, is still alive, though dangerously wounded, in the hands of the enemy.

Yesterday a great skirmish took place close to the gates of Capua (*Porta Capuana*), in which the French lost at least 200 men. A rumour is afloat that the enemy have upwards of 300 scaling ladders, and also that they have intelligence within this city. We are on the alert, and measures have been taken to investigate the truth of the report. The other day four Neapolitan peasants were hung on suspicion of bringing poison (*tosigo*) to throw into the wells.—Naples, 2nd May 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Perez."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

3 May. 418. COUNT MATDDALONE to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 312.

Though he has often written both from Naples and Gaeta of the imminent danger in which those two cities, and indeed the whole kingdom, is, he (the Count) will not let this opportunity pass of again sending tidings to the Emperor, as Cardinal Colompna (Colonna), who is now here, is sending a vessel to Spain with the news of the awful disaster which has befallen Don Uuo (Ugo) and the galleys.

There is urgent need that His Imperial Majesty send us a fleet of galleys sufficiently large to cope with that of Andrea de Oyra (Doria). Has no doubt the Emperor has been badly advised; that ministers and agents have written from these parts, saying, "When the army comes, it will do this and

1528.

that;" but the fact is that experience has shown that the army has done more harm than good, for in the first place it was the cause of the loss of almost the whole of Lombardy by its not going thither when it was its duty to go, and it has again caused the almost total ruin of this kingdom by not hastening to its relief, for when it came the enemy was already in possession of the greater part of the Capitanata of Puglia as far as Sanseveri, Macera, and Foggia. After staying a few days at Troja it has since retired to Naples, where the panic caused by its arrival is so great that thousands of families have left the city with their moveable property.

Begs the Emperor to send them succour, and if the Marquis of Saluzzo and the other Italian captains of the League have seized his estates, let the Emperor indemnify him with those of the Neapolitan rebels.—Date Caete, tertio Mai 1528.

Signed: "Lo Comte de Mathalun."

Addressed: "S. et Cath. Mti."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. LVII. From Count de Madalon. 3rd May 1528. Answered."

Italian. Original. pp. 2.

4 May. 419. HENRY DUKE OF BRUNSWICK to ANDREA GRITTI.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 348.

"Henricus Junior Dei gratia Dux Praunuicensis (*sic*) et Lamburgensis," captain-general of the new Imperial army, informs Andrea Gritti, Doge of Venice, that by the Emperor's orders he is about to pass from Germany into Italy for the purpose of carrying on defensive and offensive war in that country. "His presentibus pro honore et dignitate nostra tuenda curare volumus, etc."—Ex Tridento, 4th May 1528.

Docketted: "Copy of the Duke of Brunswick's letter to the Venetians."

Latin. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

6 May. 420. ALONSO SANCHEZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 316.

(*Cipher* :) In pursuance of orders received from the King of Hungary, it was agreed that he (Sanchez) and His Highness' ambassador should together take leave of the Signory. The Bohemian ambassador, however, has since received fresh instructions; he is told not to move from Venice until new orders arrive. As he (Sanchez) wrote long ago on this subject, and has received no answer, he concludes that his letter has miscarried owing to the roads being intercepted by the enemy. Has now despatched a special and trusty messenger of his own with all possible speed and secrecy to Trent, to inquire whether there are any letters for him (Sanchez) either from Hungary, Flanders, or England, and to ascertain what has

1528.

been the King's decision respecting the additional 6,000 men lately applied for, and the withdrawal of his ambassador from this place. Also to bring the last advices, if any, from Flanders and England, as there is a rumour here that the negotiations for peace have been resumed.

Has likewise written to Soria and Leyva that in case of the 6,000 Germans being considered necessary for Lombardy or Naples, the former must send him (Sanchez), out of the money brought by Julian [Giuliano della Spezzia], enough to pay the enlisting price. For this purpose he (Sanchez) is getting ready to start at once for Germany, having already procured from the Duke of Ferrara and Marquis of Mantua the necessary safe-conducts to pass through their respective territories. Will wait six days more for Leyva's answer. Should he consider these reinforcements necessary he (Sanchez) will depart at once; if not, he will join that general in Lombardy. At any rate his intention is to take leave of the Signory.—Venice, 6th May 1528.

Indorsed: "To the King. From Alonso Sanchez. From the monarchia (*sic*) of Venice. 6th May 1528."

Spanish. Deciphering in the hand of Secretary Garcia, pp. 2.

9 May. 421. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 318.

Wrote on the 25th ulto. (*Cipher*;) Since then letters from France have been received here announcing that King Francis, hearing of the reinforcements we are about to receive, was sending 400 men-at-arms and 6,000 German lansquenets under the command of Mons. de St. Pol. Of those nothing is known for certain. The last news is that a general muster had been passed, and that on the 3rd inst. the Duke of Bransbric (Brunswick) and Marco Sitig were quartered at Trent and the neighbouring villages with the infantry and cavalry. As it is almost impossible to receive any news from Germany, owing to the Venetians guarding all the passes so carefully, he (Sanchez) cannot say whether the reinforcements have made any progress since. Certain it is that the publicity given to the whole affair, and the delay in enlisting, has afforded the confederates plenty of time to prepare. Already this Signory have sent to Paris their Secretary, Andrea Rosso, who left by post on the 27th ulto. His mission, they say, is to urge the King of France to fulfil his promises. They, themselves, have despatched agents for the enlistment of Switzers and Germans. If so, His Imperial Majesty must already be aware of the fact. If the Duke of Bransbric (Brunswick) has no other forces under him than those originally appointed he certainly will not be strong enough to secure Lombardy and relieve Naples. If he goes straight to the kingdom without leaving a sufficient force in Lombardy the Duchy will be placed in jeopardy

1528.

owing to the new French army. Lombardy once lost, the enemy will concentrate all his forces in Naples; whilst if the Imperial army remains in Lombardy the results will be most fatal, more money and provisions will be required, and there is no saying what will become of Naples. For this reason he (Sanchez) has applied to the King for a new reinforcement of 6,000 men. Whether he will send it or not remains to be seen; his (Sanchez's) opinion is that, if war is to be carried on successfully, they must come. Hears that the King of France is just now urging the Duke of Ferrara to accept the command of his army in Lombardy, promising, if he does, to put no less than 30,000 troops, Frenchmen and Switzers, under him. Hitherto the Duke has refused. Cannot say what he will do hereafter, for he is terribly afraid of the Pope, who, it is generally asserted here, has already become the Emperor's ally, and if so the Duke is perfectly justified in his fears.

Situation of affairs in Naples. The Pope is raising troops; the Duke of Ferrara also, to garrison Modena and Reggio (Reggio).

Monitory letters sent by the Pope to this Signory on account of the late impositions on their clergy. Cannot say what the Signory's answer has been, but fancies they will care little either for the Pope's letters or even excommunication.

A bishop from Gascony* has lately arrived here as ambassador from France; he comes to replace (*common writing*;) Mons. de Bayus (the Bishop of Bayeux), who is still here, but now about to leave.

The rumours about the Turk have a little subsided of late; yet they say that letters from Constantinople assert that he is preparing for an invasion.

(*Cipher*;) After sending a number of gentlemen (*gentiles hombres*) to the defence of Verona, this Signory has just done the same with Padua and Treviso, whose gates are to be defended by Venetian gentlemen. (*Cipher*;) A new proveditor is being sent to Brescia, and every preparation made for war. Money they procure by all possible means, all merchants, whether native or foreign, having been compelled to furnish them with a loan, &c.

As to provisions such stores have been made that wheat is at one ducat of gold per "estago," whereas formerly it used to be at 2½. It will be even cheaper by the next harvest, for they will bring any quantity they want from Puglia. Now they get their saltpetre (*salmitre*) from Trani, which the other day surrendered to them with almost the whole of Puglia and land of Otranto, with the exception, however, of the latter town, Manfredonia, Gallipoli, and Brindisi.

The Duke Francesco [Maria della Rovere] has lately sent a message to say he knows for certain that the Pope is siding with

* That of Bayonne, Jean du Bellay.

1528.

His Imperial Majesty, *y que se le da en prenda*, as he thinks he has no other means at hand of recovering what he has lost in this war. He is willing to abandon Parma and Piacenza to the Emperor, provided Modena and Rezzo (Reggio) be made over to him, so as to ruin the Duke of Ferrara, and ensure the possession of Ravenna and Cervia, as well as the submission of Florence.

(*Common writing* :) It is said that the Duke of Branzuich (Brunswick) has sent a herald to Verona with a letter saying that he comes [to Italy] in command of an army of Germans to defend the Emperor's rights, and adding that as Andrea Gritti, the Doge of Venice, is one of the most bitter enemies to the Empire, he is bound to let the Signory know. The herald was detained by the Veronese, who forwarded the Duke's letter here, upon which the Signory (*cipher* :) gave orders for the most strict guard to be kept over that city and its immediate neighbourhood. The Bishop of Cisena (Cesenna) and four men of his suit have been arrested in the Veronese.

(*Common writing* :) Leyva had sent Count Lodovico Beljoyoso with 3,000 men towards Genoa. Several towns have been taken, and especially one very important one close to that city. Letters have just been received from Lautrech's camp in date of the 29th and 30th ulto., saying that he was half a mile from Naples, and that the Imperialists had intercepted letters of Phelipin (Philippino) Doria, telling him the wretched state in which his galleys were, and begging him to send 400 hackbutiers to man them, as he could not possibly, if attacked, resist the Imperialists. It would appear that Doria sent this message in two different ways; one of the messengers fell into the hands of the besieged, who immediately put to sea with their six galleys, three caravels, and two brigantines, on board of which they placed about 1,000 infantry, hoping to surprise Philippino. Lautrech, however, having received the letter that came by the other messenger, provided Philippino with as many fighting men as he wanted, and the consequence was that after a sharp encounter, which lasted five hours, two of our six galleys were sunk, two more had to surrender, and the remainder took to flight. Don Ugo and Il Gobbo were slain; Guasto, the Prince of Salerno, and others of rank taken prisoners, &c. This happened on the 29th.—Venice, 9th May 1528.

P.S.—It is reported here that Cardinal Columna (Colonna), in consequence of certain words he has had with the Prince of Orange, has suddenly left Naples and gone to Gaeta.

(*Cipher* :) The want of union between his Imperial Majesty's ministers and commanders seems to be the principal cause of our misfortunes.

In consequence of suspicions entertained by this Signory that the Duke Francesco (Sforza) was in treaty with Leyva a messenger has been despatched to him. The Duke, in order

1528.

to calm their fears, proposes coming here (to Venice) and giving up Lodi and Pavia. Indeed it is asserted that already the latter of those cities has been garrisoned by 700 Venetians, the Duke having withdrawn the men he had inside, and sent orders to his commanders to obey the Signory's orders implicitly. If so the Venetians are sure to retain those cities as long as they can.

The answer to the Pope's monitory letters respecting the taxes imposed on the clergy has been that they will consider the matter and send their reply. Hears from a confidant, who has it from various authentic sources, that the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d' Este) and his men have intercepted certain letters which the Pope had written to Germany. Whether this has any connexion with the arrest of the Bishop [of Cesenna], whom, they say, His Holiness was sending to Germany, he (Sanchez) cannot tell; all he can say is that the Bishop has been brought here.—Venice, *ut supra*.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

11 May. 422. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 326.

The defeat at Salerno has turned out true. Has seen the copy of a letter which Cardinal [Pompeo] Colonna wrote from Gaeta on the 4th inst. to Cardinal Campeggio at Rome, informing him of Don Ugo's death, and of the Marquis del Guasto and Ascanio Colonna having been made prisoners in the engagement. Cesaro Ferramosca, the writer adds, had also died of his wounds. At first the Imperialists had the advantage, having captured four of the enemy's galleys.

It is said for certain that the new army coming from Germany has already passed La Esclusia, and will be shortly in the Veronese.

The Signory is now sending one ambassador to the Pope, and another to the Kings of France and England, (*cipher*;) but none to His Imperial Majesty.

The French ambassador who has come lately is the Bishop of Lance. In his addresses to the Signory he has never designated the Emperor by his title, but merely called him "Carlos."

(*Common writing* :) The Bishop of Bayus (Bayeux) is to leave this evening or to-morrow morning for Ferrara and Mantua.—Venice, 11th May 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. No deciphering.
pp. 1½.

1528.

13 May. 423. The BISHOP OF TRENT.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 377.

The Duke of Saxony (George) and the Marquis Joachim de Brandenbroc (Brandenburg), both of them electors of the Empire, are still making preparations for war against each other in consequence of the flight of the Marchioness. "Il simile fa il Gran Graf per la parte que fauorisce Luterana contra il Cardinal de Magunça elettor." Yet, notwithstanding that the affairs of Germany are in such a state of confusion, every effort is being made to apply a remedy to its misfortunes.—Prague, 13th May 1528.

Italian. Deciphered copy. p. 1.

14 May. 424. The LIEUTENANT of the SUMMARIA of NAPLES.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 105.

Miçer Antonio de Santo Felice, the president of the Summaria, has gone over to Lautrec's camp, where he now is. He has taken with him some of the members (*razionales*) of that body. As besides his desertion he is guilty of the crime of having already exercised the functions of his office in the French camp, causing the property and lands of his own son-in-law and of his father (*consuegro*), now in the Imperial service, to be confiscated and sold, has imposed taxes and made payments ordinary and extraordinary, it is but just that his own estate should be seized and distributed among the Emperor's faithful servants. Begs to be indemnified for his losses with the property of the said Miçer Antonio de Santo Felice, whether it consists in lands and houses or in seigniorial rights (*asi burgensaticos como feudales*).—Naples, 14th May 1528.

Indorsed : "Relacion de diversa cartas de Italia, de los meses de Mayo, Junio, Julio, y Agosto de 1528."

Italian. Contemporary abstract in Spanish.

15 May. 425. FERDINAND, King of Hungary and Bohemia, to DON MARTIN DE SALINAS.

S. Pat. Re. Cap.
c. l. c. de Aust.
Leg. 6, f. 9.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 229.

Has written several times since New Year's Day ; the last on the 20th of April. Luys de Taxis and Latur (La Tour) arrived on the 22nd, and brought his (Salinas') despatch of the 4th February. Meanwhile Don Antonio de Mendoza and Don Pedro de Cordova, both of whom wrote from Flanders in date of the 17th March announcing their embarkation, must have landed in Spain. Some days previous Pedro de Azcoitia, who also took despatches, sailed in the Portuguese fleet. Wishes to hear of their safe arrival.

Was at Prague attending to certain business of the kingdom of Bohemia, and preparing to go to Ratisbon to hold the Diet

1528.

of the Empire there, when the Emperor's order came to suspend the sessions of that body. What the cause for so sudden a resolution may have been he (the King) cannot guess, since neither he (Salinas) nor the provost (*preposito*) of Waltkirck, nor Montfort, the groom of the Imperial Chamber, who has also arrived [from Spain], and departed only five or six days before the Provost, has written a word about it. It must be some very important one to have caused the Emperor to order the suspension of the Diet without giving him previous notice.

If Taxis, the courier, was correct in his statement, the Emperor told the Provost, before he started on his mission, to exhibit the orders he had for the members of the Imperial Government (*Regimiento*) assembled at Spires, which he (the Provost) neglected to do. He would have lost nothing by making that communication. We might have advised and given information on certain matters and facts of which those lately come from Spain seem to have no cognizance at all.

Had We been consulted, We might, before the Diet was suspended, have taken our measures, because matters concerning the Faith are, as we have often had occasion to write before now, in a very precarious state. We could perhaps have found some redress for this evil, and perhaps too obtained resources wherewith to defend our patrimonial estates, and the Empire also, against the Turk. We likewise intended to procure the co-operation of the Diet for the government (*regimiento*) of the Empire, since, engaged as We are in war, it becomes at times impossible for us to attend to it.

We are afraid that the visits which the Provost of Valdkirck (Waltkirck) is to make in the Emperor's name to the various Princes of the Empire will be anything but profitable in the present state of affairs, and that is another reason why it would have been advisable to consult us, lest His Imperial Majesty's interests should suffer by it.

You shall, therefore, take care to inform us by return of post what may have been the Emperor's motive in ordering the suspension, because We do not hesitate to say that the measure has been a subject of surprise and scandal to many people. After weighing our reasons His Imperial Majesty might again order the convocation of the Diet, and send us the edict (*despacho ó recaudo*), that We may make use of it if the occasion be favourable, or else keep it in our possession until a more suitable opportunity.

Respecting the practices and intrigues (*praticas y tramás*) now carried on in various parts of the Empire We have written at length, and yet a volume would not suffice for what we have to say. Now, very recently, [Elizabeth] the wife of the Marquis Joachim [the First] of Brandenburg has run away from him, and gone to live with her brother, the



1528.

King of Denmark.* The Marquis had received him (the King) as a guest at his house, done him honour and paid part of his debts, treating him in every respect as his own brother; in return for which, and for all favours received, the King has tried to convert his own sister to the Lutheran sect, and persuade her that she can, and ought to follow any creed she chooses. As the Marquis [of Brandenburg] did not agree to this, the King secretly took away his sister and lodged her with the Duke of Jassa (Hesse), who, being a zealous heretic, has peremptorily refused to let her go back to her husband unless she is allowed to profess in public the Lutheran faith. Owing to this cause there exists now a most terrible feud between these two Princes, so much so that it is feared they will shortly take up arms, as the Marquis intends declaring war against the Duke. We have been trying to make peace between them, and induce the Marchioness to return to her husband, and to the faith of her fathers. Cannot say whether We shall succeed, because one of the parties, the Marquis, looks upon it as a case of honour (*caso de honra*), whilst the Duke considers it a point of law (*por caso de ley*), to which he pretends subjecting the former before he restores his wife to him.† The King [of Denmark] has lately been here pleading all manner of excuses for what he has done, though none sufficiently plausible to wash out the stain upon his reputation. We have given him suitable advice, but he will most likely reject it, for he is not as wise and prudent as could be desired.

Meanwhile the Landgrave of Hassia (Philip) is indulging in his usual whims and fancies (*pensamientos y fantasias*), with the assistance and favour of the Duke of Jassa (Hesse?) and of some Imperial cities, and other followers of the new sect. He is said to be making great military preparations, as one who meditates some great enterprise, such as becoming King of the Romans, or causing the Duke of Jassa (Hesse?) or his son to be nominated to that dignity. It is also supposed that he will declare war against the Archbishop of Maguncia (Meintz). Indeed the news has come, though We do not believe it, that his army has actually laid siege to Francfort, and taken possession of a town in the neighbourhood.

The affairs of Germany, however, are in a most dangerous plight.

* Christiern II., who married Isabella, the Emperor's sister, having been dethroned and imprisoned in 1523, his uncle and successor, Frederic, Duke of Sleswig and Holstein, must here be meant, though the Marchioness of Brandenburg was his *niece*, not his *sister*. The whole may, however, be reconciled by supposing that Christiern, dethroned and fugitive about this time, was still called King of Denmark.

† "No sé si podrá salir con ello, porquel uno lo toma por caso de honra, y el otro por caso de ley, á la qual quieren obligar al Marques antes que le restituyan la muger."

1528.

The Landgrave, though young, is no contemptible enemy ; he proclaims himself defender of the Lutherans, and this being now considered a righteous cause in Germany, it is to be feared that the number of his friends and abettors will by far exceed that of his opponents, and that most of the Imperial cities will be, as I have said above, on his side. We have written to all of them about it, "*poniendo la medicina y remedio que puedo.*" Augusta (Augsburgh), Nuremberg, and Ulm have answered that they will do nothing against the Emperor's interests ; this notwithstanding, matters are in a very critical position. We are doing all We can to extinguish this fire, but We doubt whether We shall succeed, for it has already spread far and wide.

The Imperial arms in Naples are not so prosperous as might be expected. Alonso Sanchez writes that the French have taken possession of Barletta and several other fortified places, which is not a good sign. There is no news either of the Imperial fleet having reached those seas. In Lombardy things were in a better state, and Leyva managed somehow to keep the confederates at bay.

The reinforcements passed muster on St. George's day at Trent, and We have no doubt are by this time in Italy. But We cannot refrain from pointing out three things which are indispensable to the success of this expedition, and of which We wish you to remind His Imperial Majesty, namely, the appointment of a commander-in-chief ; bills of exchange ; and frequent letters, so that the Emperor's generals and ministers may not be in the dark, and therefore unable to act.

The news of the Turk intending to come in person is every day confirmed through our spies, though We have no letters from our ambassadors sent to treat about a truce.

Monforte tells us that he proposed to Count Felix de Viertamberg (Felix of Wurtemberg) to raise 6,000 Germans and conduct them to Spain. The Count took some time to answer, and then excused himself by saying he was not in a situation just at present to accept such a charge. We think, as he does, that this is not the time for making levies in Germany, because our best men are in Italy, and this country is now so troubled by discord and civil wars between its Princes that those who remain will find work enough on their hands. Besides which Germans are so attached to their country that they will much prefer two florins here to six in Spain. To please the Emperor, however, We shall do on our part anything that is required.

Thank the Emperor for his offer of promotion to Castillejo —Prague, 15th May 1528.

After writing the above We have been informed that the Landgrave [of Hesse], owing to the secret representations which our agents have addressed him, has changed his mind, and now excuses himself by saying that he never thought of invading [the Archbishop's dominions] ; whence there is reason

1528.

to conclude that, though he may still attack the Archbishop, he will not undertake anything against [the Catholic Princes of] Germany. No reliance, however, can be placed in the words of a man, who is as capable of one thing as of the other. Indeed, in the three or four days which have elapsed since the duplicate of this letter was sent, We have been positively informed that he adheres to his original plans.

Signed: "Yo el Rey é Infante."

Addressed: "To Martin de Salinas, at the Court of the Emperor."

Spanish. Original. pp. 10.

16 May. 426. LOPE HURTADO DE MENDOZA, Imperial Ambassador in Portugal, to the EMPEROR.
S. E. Port. L. 368,
f. 159.

Mons. de Rœulx, &c.

Merchants [of Lisbon] have told the King that the Emperor has had letters from Italy announcing the evacuation of Lombardy by the Imperial army and its retreat to the strong places in the kingdom of Naples. Begg to be informed of the truth, whatever it may be, that he may tell the King, treating him with perfect confidence, that being the only way to secure his (the King's) co-operation with the Emperor in the affairs of France as well as those of England. With regard to the latter, it was expressly understood that he (the Emperor) was to inform the King of Portugal of anything that occurred to the Portuguese navy, &c.—Lisbon, 16th May 1528.

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "Received on the 24th of May. Answered on the 25th."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

17 May. 427. ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 346.

Wrote yesterday announcing the storming of Pavia by Leyva. The news has since been confirmed; 3,000 men detached from the Milanese army escalated the walls and took the city by storm. The garrison were made prisoners of war, but Cesaro Fragozo was not among them.

No news whatever of the German reinforcements, which are said to be already in the Veronese. Neither is there any from Lautrech's camp before Naples, except that his men are dying by thousands from the plague. The Signory, the other day, had letters, and their not having been published is rather a sign that things there do not go much to their satisfaction.

(*Cipher* :) Andrea del Burgo writes to say that the Prince

1528.

of Orange is very anxious for the German reinforcements to push on towards Naples, where he says they are more wanted than ever. Andrea is so situated now that he can easily communicate both with Leyva and with the Duke of Branzuich (Brunswick), but since the 26th April, the date of the Prince's last letter, no more has been heard on the subject.

The English ambassador is daily pressing this Signory to restore Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope. He tells them that, besides its being for the promotion of God's service, it is very strange that they should retain in their possession what does not belong to them. Should they at once restore to the Pope what is his own, it might lead to his re-entering the League, &c. Cannot say what their answer has been, but fancies that they have pursued their wonted system of delay. Gaspar Contaren will depart for Orbiato to-morrow as ambassador to the Pope, to try and persuade him to return to the League. He is to try and persuade His Holiness that the retention by them of Ravenna and Cervia is, for the present beneficial to him and to the League, that being the only reason why they keep them during the present war. He is to ask for permission to raise levies in the territory of the Church; and also to collect from the clergy in their dominions the tax lately imposed.

Miŕer Francesco Cornaro, once Venetian ambassador at the Imperial Court, has been created cardinal by the Pope. He (Sanchez) went to compliment him on the occasion.

Hears that Cardinal Campeggio is soon to go to England as Papal Legate, and, as some say, to annul the King's marriage (*descasar á aquel Rey*).

Encloses copy of the letter which the Duke of Branzuich (Brunswick) has written to the Signory.*—Venice, 17th May 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet, pp. 3.

17 May. 428. The SAME to GATTINARA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 345.

Wrote yesterday announcing the storming of Pavia by Leyva, a piece of intelligence which so affected the French ambassador that he went up to the Signory and complained bitterly that it was their fault for not sending money and provisions to the army of the League, or keeping sufficient forces in the field. (*Cipher* :) At his first reception the said ambassador, as he (Sanchez) hears from various sources, spoke in very bad terms of the Emperor, laying on him the blame of all the evils of this present war, and calling him ambitious

* See above, p. 675, No. 419.

1528.

and so forth. No small part of the blame was imputed to your most illustrious Signory for his advice in these matters. —Venice, 17th May 1528.

Signed : "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed : "To the most Illustrious Sir, the High Chancellor, my Lord."

Indorsed : "To the King. From Alonso Sanchez. 27th May."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. p. 1.

18 May. 429. COUNT POLICASTRO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 105 v°.

Begs to remind the Emperor that his father, Count Policastro, died in his service, and that he himself has always remained faithful, as the Prince of Orange was pleased to testify by his letter of the 6th. His father having left a vacancy in the Collateral Council of Naples, he does not hesitate to apply for it, since others, with less services than he, have obtained greater reward.—[Naples], 18th May 1528.

Indorsed : "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Italian. Contemporary abstract in Spanish.

20 May. 430. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 351.

Albornoz, who was to be the bearer of his despatch of the 2nd, is still here. As he is not expected to sail before to-night or to-morrow morning he (Perez) has time to inform the Emperor of occurrences since that date.

A letter has come to Cardinal Colonna, by way of Orbieto, announcing that on the 27th ulto. the German reinforcements under the Duke [Henry] of Brunswick had actually entered Italy. They consist of 14,000 stipendiary troops, besides 6,000 volunteers (*aventureros*), 1,700 horse, and 2,800 pioneers (*gastadores*), eight pieces of ordnance and numberless muskets (*mosquetes y tiros ligeros*), plenty of scaling ladders, and abundance of gunpowder and ammunition, besides provisions for one month. The Duke, who is their commander-in-chief, has three or four marquises under him, some in charge of the infantry, others of the cavalry, and so forth. This is a very good piece of news for us, and we expect daily the confirmation of it. It is reported that they are advancing, and that the Venetians, far from opposing their march, have already abandoned Vicenza and other places, the better to defend their own territory, for which purpose they are concentrating their forces round Padua. The Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) is still at Verona.

Letters from Milan, of the 3rd inst., announce that on that day the vanguard [of the Germans] left in the direction of Naples. It is expected that Leyva will come with them, for

1528.

he has written to a friend of his, in this city, to procure him five or six Spanish pages, and keep them in readiness against his arrival [in Naples], which he said would take place soon. His Imperial Majesty can hardly imagine with what anxiety this succour is expected by all of us, as well as the fleet from Spain, for not only are Philippino's five galleys continually blockading this port and city, so that we have not the means of sending out a single boat, but Lautrech is known to have come on board that captain's galley to hold a conference, at which Secretary Seron, still a prisoner of war, is said to have been present. This last intelligence may not be true, but it is certain that Count Philippino, at Lautrech's request, has kept him (Seron) on his galley, instead of sending him to Genoa, as he did Ascanio [Colonna] and the Marquis del Guasto, and that he refuses to fix a ransom, &c.

The day on which Lautrech went to visit Count Philippino a sally was ordered [from Naples], in which the French were defeated with tremendous loss, our men pursuing them till within their intrenchments. They still go on firing against the city. On the 14th inst. they fired from 70 to 80 big guns, which did no harm, though one cannon-ball happened to hit the house where the Prince of Orange is quartered, and traversed the hall where Alarcon, Count Burrello, and others were sitting. Though not one of them was hurt, they were covered with dust and rubbish. He (Perez) was also in the room at the time, and escaped miraculously, for the ball certainly passed within four feet of him, and a Spanish captain was wounded by the stones and masonry thus dislodged. The Prince, notwithstanding, still keeps his quarters, and will not move elsewhere.

(*Cipher* :) What with the money found in Castil Novo and Castil del Ovo, and about 3,070 ducats received on account of the letter of credit of Thomasso de' Fornariis, one month's pay has been issued to the Germans. Has duly advised Domenico Fornariis of this, and, when necessary, will make use of the credit.

(*Common writing* :) Has related in a former despatch that Prospero Colonna and Sarra (Sciarra), the brother of Ascanio [Colonna], had laid siege to the citadel of Pagliano, where the widow and daughter of Vespasiano [Colonna], as well as Luigi Gonzaga, who now sides with the French, were shut up. The Abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsino) having gone to the assistance of the besieged, the two Colonnas (Prospero and Sciarra) did not wait for them, and evacuated the town, which the Abbot immediately occupied with his bands. But if the Spaniards who came from Sicily to Gaeta are as fortunate as hitherto, they will be in sufficient number, added to the Colonnese, to take Pagliano and dislodge the Abbot, for they have already taken and sacked Traietto, Fundi, the towers of the Garigliano, and several more towns

1528.

which were for the French. The enterprise, moreover, will be greatly facilitated by the stay of Cardinal Colonna at Gaeta.

With the last arrivals from Gaeta Leonardo de' Grimaldi came, and brought 12,515 ducats in specie. Lautrech has ordered the inhabitants of Gaeta to evacuate the city. It is presumed that he intends going there himself with the whole of his army the moment he hears of the arrival of the Germans, an event which, according to the testimony of prisoners, who fall daily into our hands, is very much dreaded by the enemy.

(*Cipher* :) Whilst writing the above Agostino Centurione has called to say he has letters from Genoa, of the 5th inst., announcing that the brother-in-law of Thomasso de Fornariis has taken himself off (*se ha alzado*). As he was the partner of Thomasso in all contracts, it is well that the Emperor should be informed in time.

The Papal chamberlain mentioned in former despatches as having come to Naples for the purpose of announcing the siege of Civittà Vecchia by the French, left for Orbieto the other day. The answer given by the Prince has already been stated. Now it appears that the Collateral Council propose sending Juan Antonio Muxetula to Orbieto to represent the Emperor until the appointment of an ambassador.

(*Common writing* :) Count Burrello has not yet departed, but will most probably sail for Sicily to-night. He takes the duplicate of this despatch, as well as that of the one which Balançon took.

(*Cipher* :) There is in this city of Naples abundance of wheat and water; all the mills are in order and at work. There is some fear, however, that wine and fresh meat will be soon exhausted; and besides, since the taking of Puzzuolo by the enemy, forage for the horses is very scarce. Yet we are confident that this state of things cannot last long. What the Germans feel most is the want of wine; we Spaniards care not for it, and go without contentedly.—Naples, 20th May 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish.* *Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering between the lines. pp. 3.*

21 May. 431.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Cart. d. Erasmo
y otras.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 238.

CORNELIUS DUPLICIUS SCEPPERUS to ALFONSO VALDES, the Emperor's Secretary.

Has searched in vain the booksellers' shops at Antwerp, but found nothing new.

Germany is now a prey to religious errors. Flanders exposed to invasion from all sides. Hopes Spain is in a more satisfactory condition.

* No less than three more copies of this despatch are preserved in the Academy's volume A 43, at folios 353, 355, and 357.

1528.

Leaves shortly for Poland, for all negotiations with the Scots are for the moment suspended, the reason being that the English do not seem inclined to attack the Emperor this spring. In order not to irritate them, it has been deemed necessary to suspend all negotiations with Scotland.

Nothing new concerning Erasmus.

The Bishop of Melito has left for Cologne.

Intends going by sea to the mouth of the Weser, and thence by land to Lithuania.

Sends him some arms.—Antwerp, 21st of May 1528.

Signed: "Corn. Scepperus."

Latin: *Holograph*. p. 1.

23 May. 432.

LOPE HURTADO DE MENDOZA, Imperial Ambassador in Portugal, to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L., f. 368.
B. M. *Add.* 28,577,
f. 249.

Mons. du Reulx, &c.

A vessel has arrived from La Rochelle with letters from France in seven days. Among the passengers is a servant of the Portuguese ambassador in France, who says that the King was at Rouen and had been very ill. He is now much better; no traces of his illness were visible on his face.* It is reported that the English will not make war on Portugal, but will certainly help the French in Italy.

Mons. de Lautrec has taken Melfi, &c.—Lisbon, 23rd of May 1528.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty the Emperor, our Lord."

Spanish. *Holograph*. pp. 2.

— May. 433.

DR. SOLIS to SECRETARY PEREZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 393.

Immediately after the receipt of his letter of the 28th March, he (Solis) waited upon His Holiness, and placed in his hands as desired, the copy of the Emperor's letter. The answer was—1st. Respecting the Astorga business, that either the brief relating to this business had not reached the Emperor's hands, or else the Marquis [Don Pedro Fernandez Osorio] had not made use of it. He (the Marquis) was commanded to submit the brief to the Emperor, and if the latter found that it was worded in a manner likely to create scandal, he might have its execution suspended until he (the Pope) should be informed thereof.

2nd. Respecting the church of Burgos, in which fathers and sons, in virtue of bulls granted by various Popes, are allowed to enjoy one or more ecclesiastical endowments, the son in-

* Two letters dated respectively the 1st Dec. 1527 and Jan. 1528, giving an account of a secret malady of King Francis, have been published by Gachard, *Analectes pour l'Histoire de la Belgique*, p. 57.

1528.

heriting from the father and representing him in his absence, &c., the Pope objected at first that the bulls could not possibly be revoked owing to the compensation money received in each particular case; but Cardinal Sancti Quatuor, who is a sort of oracle in these matters, has since been consulted, and his opinion is that bulls granted to particular individuals now alive cannot possibly be revoked, but may be modified so that father and son will not enjoy an ecclesiastical endowment conjointly, though the son after the decease of the father may inherit it, and that in future some provision be made forbidding sons to succeed to benefices which have been held by their fathers, or by a third person (*interposita persona*) coming between the two.

3rd. With regard to the visitation of clerks and canons of the cathedral church of Burgos, His Holiness finds that if the exemption from visitation really exists, and they insist upon it, any change of the rules would be very dangerous, but he, as superior head of the Church, will commit the visitation to some Spanish prelate, or so arrange matters that each of them be individually visited in his own residential town.

4th. In the affair of Don Pedro de Castro, as the bulls he obtained passed through the Penitentiary Court (*Penitenciaría*), and Cardinal Sancti Quatuor was the expeditor, more resistance was offered. A brief, however, shall be made commanding his own ecclesiastical judges to prosecute him (Castro) for bigamy and other crimes, and, if that be not sufficient, authorising the Emperor to appoint for this particular case new judges of his own choosing.

Has once or twice mentioned in his letters the bad opinion which the Pope and the cardinals have of him (Perez). Has been assured that a Dominican friar who came from Naples, and is now a prisoner in this city, was sent by him for the purpose of assassinating the Pope. Needs scarcely say that, believing him to be incapable of such infamy, he (Solis) has done hitherto, and will do hereafter, anything that is required to clear him from all suspicion.—Orbieto, — May 1528.

Spanish. Contemporary copy in Perez's handwriting.

23 May. 434.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the
EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 359.

The Emperor's letters of the 28th of October, 24th December [1527], and 19th of January [1528], brought by Giuliano [della Spezzia], came duly to hand on the 20th inst., two days after he (Sanchez) had closed his despatch of the 18th. In the last of which letters the Emperor informs him of the challenge made by the Kings of France and England, and commands him to take leave of this Signory as soon as possible, so that the Venetian ambassador in Spain may be allowed to quit Spain. (*Cipher* :) In pursuance of this order he (Sanchez) has made every preparation for departure. Indeed, he would already have quitted Venice, had not the Hungarian ambas-

1528.

sador (Salamanca), who it was agreed was to leave at the same time as himself, stated at the very last moment that he had instructions from his master not to move until new orders. To ascertain the wishes of the King of Hungary on this particular point, and ask the reason for this new resolution, he (Sanchez) wrote immediately to His Highness, but as no answer has come, he has despatched to Trent a trusty messenger to inquire whether there are any letters for him at that town, or news from Flanders and England, for certainly there is a rumour here that the negotiations for general peace have been resumed. Has also written to Leyva and to Lope de Soria about the new reinforcement of Germans, 6,000 at least, who in his (Sanchez's) opinion are required for Lombardy, if those under the Duke of Brunswick are expected to march on Naples.

Until a categorical answer on all these points be received he (Sanchez) does not think himself justified in taking leave of the Signory, inasmuch as he cannot at present reach the Spanish frontier, for although the Duke of Ferrara and Marquis of Mantua have both granted him safe-conducts through their estates, it is doubtful whether the King of France will.

However this may be, everything is ready for his departure from Venice, which he can quit as soon as the messenger he has despatched to Trent returns with an answer. Six days, he calculates, will be enough to obtain the information he requires; if at the end of that time no news comes of a nature to change his resolution, he will take leave of the Signory and depart. But instead of going to the Emperor in Spain, and kissing his hands—which is what he most desires—he cannot help thinking that it would be far better for the Imperial service that he should go either to the King of Hungary's Court at Prague, or to Leyva's camp in Lombardy. He might in the former case put himself in communication with Lope de Soria, and be the bearer of part of the funds lately brought by Giuliano [della Spezzia], so as to hasten the raising the 6,000 Germans above mentioned, or else serve under Leyva.

(*Common writing* :) This Signory have letters from France of the 12th inst., advising the speedy arrival of Mons. de St. Pol with 10,000 foot and 400 lances. Four thousand have already reached Ybrea, and it is added that all the troops with which the King of France intended to invade Flanders are to come to Italy. (*Cipher* :) If this country, therefore, is to be made the field of battle, His Imperial Majesty ought to do the same, and send all his armies and fleets to Lombardy and Naples.

Five hundred light cavalry have been ordered by this Signory from Dalmatia; 300 taken out of the garrisons in that province, by leaving the towns and castles completely defenceless, and 200 more of fresh levies.

Paolo Luzzasco with his company has left the service of the Signory. Some say that he has gone to Mantua to take service with the Pope; others that he goes to Lombardy to

1528.

serve under Leyva. The Signory have offered 2,000 ducats down and 500 annual pension to his heirs, to whomsoever gives him up alive or dead. Malatesta Ballon (Baglione) has also left them and taken service with the Pope, who has appointed him captain-general of all his infantry. The report is that he will go to Bologna at the head of 2,000 foot and 400 horse. At Mantua the Marquis [Frederigo Gonzaga] has raised 4,000 men for the purpose, as it is said, of defending Parma and Piacenza in case of those cities being attacked by the Imperial forces, though many will have it that it is only a pretence, and that in the end he (the Marquis) will join us.

(*Cipher* :) Hears that His Holiness has lately sent one of his chamberlains to treat with the Duke [Henry of Brunswick]. Please God his intentions may be pacific, and turn to the Emperor's profit, for the Signory in consequence have hastily despatched an ambassador to him (the Pope), and perchance they may feel more inclined than they have been hitherto to the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia.

As the Pope, moreover, is raising troops in Romagna, the Signory will henceforward find it more difficult to make levies of men except in their own land, which they seldom do if they can help it. Thus it is that they are now trying to take a number of Switzers into their pay.

In the Piombino channel some Moorish vessels (*fustas*) have captured one French galley of the Baron [of St. Brancard], on board of which were 50,000 cr. destined for Lautrech. Four more galleys and one galleon had arrived in Genoa with the prisoners taken in the Gulf of Salerno, who, it was said, were to be conducted to France.

This Signory have letters from Lautrech's camp of the 16th inst. Naples continued in the same state. Out of five galleys laden with wheat from Sicily, and sent for the relief of the garrison, one had been taken by the enemy, the rest had gone into port. It is likewise stated that the portion of the kingdom, or rather of the barons, subjected to Lautrech had given him considerable help in money.

The new German army is still in the Bresciano. Leyva is besieging Lodi, which the Duke Francesco [Sforza] has hastily abandoned to go to Crema, an impregnable fortress, belonging to Venice.—Our Lord, &c. Venice, 23rd May 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. From Venice. Alonso Sanchez. 23rd May. Duplicate."*

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher.† Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

* In the same volume, fol. 361.

† The original has "Entiendo que en el Cassal de Pomblin han tomado fustas de moros una galera de Franceses, del Baron de San Brancard que llevaba á Lautrech cinquenta mil escudos, y que con quatro galeras y un galeon eran llegados en Genova los prisioneros que hizieron en las galeras, que los llevaban á Francia."

1528.

25 May. 435. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
 f. 366.

On the 22nd inst., a Ferrarese gentleman named Sigismondo, who professes to be a staunch Imperialist, arrived with letters from Count Jorge Fruntsperg and from Andrea del Burgo, announcing that on the 12th inst. the Germans were in the Mantuano, and likely to advance by forced marches, as there would be no opposition at the passage of the river Pó or anywhere else on the road. Sigismond came by way of Orbieto, where the Pope provided him with an escort to bring him to Gaeta. He assured the Prince that not only the Pope is willing to furnish provisions for the passage of the Germans through his territory, but that his master, the Duke of Ferrara and the Marquis of Mantua will do the same. Great rejoicings and illuminations have taken place here in consequence of this joyful news, which being observed by the enemy in front of this city, they fired a considerable number of shots, without, however, doing any harm to the city. The said Sigismond is now returning to hasten the arrival of the reinforcements; he goes with Joan Antonio Muxetula, whom the Prince and the Collateral Council of this kingdom have determined to send to the Pope.

On the 23rd there was much skirmishing with the French, who lost on the occasion upwards of 200 men-at-arms, among whom were several officers of note, such as Orazio Ballon, (Baglione), who was slain, and others. Count Guido Rangone has also died at Aversa of the plague. The French have felt the loss of these men very much, because in reality both were most experienced in military affairs, and almost the only two Italian captains of any note serving in their camp, for although they have with them some rebellious Neapolitan barons, they are people of no consequence. Now recently Count di Nola has gone over to them, and the Duke of Atrie (Atri) has applied for permission to retire to his estates, (*cipher* :) which is not a very good sign anyhow, as all those who refuse sharing our dangers under present circumstances cannot be very strongly devoted to His Imperial Majesty.

Count Sarno, married to a niece of Cardinal Colonna, is faithfully doing his duty.

Every day the infantry and light horse go out and bring into this city many heads of cattle, so that there will be fresh meat for some time to come. On most of these expeditions our men take prisoners. This very day one of these marauding parties has brought in a number of them.

The Prince of Melfi* has made an agreement with the French and gone to San Germano at the head of 2,000 foot, 100 lances, and 200 light horse, to assist the cause he has embraced. It is supposed that he will take the same route as

* The same Sergiano Caracciolo mentioned in other places as having been made prisoner at Melfi, on the storming of that town by Lautrec. In consequence of his defection he was outlawed, and his estate subsequently given to Andrea Doria.

1528.

the Spaniards lately come from Sicily, in order to defend those who are within Pagliano.—Naples, 25th May 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Naples. Perez. 25th May. Answered."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2¼.*

26 May. 436. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 391.

As Albornoze could not leave port yesterday, owing to the enemy's galleys being in sight, he will start in an hour for Ysola, where Count Burrello is waiting for him.

Nothing new to report except that the enemy seems very desirous of reducing us to extremities before the arrival of the succours. They are always repulsed with great loss, and not later than yesterday (the 25th) they lost one captain of 50 lances. The body of Baglione they have taken to Perosa (Perugia), and it is added that, on the excuse of accompanying it, five or six companies of Italian infantry have left the camp.—Naples, 26th May* 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

26 May. 437. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 392.

Received some days ago the Emperor's letters reminding him of certain ecclesiastical business which in March of this year he (Perez) was ordered to negotiate, such as the suspension of the bulls obtained by the Marquis of Astorga [D. Pedro Fernandez Osorio], by Don Pedro de Castro, as well as by the cathedral church and bishopric of Burgos, &c. As when the letter was written he (Perez) had already left Rome, and the Pope gone to Orbieto, he could not attend to these matters personally. Entrusted them to the care of Dr. Solis, a very able person, enjoying great favour with Cardinal Sancti Quatuor, and whom the Pope *motu proprio* first created Bishop of Banarea, and afterwards of Alger on the death of Auditor Cassador. The Doctor has negotiated with the Pope and cardinals, and obtained an answer to all the Emperor's claims. Encloses a copy of it,† but begs leave to call special attention to the last paragraph, where

* Duplicate at fol. 368.

† No. 433, p. 639.

1528.

the Doctor intimates that he (Perez) is accused of having sent a Dominican friar to Rome for the express purpose of assassinating the Pope.—Naples, 3rd June 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Naples. 3rd June."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

28 May. 438.

ALONSO SANCHEZ, Imperial Ambassador in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 374.

Wrote last on the 23rd inst. As by this time the Emperor must have been informed by Leyva's despatch how Paolo Luzzasco, the "condottiero," has at his request deserted this Signory and accepted service under the Empire, he (Sanchez) need not further allude to that event, which has caused a deep sensation in this city.

(*Cipher* :) Hears from various reliable sources that this Signory is making all manner of warlike preparations, especially of light cavalry. They have sent for 500 men and horses from Turkey (*quinientos hombres y caballos Turcos*), and that they may not appear to be such, have remitted [to Constantinople] cloth and other accoutrements for them to be dressed in the Albanian fashion. The stuff of which their uniforms are to be made is here called "carisca." They give each man 10 ducats for enlisting. With such infidel auxiliaries in their pay Venice is not likely to prosper much.

The Germans, he hears, after stopping at Pesquera (Peschiera) and the neighbouring villages some days—perhaps a little more than was absolutely necessary—are now on their march towards Brexa (Brescia). Viagrassa, an important and well-fortified town, with a garrison of 800 men, was taken the other day by Leyva. The Venetians in consequence have abandoned Cassano, and retreated to Bergamo, where they no doubt intend making a stand. Leyva's subsequent march on Cassano, since reported, would show that he purposes crossing the Adda, and effecting his junction with the rest of the Imperial forces.

The last news from Lautrech's camp received by this Signory is that seven Spanish vessels from Sicily laden with flour, and having besides 2,000 infantry on board, had succeeded in entering the port [of Naples], and that the Imperialists were daily making sallies. Lautrech was ill and very much disheartened owing to the extraordinary mortality among his men, of whom nearly 400 died daily of the plague.

1528.

Encloses copy of a letter* from the Bishop of Trent.—
Venice, 28th May 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty, in the hands of Secretary Soria. N."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. From Venice. Alonso Sanchez. 28th May."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet.†

439. The SAME to the HIGH CHANCELLOR.

29 May.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 462.

His despatch of the 20th has been detained until to-day, the 29th, for want of a trusty messenger. Meanwhile the Signory have received the following advices of the 19th and 21st from Lautrech's camp. By the former they are informed that the light horse under Hernando Gonzaga were doing much harm to the besiegers, cutting off the supplies to their camp, &c. In consequence of which Lautrech had ordered new trenches to be dug round it. The Neapolitans had sent to Sicily four vessels laden with women and men unable to fight. Moreover, whilst the French were occupied in digging the said trenches and raising parapets the Imperialists attacked them suddenly and slew 1,000 of them,—some say 2,000,—and among the rest Orazio Baglione, the captain-general of the Florentines.—Venice, 29th of May 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

29 May. **440.** JUAN DE SALZEDO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 383.

Is one of the oldest officers in the army, having served in Italy and elsewhere for upwards of 30 years. This emboldens him to speak out plainly, and state what reforms are urgently required in the Spanish infantry, so as to render it more useful and reliable. There are too many captains in it; 6,000 men do not require more than 20 captains to command them, whereas for the same number there are upwards of 60. The lieutenants and sub-lieutenants (*alfereces*), sergeants, &c. are in proportion. Each captain has 40 ducats per month, which at the end of the year amount to 480; each sub-lieutenant (*alferez*) 15 ducats, or 70 every year; the sergeants 8 ducats each, or 96 every year. There are 80 drummers too many at 8 ducats [a year?]; 40 trumpeters (*pifaros*) at 8; 80 physicians and clerks (*clerigos*) at 3 every month, making

* See No. 425, p. 680.

† Duplicate of this letter and deciphering at fol. 379.

1528.

altogether many thousands, without counting what the captains themselves purloin. If to this be added that, owing to the excessive number of captains, the men are badly officered,—for when one of them finds his company decreasing through the casualties of war he naturally tries to decoy and enlist the soldiers of other captains,—His Imperial Majesty cannot fail to see the necessity of a reform.

Though the oldest captain in the Imperial service, he (Salzedo) is quite willing that the reform begin with his own company.—Naples, 29th of May 1528.

Signed: “Juan de Salzedo.”

Addressed: “Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty.”

Indorsed: “From Juan de Salzedo. 29th May. Answered.”

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

31 May. 441. The CAPTAINS of SPANISH INFANTRY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 385.

Credentials in favour of Pedro Davalos, one of their number, charged with the following mission, viz., to inform His Imperial Majesty of the reasons which their general, the Marquis del Guasto, had for going on board the galleys, though it was not his duty, and also to beg that the liberation of the said Marquis be procured, as he is greatly needed for the command of the Spanish infantry.—Naples, the last day of May 1528. Follow the signatures:—Juan de Salzedo; Juan de Urbyna; Mendaña de Yebra; Juan de Ribera; Andres Mendez; Luys de Benalcazar; Machycas; P^o. de Bracamonte; Antonio de Alfang (?); Ruy Sandis de Vargas; Alonso Basurto; Andres Davalos; Alonso de Morales; Juan de Santacruz; Lope Osorio.

31 May. 442. ALARCON to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 99.

Writes in favour of the Duke of Melfi (Amalfi),* and presents him for the command of a company of men-at-arms. Begs that the first vacancy in such a force be given to him. —[Naples], 31st May 1528.

Indorsed: “Relacion de diversas cartas, &c.”

Spanish. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

2 June. 443. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 99.

Encloses list of native noblemen on whose fidelity the Emperor can rely; also of those who have treacherously forsaken his cause and gone over to the French. The former should be rewarded; the latter punished with confiscation and death.

No letters from Spain have been received for some time. Need not point out the danger of such a system. Men

* This Duke of Amalfi of the Piccolomini family must not be confounded with Sergiano Caracciolo, Prince of Melfi, as some Spanish writers of this time have done, taking Melfi and Amalfi to be one and the same place.

1528.

generally lose courage when their perilous situation is not attended to.

The Prince [of Orange] is doing his utmost to keep the Germans together; how long he will be able to do so is more than he (Alarcon) can say, unless the succour arrives speedily. A person of authority and influence is wanted to act as viceroy, and another to be sent to the Pope's Court, well experienced in diplomatic affairs, and proof against his craftiness.

Points out the danger of appointing Italian captains for Spanish companies of foot. Every one of them has gone over to the enemy. The Prince [of Orange] ought to be written to about this, and a general order issued that whenever a captain fails to name good lieutenants and ensigns, the nomination of such officers shall devolve upon the general-in-chief.

Commends the services of Hernando Gonzaga, Mossen Bastida, the governor of Castellamare, Count Miñano (Mignano), and the warder of Brindisi, as well as those of Fabricio Marra-maldo, now quite free from the charges brought against him, Juan de Urbina, the Lieutenant of the Summaria, and Captain Andres Davalos. All are highly deserving of the Imperial favour.

One of the above-named, the warder of Brindisi, has stoutly defended that town and castle against the enemy. He is as good for war as for peace, and ought to be appointed to the bishopric of Aversa, which happens to be vacant just now. Julio di Capua, to whom the captainship of men-at-arms once held by the Prince of Melfi (Caracciolo) was given, ought to be confirmed in it.

Recommends also Il Gobbo, and the brothers of the Lord of Alcaudete.*—[Naples], 2nd June 1528.

Indorsed: "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

2 June. 444. POPE CLEMENT to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 2016.
Lib. de Berz.
vol. xxvi. f. 97.

Has empowered his Legates in England to investigate the merits of the divorce case between the King and Queen of England, and to pronounce judgment after asking and obtaining his approval.

Promises neither to recall his commissioners nor forbid them from proceeding with the cause. *Ita est.*

Latin. Copy from the Papal Archives in the Collection Berzosa, made by command of Philip II. of Spain. p. 1.

3 June. 445. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 386.

Since his despatch of the 26th ulto.,† letters have been received in confirmation of the last news about the Germans. They must, to all accounts, be already at Sancti Spiritus on this side of Bologna, for the Pope, it is said, has despatched

* Don Martin Alfonso de Cordoba y Velasco, first Count of Alcaudete.

† See above, No. 437, p. 694.

1528.

from Orbiato certain commissioners to see that they were properly quartered and victualled throughout his estates. He had likewise sent to the Duke [Henry] of Brunswick one of his chamberlains, the Bishop of Sesena (Cesenna), requesting him to come by way of Florence, and subject that city to the Papal or Medicean rule, as it was before. As the said bishop was at Verona, dining quietly with the late Datary (Gianmatheo Giberti), he (the bishop) was arrested by some soldiers whom the Signory had sent for that purpose. It is, moreover, reported that the Datary, who is bishop of Verona, was arrested at the same time with him; this last intelligence, however, requires confirmation. At any rate it is certain that Venice is about to send an ambassador to the Pope at Orbiato, suspecting, as they do suspect, that the aforesaid Bishop of Cesenna has been treating with the Duke matters to their disadvantage and against the Italian League.

News has come of Leyva having taken Pavia, garrisoned by 700 foot and 300 horse of the French, and that he was marching on Alessandria, which he hoped soon to reduce, and then proceed against Genoa, where the citizens had proclaimed the Union and independence of their city.

Advices from Lautrech's camp states that a Venetian officer, serving with the French, has written to his proveditor announcing the arrival of the German reinforcements. He could not conceive how Lautrech ventured to remain so long where he was, for certainly, if caught between two fires by the Imperialists, he could not escape from utter destruction. The Venetian had advised him (Lautrech) to raise his camp and go elsewhere. Cannot say whether he will, but hitherto there has been no stir observable in his camp; on the contrary, the enemy continues as usual discharging his artillery at us, though with little or no effect. We, on the other hand, make frequent sallies, in which the enemy is generally worsted. On the 28th ulto. Hernando de Gonzaga went out of Naples with a few light horse, and meeting a company of men-at-arms of Mossiur de Beni,* a Scottish knight, destroyed it completely, for, out of 60 men, they brought in 40 prisoners, and the rest remained dead on the field,—a most fortunate encounter, and one considered as of very good omen, since it has been observed that on the two occasions when this very company of Moss. de Beni was cut to pieces in Lombardy, a most signal victory was gained over the French.

On the 30th, 100 of our men made a sally and brought in as many prisoners.†

The Germans here are dissatisfied with their present colonel, and talk of deposing him, and taking for their commander Jorge Fruntsperg, who is now coming with Brunswick. This notwithstanding, they complain bitterly that they have no wine to drink; they search the houses most assiduously for it,

* Afterwards called Dauberrin.

† This paragraph is not in the duplicate of this despatch at fol. 389.

1528.

and will not allow others to drink it. He (Perez) has twice lost what little he had in his cellar. Bears it with patience, as do the Spaniards in general, in the hope that very soon Lautrech will be compelled to raise his camp, when abundance of that article is sure to be found.

The Spaniards who came from Sicily, and were last at Gaeta, are still in possession of Rocca Guillelma and other villages, which they took from the French. Cannot say for certain whether it is these Spaniards whom the Prince of Malfe (Amalfi), who has lately taken part with the French, has been ordered to attack; all he knows is that Don Alonso Manrique, who has the command of them, has come to Naples to hold a conference with the Prince.

Juan Antonio Muxetula must by this time be at Orbieto, as advices have come from that city that the Pope had sent an escort for him. It is generally believed that when he (the Pope) hears of the arrival of the Germans in Lombardy, of Leyva's successes, and of the probability of Lautrech soon raising the siege of Naples, he will speedily forsake the League and come to an agreement with His Imperial Majesty; others think that he will go to Ancona. If he does, it will be rather a bad sign.

The Ferrarese gentleman,* who came to announce the arrival of the Germans to us, left Gaeta on the 27th, and will soon reach their camp, as he travels post.

There is a report that Rome is getting very empty from fear of the Germans or French going thither, although if the latter raise their camp, it is to be presumed that they will rather retire to Barletta and other towns on the coast in order to gain time, &c.

Secretary Seron has been put on shore, and is still a prisoner in Lautrech's camp. Hitherto no ransom has been fixed. Philippino's galleys are always in sight of this port, preventing all vessels and even boats from entering or leaving this bay.

A report is current here that the Pope has ordered the siege of Civittà Vecchia to be raised, and that his orders have been complied with. The news, however, requires confirmation.

Lautrech has given to Philippino Doria the towns of Castellamare and Vico, which are said to be worth 120,000 ducats. As the castle of the former place still holds for His Imperial Majesty, Philippino wished Lautrech to give him conditional possession of it, promising, in case the French raised the siege of Naples, to take the castle with his own forces before a month was over. Lautrech, as it would seem, has not acceded to his demands; (*cipher*;) upon which the Prince of Orange has sent him a message, that if he will only serve the Emperor, anything he may ask on that score will be immediately granted to him. Cannot say what Count Philippino's

* Sigismondo, 435. See p. 693.

1528.

answer has been, but the Prince is sure to have written home about it.

(*Common writing* :) Certain letters of Lautrech to the King of France have been intercepted, the substance of which is that unless an army of at least 18,000 infantry and 500 Switzers come immediately to his assistance, the whole of the French conquests in Lombardy and Naples will be irretrievably lost. Six thousand of his best troops had been slain by the enemy or died of the plague that was raging in his camp more fiercely than ever. To take Naples with such a force as he had left, and against a whole army to defend it, was wholly out of the question. Had the French fleet come when he (Lautrech) asked for it, the King would now surely be the master both of Sicily and Naples. Since the negotiations which the King was carrying on in Spain were at an end, and his object could no longer be accomplished, there was no other expedient left but that of sending the whole of the French fleet to Naples, and with the needful reinforcements by land try to re-establish the balance. With this letter of Lautrech to the King, there were others for the Queen Regent, and for other influential persons at the Court of France, begging them to assist in persuading Francis, &c. He (Perez) has not read the letters, but knows one who has. They say that the Prince has forwarded the originals to Spain.

News has been received here that the Duke of Soma has revolted in Calabria, and induced most of the inhabitants of that province, hitherto so faithful and pacific, to declare for the French.

(*Cipher* :)* Has had a conversation with Antonio Dixar (de Hjar), he who went with the Prince's message to Count Philippino Doria. His report is that there is a very good chance of the said captain, and even of his uncle, Andrea Doria, now passing over to the Emperor's service, provided their terms are accepted. The said Antonio is a man of great ability and much experience in these matters, and is often employed by the Prince and Alarcon.

(*Common writing* :) Leyva has sent to offer his services to the Pope, saying that he has orders from His Imperial Majesty to do his pleasure in every respect, and begging him to send commissaries to settle the quartering and provisioning of the Imperial troops throughout the estates of the Church, and prevent their inflicting injuries on the inhabitants. The Pope sent to thank him for his offers of service, and despatched the commissaries as requested.

There was in the neighbourhood of this city a celebrated robber of the name of Bertichelo (Berticello), who with a gang of 50 or 60 hackbutiers stopped all travellers and did much injury. Means have been found of securing his services,

* This paragraph in cipher to the end of the letter is an addition to the duplicate, fol. 389.

1528.

and he is now at the head of 250 men, with whom he stops the passes in the mountains, intercepts the supplies going to the French camp, and makes numerous prisoners, some of whom, especially those who can pay ransom, are brought here. It was he who captured the other day the estafette whom Lautrech was sending to France with letters, and one Gonzaga, a bastard from Milan, who was coming from Lombardy with a message to the French commander. He also took prisoners certain merchants who had contracted to provision the enemy's camp, from whom he expects in time a considerable ransom, besides which, situated as he is in the neighbouring mountain district, where cattle still abound, he provides us with fresh meat.

Recommends Juan de Urbina, &c.—Naples, 3rd June 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Perez. Naples. 3rd June."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins. pp. 4.

3 June. 446. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 99.

In favour of Andres Mendes, whom the Prince of Orange has just named to the post of captain of artillery, vacant by the death of Juan Hieronimo de Trana. The latter, however, has left a brother and three or four sisters entirely without resources, and as he was an excellent soldier, his loss must be felt in the present war.—[Naples], 3rd June 1528.

Indorsed: "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. p. 1.

4 June. 447. The KING OF BOHEMIA AND HUNGARY to ALONSO SANCHEZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 458.

Magnifico, &c.,—Your letters of the 9th, 13th, 16th, and 17th of May, as well as those of Don Ugo and the Prince of Orange, came duly to hand. The Duke [Henry] of Brunswick at his departure received positive orders from us to effect his junction with Leyva first, and then attend to whichever danger might be the greatest. We have since repeated our orders, and now lately enjoined him to proceed at once to Naples. We feel confident that he will march his army thither anyhow, unless the want of money to pay his men obliges him to stop on the road. We have often written to our brother, the Emperor, pressing him to send funds for the new German army, as We ourselves could not do it owing to the great expenses of the Vayvod's war, and the preparations We are now making against the Turk. For this reason do not for a moment suppose that We can send the 6,000 or 8,000

1528.

men lately asked for ; unless the Emperor remits to us part of the money lately received in Italy, as We are informed, you must not think of it.—Prague, 4th June 1528.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

8 June. **448.** SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 398.

Wrote on the 3rd inst. by Captain Pedro Davalos, who sailed for Spain with the petition of the Spanish infantry.* Since then, on the 6th, Domingo Aguirre, the courier, arrived with a letter for the Prince of Orange, the contents of which, as generally asserted, are such as greatly to comfort this Imperial army with the promise of speedy succour by sea.

Respecting the new German army Lope de Soria writes in date of the 21st ulto. that it had arrived close to Mantua, for which city the said Soria, and the late Doge of Genoa (Antoniotto Adorno), who was with him, were ready to start. Calculates that by this time they must have reached the Bolognese.

The French, it is presumed, will retire to Barletta, or to some other town in the opposite direction to that by which the Germans are coming, though it is asserted by some that their intention is to advance and meet the new army wherever they can do so advantageously, and that for this purpose they have already detached the Prince of Malfe (Amalfi) to San Germano, to stop the passes, &c.

Lautrech wrote the other day to the Prince requesting as a favour (*por merced*) that he would send him the prisoners he had, and promising to send his. The exchange was accordingly effected, although ours were the more numerous. Since then our light cavalry has gone out and brought in about 60 more French prisoners, all of them men-at-arms.

An estafette coming from Orbieto to the enemy's camp has been captured. The letters mention the fact of the new army having reached Mantua, and of Leyva having taken Viagrassa, and put its garrison, mustering 400 men, to the sword. He (Leyva) had made himself master of several towns and fortresses in the Duchy, with the exception only of Lodi and Cremona, which he intended attacking shortly. Julian de la Speça (Giuliano della Spezzia) had also arrived there (at the German camp?), and most probably his companion with him.

Another of the letters seized on this occasion was from a French ambassador [in Italy] to Lautrech. The King, he says, was disgusted with the Venetians, who did nothing on their side to make the Pope declare openly for the League. He (the King) had said in public that the war in Naples once over he would punish them severely. Another also to Lautrech from one of the King's secretaries named Nicolas, who has long resided at the Pope's Court, adds that all his

* No. 441, p. 697.

1528.

efforts to bring the latter back to the League had been quite unavailing, and that his Holiness had answered him that he was tired of war, and wished to live in peace, as he was no more of a Frenchman than of an Imperialist.

It appears likewise from the intercepted correspondence that a captain named Paolo Chasco* had left the service of the Signory, and it was feared would go over to the Germans, as Luigi Gonzaga,† one of her principal captains, had done lately. This Gonzaga is not the brother-in-law of the late Vespasiano [Colonna], who now keeps the castle and town of Pagliano for the French, and also for the Pope, as he pretends, but another of the same name. As to Paolo Chasco, the Venetians would prefer his taking pay from the Florentines to his serving the Emperor, because they consider him a good soldier, and so he is, for, whilst serving under the late Giovanni de' Medici, he accomplished remarkable feats of arms.

(*Cipher*.) Negotiations are still going on between the Prince [of Orange] and Count Philippino [Doria]. Antonio Dixar (de Hjar) goes backwards and forwards to the galleys, and although nothing has been settled yet, great hopes are entertained that ere long an agreement of some kind will be made.

News has come that the Duke of Soma has been appointed Viceroy of Calabria by Lautrech, and is doing all he can to bring that province under allegiance to the French.

Recommends Juan de Urbina and the Marquis Hernando de Alarcon, both of whom are rendering great service to the Emperor. The former, besides attending to his military duties, is actually feeding and lodging numerous families and soldiers who have no other resource; whilst the latter, now confined to his bed in consequence of a fall from his horse, has been, and is still, the best man in the Council and the most valiant in the field. His Imperial Majesty might well think of them, and others, as soon as the estates of the Neapolitan barons, who went over to the French, come to be confiscated.

Fifteen Venetian galleys and one brigantine came on the 15th inst. in sight of this port. After cruising for two or three days in these waters they went towards Puzzuolo, followed by the five of Philippino Doria, there to consult and decide on what is to be done next. If their intention was only to make a strict blockade of this port, there was no need of their coming, since Philippino's galleys did it so effectually that the vessel on board of which the last courier, Domingo de Aguirre, came was miraculously saved from their clutches by a few shots from Castil del Ovo.

Will attend to the Emperor's orders and have the Provost of Valkirch (Waltkirch) presented for the see of Malta; but,

* Paolo Luzzasco.

† Rodamonte?

1528.

being at Naples, he can only do it by means of a proxy ; besides which, were he himself at the Papal Court he could not do much, as the Provost has not remitted the money required for the expedition of the bulls. Will, however, write to Juan Antonio Muxetula, as soon as the opportunity offers, and enclose him copy of the Imperial letter. The Pope, by the last accounts, had resolved to move on the 2nd inst. to Viterbo, but nothing was said yet of his going to Rome.—Naples, 8th June 1528.

Signed : "Perez."

Addressed : "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1528. Perez. Naples. 8th June."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering between the lines and on the margins. pp. 3½.*

11 June. 449. The PRINCE OF ORANGE to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 404.

Encloses petition of Cesare Plantedia di Cosenza, servant of the late Marquis of Pescara, who asks for the confirmation of the offices, "mastro de banca de Lanzano (Lanciano)," and "vicesecreto et dehanero de Ortona ad mare, e porto de Sancto Vito," conferred on him by the late Don Ugo de Moncada. Recommends the petitioner as a man sincerely attached to the Emperor, and one who has done good service.—Da la Cita sua di Napoli, 11th June 1528.

Signed : "Philibert de Chalon."

Addressed : "Sme., Cæ., et Molto Cathc. Mti."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

12 June. 450. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 407.

Encloses duplicate of his despatches of the 3rd and 8th inst. by Pedro Davalos. The only intelligence received since is that communicated by the governor (*alcayde*) of Ostia, viz., that on the first the Germans were in the Bolognese, advancing by forced marches, so that it is reasonable to expect that by Saint John's day, on the 21st, they will reach the Tronto. The said governor adds that the Pope was preparing to return to Rome, whence many nobles and courtiers had left to accompany and escort him thither. This, if true, is by no means a good sign under present circumstances.

The French show no symptoms yet of raising the siege of this city, though it stands to reason that they cannot but do so in the end. When they do, it is not known yet what route they will take, for Barletta is so afflicted by the plague that hundreds of Frenchmen embark there to return to their

* Duplicate at fol. 401.

1528.

country, and most of those who garrisoned that town and the adjoining districts have died from it. With all this a rumour has spread among them that Mons. de St. Paul (Pol) is coming from France with an army of 12,000 Switzers and 6,000 more infantry from Gascony and Picardie.

Among the captains of this Imperial army appointed by Bourbon was a Frenchman named Arrati, in whom great trust was placed, just as if he were a Spaniard. He has now been discovered to be in secret correspondence with Lautrech, to whom, they say, he had promised to desert with part of his company, though others say he had only engaged to deliver up at night the keys of a gate at which he kept guard with his company. Which of these two versions is the right one we cannot tell, but the captain is under arrest, the case is being investigated, and the culprit will be punished as he deserves.

Yesterday, Corpus Christi day, 18 galleys of the enemy came in sight of this port and began bombarding (*bombardeando*) the city, though they did no harm. In the afternoon the Venetian galleys went to Puzzuolo, and those of Philippino remained here. Now they say that the Count wishes to go to Genoa; (*cipher* :) for what purpose is not stated, though we suspect that he wants to consult his uncle Andrea about the proposed arrangement and his taking service with His Imperial Majesty.

The news which he (Perez) communicated in his last despatch about Guido Rangone having died at Aversa turns out untrue. He is alive and at that city, though he was very ill at the time that his death was announced.

All the soldiers of this Imperial army, Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, are perfectly agreed and on very good terms with each other, suffering their privations with a light heart, and determined to defend Naples to the uttermost. To meet the want of wine, which the Germans dislike more than anything, the Spaniards have willingly consented to have their houses searched, and, if any is found, to hand it over to the lansquenets, who have promised to drink water the moment that the present stock of wine is exhausted.

Alarcon is better, and expected to leave his room in a day or two.—Naples, 12th June 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins. pp. 2.

12 June. 451.

The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 99.

In favour of Gabriel de Çuaço, lieutenant of the company of Garci Manrique, who has always served, and is still serving, with fidelity. Begg that the knighthood of Alcantara be conferred on him.—[Naples], 12th June 1528,

Indorsed: "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. p. 1.

1528.

13 June. 452.

S. Pat. Re. *Bul.*
Suel. L. 1,
 f. 130.

POPE CLEMENT VII. to the EMPEROR.

Sends Gonsalvo di Sangro to him as Nuncio, and begs he will set at liberty the three cardinals whom he has for upwards of seven months held prisoners in Naples, exposed to all the dangers of war and pestilence.—Viterbii, 13th June 1528.

Addressed: "Imperatori Carolo V."

Latin. Original.

13 June. 453.

S. *Leg. Suel.*
 L. 3.

B. M. *Add.* 28,577,
 f. 250.

The COLLEGE of CARDINALS to the EMPEROR.

Begs him to set at liberty the three cardinals retained as hostages in Naples.—Viterbo, 13th June 1528.

Latin. Original. p. 1.

13 June. 454.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
 f. 100.

The DUKE of AMALFI to the EMPEROR.

Begs for such provision as may prevent the enemy from reaping laurels (*ganar honra*) in these parts. Hitherto they have gained no ground. Has left the position he held at Sienna, a very lucrative one, to serve under the Prince of Orange in Naples, as captain of men-at-arms and governor of Santelmo. Begs for the government of Apruzzo (*sic*), which happens to be vacant, and also for a letter of the Prince ordering him to communicate all secret matters and admit him to his counsel.

Hears that money is hastily being collected for the ransom of the Marquis [del Guasto] and Ascanio Colonna. He [himself] will soon leave for Yscla (Ischia), to procure funds for the pay of the Germans, who threaten to go home. Since those who are in Lombardy will not come to our help, it behoves His Imperial Majesty to put an end somehow to our sufferings and tribulations.—[Naples], 13th June 1528.

Indorsed: "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. p. 1.

14 June. 455.

S. E. L. 1,553,
 f. 236.

ANDREA DEL BURGO to the EMPEROR.

Has received a letter from the Duke of Brunswick [Henry]. He is at Pontevico, and in great need of money. His men will not advance without receiving at least one half of their arrears. Hopes that the Pope will furnish him with some as a consideration for the restoration of his nephew to Florence, but perhaps he dares not declare himself yet. The Duke of Brunswick, on the other hand, points out the danger of delay. Antonio de Leyva, &c.—Mantua, 14th June 1528.

Italian. Original. p. 1.

14 June. 456.

S. E. L.

PHILIBERT DE CHALON to the EMPEROR.

The Emperor's letter of the 20th of May, informing him of the speedy arrival of Balançon with provisions for this city and army, and likewise of the order sent to Leyva to march to the relief of Naples with the new German reinforcements, has come to hand.

1528.

Believes that Balançon will have told His Imperial Majesty of the straits to which they are reduced, and how long they can hold out. Since his departure for Spain their wants have increased considerably; his men have been for the last eight days "au pain et à l'eau." For a long time there has not been either meat or wine, or money to pay the troops. His hopes of obtaining some from Gaeta, out of the produce of the wheat sold in that city by his order, or from Sicily, whither Count Burrello had been sent, have completely failed, for the day before yesterday 16 Venetian galleys joined those of Doria, making in all 22, besides two more which the latter is arming of those he captured, and a few more he expects from Genoa.

Has seen, besides, a letter from Mons. de Lautrec to the King of France, urging him to send his fleet as soon as possible. Thinks that he expects it every day along with some large ships carrying as many as 6,000 French adventurers and 3,000 lansquenets. All this put together, he cannot imagine how the succour promised by the Emperor can possibly effect a landing unless it be wonderfully large.

In this extremity he (the Prince) went to the Germans of this Imperial army and told them how welcome their services had been in past times, and what a pity it would be to lose in one day the reputation gained at the cost of so much trouble and danger. Represented to them the state of penury and want to which Fortune had reduced this army, since there only remained bread and water for their nourishment, besides their bravery, which he hoped would carry them through the present crisis. At first some outcry arose among the Germans; then, after deliberating a little while, they gave the following answer: They had never been slothful in the Emperor's service. It should never be said that for want of wine Germans had surrendered such a city as Naples to the enemy. Since it was the Emperor's intention to succour them, as he (the Prince) took care to show by his letters, they were determined to wait as long as nature could hold out. He (the Prince) was to assemble all the various nations of which the Imperial army was composed, Spaniards as well as Italians, men-at-arms and light horse, and make them swear not to abandon each other in the present extremity, but hold all together for good or bad, and defend the city to the last. Requisitions for wine should be made, and, if any was found, it should be distributed among them; if not, they would go without.

Such was the determination of the Germans. The Spaniards and the rest of the army took the required oath with very good-will, promising to do their best for the defence of this city, as they have done on all previous occasions. Their promise in writing is enclosed.* Neither he (the Prince) nor the soldiers can do more. They will resist as long as provisions last; but succour must needs come from the Emperor;

* Not in the bundle.

1528.

it cannot be had from elsewhere. One month is the utmost that they can hold out, and, therefore, confidently hopes that all these brave people will not be forgotten.

Wonders why the reinforcements from Germany have not yet arrived, for it is now more than three weeks or a month since they were signalled at Pescaire (Peschiera). Hears that Leyva retains them in Lombardy. Cannot say whether the report be true or not; all he knows is that Leyva has spoken to them, and that had they chosen to advance they could have been at Rome by this time. Should they come this way the French are not certainly the sort of people to stay where they now are; if they do, they will be placed in a most dangerous position. Keeps sending them messages to advance; if they tarry [on the road] the French are sure to be reinforced, for the news is that Mons. de St. Pol is coming with a fresh army. His Imperial Majesty knows best whether this report is true or not; all he can say is that letters from Lautrech and from France also confirm the statement. In conclusion, the arrival of succour by sea is very uncertain, if the large forces the enemy has before this port be taken into consideration. If the Germans only hasten as the occasion requires they will still come in time to save us. Begs and entreats that 12 special messengers, if necessary, be sent one after the other, urging the Germans to advance; not that he thinks of surrendering to the enemy, for he can assure the Emperor that before that takes place he must have been three whole days without food. His men, he believes, are of the same mood. The worst is that the besiegers are fortifying their camp more even than ourselves, who are shut up within these walls. Nothing, however, shall be left undone that brave people can do. In all the engagements hitherto fought with the enemy we have had the advantage, having on one occasion destroyed three companies of their men-at-arms. Hopes, with the help of God, and the Emperor's aid, to be able to accomplish some noble and glorious feat of arms.

It is the opinion of many persons better acquainted with this country than he himself is, that in case of the Imperial fleet not being strong enough to force the blockade, it might go to Sicily and land there the troops on board. These might come [to Naples] by way of Puglia and Calabria, and stop the supplies that the enemy receives from those provinces. The Emperor will decide on the best course to follow, and at any rate send brigantines and other light vessels to inform him [the Prince] of his determination.

Has heard from Philipino Doria, since the loss of the galleys, and whilst treating about the ransom of several prisoners of war made on that occasion, that his uncle Andrea is very discontented with the King of France, and is actually trying to pass over to the Imperial service, the principal reason of his discontent being that the King will not consent to Savona being united with, and dependent on, Genoa as it was before. Believes that if he (Doria) is satisfied on this point, and the liberty of Genoa ensured, besides a monthly

1528.

sum for his galleys and the promise of some reward in the future, he will desert the French and embrace the Emperor's cause. With his galleys and those now being fitted out in Spain the Emperor might easily become master of the sea, which would be a great blow struck against the enemy. Vaultry* is now going to Genoa, under the plea of settling the amount of his ransom, but in reality to speak to him about this matter. If successful, he shall forthwith go to Spain to apprise the Emperor of the conditions, &c.

Five or six days ago a packet of letters from Lautrech to the King of France fell into our hands. Being entirely written in cipher they could not at first be read, but yesterday a clerk succeeded in deciphering them. The substance is that Lautrech asks for money to pay his men, to whom, he says, considerable arrears are owing, begging that in future monthly provision be made for 260,000 livres, which is the total amount of pay. He also asks for 6,000 more men, one half to be German lansquenets, and the other Frenchmen, the whole force to embark at Marseilles and come here by sea. He asks, moreover, 12,000 infantry, lansquenets and Switzers, with 400 or 500 men-at-arms, to look after and oppose the Germans lately come on the Imperial side, with sufficient money and stores of provisions to keep the whole force. From this His Imperial Majesty must conclude that the King of France is likely to spare no trouble or expense to become the master of all Italy.

There was besides in Lautrech's letter a paragraph in answer to certain instructions received from his King respecting the claims of Venice to certain towns and territories in this kingdom of Naples. It appears that King Francis had instructed him not to allow the Venetians to get hold of several towns here, which, they pretended, had belonged to them in former times. If already in possession of some of them, he (Lautrech) was not to suffer any further appropriation of territory. Lautrech's answer was that the Venetians were ill-contented on account of his having hitherto taken possession of the country in the name of France, which they (the Venetians) had opposed and protested against, saying it was contrary to the treaty of the League, which stipulated that all conquests in Naples should be equally divided between France and Venice.

Among the intercepted letters there was one from the French ambassadors at the Papal Court to Lautrech, informing him of the tempting offers they had made to the Pope if he would declare for the League. The Pope's answer was that he could not do what they demanded of him, but would be able, as it was, to do as much for the cause of their King as by openly declaring in favour of the League. The ambassadors had promised to have Ravenna and Cervia, which the Venetians still retain, restored to him. If the Signory refused, the

* The same individual called Bauri and Bauberi by the Spaniards. See the despatches of Moncada, Perez, and others. His real name was Rup sieur de Waury.

1528.

King, after settling his Italian affairs, would conjointly with the Pope declare war against them, and compel them to do it. The matter, however, was to remain a secret between them, lest the Venetians should desert the League and go over to His Imperial Majesty. Will try to have the Venetians acquainted with these intrigues of the French as soon as possible. Has already shown the letter to Cardinal Pisani, who not only thought the whole thing very strange, but wrote to his father, the proveditor at Lautrech's camp, to send him a trusty person, to whom he might communicate matters important to the Signory's welfare.

Has written many times by Juan de Urbina. Since his departure Balançon has arrived, and therefore the Emperor must know by this time what his wishes are. Begs the Emperor to grant his request, for certainly he is one of the most faithful servants he has, sparing neither his person nor his means in the Imperial service. Besides the 3,000 cr. which he lent some time ago to help us to pay the Spaniards, he procured 2,000 more for the Germans who mutinied only the other day.*—Naples, 14th June 1528.

Signed: "Philibert de Chalon."

French. Original. pp. 5.

14 June. **457.** LOPE DE SORIA to ALONSO SANCHEZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 414.

Has received letters from Naples of the 2nd inst. At that date the besieged were going on well, whilst in the French camp hundreds died every day. The Germans under Lautrech had withdrawn two miles from Naples, for fear of contagion, and fortified themselves at the "Montagnetta," not far from Pozzo Reale. It was not true that the Marquis of Saluzzo had died of the plague, as reported, but Lautrech was really suffering from it.

Luigi Gonzaga with his light horse had laid an ambush, into which Mons. Dauberrin (d' Auberrin) and his company of men-at-arms had fallen, when every one of them, including their captain, was either slain or taken prisoner.

Count Burrello had gone to Sicily, thence to cross over to Calabria, with some companies of Spanish infantry. The Prince of Bisignano was already there molesting the French, and Cardinal Colonna also was doing great execution.—La Mirandola, 14th June 1528.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

14 June. **458.** SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 409.

In one of Lautrech's letters to the King, the deciphering of which he (Perez) has had occasion to read, he urgently recommends the remittance of 400,000, which he says are wanted

* A French translation of this letter, which was originally written in French, is at Simancas Est. Leg. 848; but this abstract has been made upon the copy at Brussels, as printed in Lanz, *Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V.*, vol. i. p. 270.

1528.

for the pay of his troops, as well as all of other pensioners (*pensionarios*), and of 12,000 Switzers and 6,000 other foot, besides 500 men-at-arms, which he considers indispensable to preserve his conquests and maintain his position. Without such a reinforcement, he says, everything will be irretrievably lost.

Some of the prisoners of war who were at Genoa have come back. They say that Ascanio Colonna and the Marquis del Guasto have settled their ransom with Andrea Doria at 25,000 ducats each. The King of France offered a good deal more for them, but Andrea refused to comply with his wishes.

The Venetian and Genoese galleys in the meantime are closing the blockade as much as they can.

Secretary Seron is still a prisoner with Lautrech. What he wants of him nobody can tell.—Naples, 15th June 1528.

Signed : "Perez."

Addressed : "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1528: Naples. Perez. 12th June."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary de-ciphering on the margins. pp. 1½.

15 June. 459. COUNT of NOYA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 101.

Taranto defends itself gallantly, though with great loss to its inhabitants, and without any assistance from the Emperor's ministers, who have entirely forgotten us. Had it not been for the Prince of Bisignano and the Viceroy of Sicily, who have done their best, the city would have been obliged to open its gates to the French.—Taranto, 15th June 1528.

Indorsed : "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract.

16 June. 460. ANNIBALE DI CAPUA to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 101.

After losing everything they had in the world, he (Capua) and the heirs of the Duke of Termoles (Tremoli) have entered Taranto, resolved to stake their lives in its defence. Begs to be indemnified for his losses out of the estates confiscated to the rebels.—Taranto, 16th June 1528.

Indorsed : "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Italian. Contemporary abstract in Spanish.

17 June. 461. ALONSO SANCHEZ to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 429.

Ever since the 28th ulto. he (Sanchez) has been unable to write for want of a trusty messenger. Has been expecting letters from Leyva in answer to his (*cipher* :) that he might at once take leave of this Signory, and start for Leyva's camp, or wherever he might be of use. Was about to apply for a

1528.

safe-conduct when a letter came from Lope de Soria requesting him to receive from merchants of this city the amount of certain bills drawn by Fornariis. This being done—and he hopes it will not take more than a week—he will decidedly apply for leave, and go either to La Mirandola or to Mantua, whence he may more surely join the Imperial army.

(*Cipher* :) Letters from Lautrech's camp of the 6th and 7th inst. have been received here, stating that the enemy had lost at that date nearly 10,000 men of the plague alone. Also that Cardinal Colonna had come out of Gaeta, at the head of 4,000 foot, and recovered from the French the County of Fundi and the Duchy of Traietto, with several other districts and towns close upon the Garigliano; in short he was making successful forays up to the very edge of Lautrech's camp. Prince Bisingnano, the Duke of Castro Villare (Spinello), and one son of Cardinal Fernes (Farnese), who were in Calabria with about 8,000 men, had completely defeated the French forces in that province.

(*Common writing* :) The news from the court of France is that Hercole d'Este is already married to Madame Renée; that the King is sending another army under the command of Mons. de Saint Pol; and, lastly, that the King of England has resolved to contribute 35,000 ducats every month towards the League.

Here, at Venice, the rumour is that 4,000 of St. Pol's infantry, almost all Switzers, have already reached Ybrea, and that St. Pol himself is following with the rest of the force and 200 gentlemen (*gentiles hombres*), each of whom has four or five horsemen under him.

Of the new German army the report is that Antonio de Leyva effected his junction with it, and that it has been decided that Genoa is to be attacked, notwithstanding that the garrison has been reinforced by 1,500 men, 1,000 of whom are hackbutiers. The Germans are now in the Bergamasco, but much precious time has been lost in their joining Leyva, (*cipher* :) for at the time of their arrival in Lombardy Venice was completely unprepared for defence, and if invaded could not possibly have made a long resistance. It appears, moreover, that the Duke of Branzuic (Brunswick) is very slow and undecided in his movements, and that there is not between him and the commissaries of the army—who only look to their private interest—that conformity of opinion which alone can ensure success. Some of them advised him to go back to Germany by way of Padua and Frioli (Friul), wasting the land on his passage, whilst others wanted him (the Duke) not to allow Lope de Soria, who is gone to La Mirandola for money, to quit the camp, but keep him there as a guarantee of their being paid.

Has written to the King of Hungary informing him of all this, that he may give redress, &c.

1528.

(*Common writing* :) The Pope has gone to Viterbo, where it would seem that an Imperial ambassador, named Juan Antonio Muxetula, had also arrived, besides one from Venice. The French ambassador who was lately at the Pope's Court came here [to Venice] the day before yesterday to treat with the Signory of the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia. (*Cipher* :) Perhaps this French ambassador, who is to go back immediately with the answer, whatever it may be, comes for the purpose of taking some engagement in the Pope's name (*podria ser que viniesse con alguna prenda de su Santidad*).

(*Common writing* :) The King of Hungary has answered that he cannot possibly raise the 6,000 Germans wanted for Lombardy and against Venice, whilst the Duke of Brunswick is marching to the relief of Naples. The army under this commander has lost much precious time and reputation, all for want of money and provisions, as for the sake of supplying its wants it has tarried long in the towns and lands through which it passed.

The Bishop of Trent writes in date of the last day of May that the rumour current about a truce having been concluded with the Turk is far from being correct; on the contrary, there were symptoms of an invasion on his part. The Vayvod (Zapolsky) was striving to recommence war. There was much agitation in Germany, many of its Princes taking up arms at the instigation of France, &c.

Syndics from Monopoli and Trani have arrived to ask for the confirmation of their privileges from this Signory, whom they consider as their masters.

The plague has broken out in Puglia.

(*Cipher* :) Begs leave to renew his warnings. Until His Majesty is duly informed of his (Sanchez's) departure from the territory of the Signory the Venetian ambassador at the Imperial Court ought not to be allowed to leave Spain.

17 June. 462. The SAME to the HIGH CHANCELLOR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 443.

(*Cipher* :) Has tarried in Venice longer than he was desired, for the reasons explained in the enclosed letter to the Emperor. As soon as he has executed Soria's commission, and cashed the bills of exchange drawn upon these bankers by Thomasso de' Fornariis, written to Soria and received his answer, all of which will not take more than one week, he will ask for his leave, and start at once for Leyva's quarters.—Venice, 17th June 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "Al Illmo. Señor el Señor Gran Canceller, mi señor."

Spanish. Holograph entirely in cipher. No deciphering appended. pp. 1½.

1528.

17 June. 463. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
 Salazar, A. 42,
 f. 416.

Has not received letters [from Spain] since the 20th of February. The Emperor must have been informed of the death of Don Ugo, and loss of four galleys on the 27th April. Subsequently the Calabresa, commanded by Tiberio de Loria* went over to the enemy. Ascanio Colonna, the Marquis del Guasto, Camillo Colonna, Commander Ycart, and Felipe Cerbellon were taken to Genoa, where, it is said, they are well treated by Andrea Doria. The ransom of the prisoners has since been fixed in the following manner: 10,000 for the Marquis and 15,000 for Ascanio; Camillo 1,000, and Don Felipe 500. At first Doria refused to accept any ransom for Ycart, alleging that one of his family had been ill-treated by that commander and put to the oars in his galley, but at last he consented to his being liberated on the payment of a proportionate ransom. All are now free on parole. It is a sad thing to lose those galleys and so many brave people and knights on board of them, but if the *Vox populi* is *Vox Dei* it may be said that Don Ugo's bad luck was the cause of it all, born, as he is said to have been, under an unlucky star, and unusually unfortunate in all his enterprises. Now that he is dead people's troubles and misfortunes may be considered at an end, since whatever he undertook very seldom turned out well. As experience has shown what need there is of a powerful fleet, it is not for him (Soria) to call the Emperor's attention to it. Let the command of the galleys be given to persons of quality and honour, and the galleys themselves be the Emperor's own, not belonging to private individuals. In this manner all will fight to help each other and do their duty; whereas if they are hired, the masters and captains, from fear of death or of losing their property, will avoid danger whenever they can. Let the captains also be all vassals of His Imperial Majesty, and then their own honour and reputation will compel them to stand by each other, and offer a bold front to the enemy. If so 20 galleys of ours will be sufficient against 30 of the League.

(*Cipher* :) The plague has broken out with fury at Genoa. The inhabitants are terribly afraid of the Imperial army. It would not be difficult just now to recover that city from the French; but, all things considered, it is far better to employ the new German forces in relieving Naples and securing Lombardy, and such appears to be the plan of campaign adopted by the generals. The recovery and preservation of Genoa would entail much trouble and expense, for the French would still be the masters of the "Castelletto" and of Savona, and it would be some time before we could expel them thence. (*Common writing* :) Cannot say what the Duke of Branzuic (Brunswick) and Leyva, who are now close to Bergamo, will decide, but this seems to be upon the whole the best plan.

* Elsewhere called *Francesco de Loria* (Lauria?).

1528.

Hears that the plague has also broken out at Ferrara and at Mantua, as well as in Puglia and other parts of Italy, so that it would appear as if all the scourges of Almighty God were now visiting this unhappy country. Wonders whether the Italians are aware that all these calamities and troubles have no other source than their own sins and divisions.

The Doge of Genoa and he (Soria) have been to meet the new German army; found it on the 24th ulto. at Pesquiera (Peschiera). On the ensuing day (the 25th) it moved to Desenzano, on the banks of the lake of Garda, towards Bressa (Brescia). Had during the march ample opportunities for observing and admiring the martial air and good appointment of the troops, who may muster about 10,000 foot and 2,500 horse, 25 pieces of ordnance and plenty of ammunition, though there seem to be but few musketeers and hackbutiers (*escopeteros y arcabuzeros*) among them. The Duke who commands this force seems to be an experienced general, brave and prudent, and very open to advice. If this be only good, he will accomplish great things, (*cipher*;) but he (Soria) cannot say much about the commissaries he brings with him, as the Duke himself told him that he was by no means satisfied with them, and had observed that they studied their own convenience far more than the Emperor's interests. In short, there was not that harmony among them which should be. Fancies that it must be chiefly the fault of the commissaries, who are the same all over Italy, men who look exclusively to their own individual profits and desires, and care little or nothing for anything else. It was on that account that Andrea del Burgo was sent for, that he might advise the Duke and accompany this army on its march, look to the provisions, &c., but at Desenzano (?) Andrea and he (Soria) were ordered away from the camp, the former to Ferrara, to treat with its Duke respecting the Imperial message brought to him by Giuliano della Spezzia; he (Soria) to Lucca to receive the money which Thomasso de' Fornariis and Stefano Centurione have agreed to pay in that city. Accordingly Burgo and he, accompanied by Giuliano, started for Ferrara, whose Duke gave every facility for the receipt of the money at Lucca, so that Soria was not obliged to go thither. The Duke's own men have now brought in 20,000 ducats in specie, which he (Soria) is about to send or take himself to the army. Fornariis has promised to pay 15,000 more in Milan as rest of the first 150,000 in bills, for as to the other 150,000 he will not accept them unless he hears from his brother and partner in Spain.

(*Common writing*;) The said Andrea del Burgo left Ferrara to return to the Duke of Brunswick in consequence of a Papal Nuncio having arrived at the German camp. He (Soria) departed for Mantua. Found on his arrival that the Germans had gone towards Bressa (Brescia), and that the Duke of

1528.

Urbino was advancing from Verona at the head of a considerable force. Unless Brunswick has already reached Brescia, he is more likely to come this way to prosecute his march towards Naples. Intends waiting for him [at Reggio] and joining the army. Expects also Alonso Sanchez, who has written to say he was about to quit Venice.

(*Cipher* :) Of the negotiations carried on with the Duke of Ferrara His Imperial Majesty is sure to be duly informed through Giuliano's letters. The Duke told him (Soria) that he could not at present accept the Emperor's offers, or the command of his Italian armies, but that he would soon, notwithstanding his son's recent journey to France, do such things for the Imperial service as would show his constant and complete attachment to the Empire. The truth is that the Duke is naturally anxious to preserve his patrimonial estates and his new acquisitions, and is trying to keep on good terms with His Imperial Majesty and with the King of France at the same time. He is a Frenchman at heart, and wishes prosperity to the King, but at the same time he is afraid of the Pope, and, therefore, will strive to render service to the Emperor.

His Holiness is at Viterbo, and shows an inclination to be on friendly terms with us. He has sent orders to all the fortified towns in his estate to allow the Imperialists to pass unmolested. It would be advisable to have an Imperial ambassador at the Papal Court at the present time; all the confederated powers have theirs, and are certainly working as actively as they can to ruin the Emperor's interests.

(*Common writing* :) There is much talk of Mons. de Sampol (St. Pol) coming here with 400 lances and 6,000 Germans. Also that the fleet of Provence, having 1,500 Gascons on board, has been ordered to Genoa.

Montfort, the groom of the Chamber, is reported to be now in Germany enlisting men for the Imperial service in Spain. He (Soria) and all well-wishers to the Empire cannot help thinking that these new levies had better be employed in Italy, where the King of France is strengthening his armies very considerably.

(*Cipher* :) No news from Naples except that there is great want of wine and fresh meat, and much anxiety as to the arrival of the German reinforcements. On the other hand, intelligence has been received both here and at Ferrara that the French are preparing to raise the siege, owing to the great mortality in their camp. Hopes to God that this intelligence is true, for it will act as a counterbalance to the gross mistakes and want of agreement (*malos recaudos y desconciertos*) between the Imperial generals and ministers.

(*Common writing* :) Begs to be remembered whenever the time comes for distributing the property and estates of the Neapolitan rebels. Should very much like to have that of

1528.

Carlo Miravale of Naples, who is serving under Lautrech.—
Reggio, 17th June 1528.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 7.

17 June. 464. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 427.

It was so late in the day when the departure of the caravel was announced that he (Perez) had no time to triplicate his despatch of the 3rd, which went by Pedro Davalos, nor the duplicate by Domingo Aguirre on the 15th.

Since then news has come that the new German army is proceeding by forced marches, and must already be in the Mark [of Ancona?]. It is even said that Duke Francesco [Sforza] and the Duke of Urbino waited for them at a certain pass, but were defeated with the loss of 700 or 800 men in killed and prisoners, and that the Duke of Urbino was among the former. Sforza fled to Cremona with only a few of his band.

Luigi Gonzaga, his sister, the widow of the late Vespasiano [Colonna], and her daughter have gone from Pagliano to Rome, and thence to Civittà Castellana, where they are to wait until some decision is come to respecting Vespasiano's daughter and her estates. Whilst at Rome they were lodged at Sanct Angelo, at which the Cardinal (Pompeo), who resides still at Gaeta, is by no means pleased.

The French have made no movement yet, but when they hear of the Germans having entered the kingdom they are sure to raise their camp.

In Calabria the Duke of Soma is doing all the harm he can, though at Cosenza a French captain of the name of Romain, and a native of Rome, was killed by an arquebuse shot from the castle. Francesco de Loria (Lauria?), the captain of the galley "Calabresa" that went over to the enemy at Salerno,* is also in the country doing all he can for the French.

Count Burrello reached Messina on the 4th. He writes that his father, the Viceroy [Pignatello, Duke of Monteleone], will do his utmost to defend that island, as well as Calabria, against the enemy. He is only waiting for the appointment by the Emperor of able captains for the command of the six galleys now ready to sail and do good service anywhere. He was about despatching Albornoz to Trapani, there to embark for Spain with despatches for the Emperor.—Naples, 17th June 1528.

Since the above was written intelligence has reached us that Ascanio Colonna and the Marquis del Guasto have

* See above, p. 715, where he is called *Tiberio*.

1528.

obtained their ransom on the payment of 25,000 ducats between the two. Both are now trying to procure the money, that they may join this army as soon as possible.

Of Giuliano della Spezzia and his companion nothing is known, except that they reached the German camp in safety.

The Pope is still at Viterbo. It is not known when he will go to Rome, or indeed whether he will go there at all.

Cardinal Campeggio is going to England as Papal Legate, and is to be replaced at Rome by Cardinal Monte.—Date *ut supra*.

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Perez. Naples. 17th June."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

19 June. 465. ALFONSO VALDES to ERASMUS.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.

f. 265.

B. M. Add. 28,577,

f. 255.

De causa tua non possum quæ scribis omnia non probare; ea enim sunt quæ cuivis facile probentur, nedum michi cui, te authore, nihil esse potest non probabile. Adversarii tui, ubi primus ille furor, quo te publice, invade, caris studiis objicere moliebantur, irritus evasit; plumbeo iam gladio rem gerunt; allatrant adhuc nonnulli, sed ignobiliores, ut iam tota hæc factio contemnenda potius videatur quam irritanda

Augustini restitutioni magno tum labore, tum impensa incumbere te in præsentia intellexit Rmus. Præses ex tuis ad me litteris: statimque ducentos tibi aureos ducatos in eos sumptus decrevit; eorum singrapham hic inclusam accipies. Cupit autem quod ex ipsius literis intelliges operam tuam in heresim virum confutationem plurimam invocari—Matriti, III. Calendas Julias 1528.

20 June. 466. COUNT MADDALONE to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.

Salazar, A. 42,

f. 444.

The Imperial army at Naples is making a stout defence. From time to time a vessel from Sicily manages to escape the vigilance of the Venetian galleys now blockading the ports, and the besieged obtain supplies, though fresh meat, and especially wine, begins to get very scarce. The other day Pedro de Acuña, Don Alonso Mandrich (Manrique), and Captain Corcora (Corcuera?) landed here from Palermo with about 600 Spaniards. They say that there are 3,000 or 4,000 more in Sicily, very fine troops (*bellissima compagna*). Had these been sent, together with the 600, we might have attempted something important against the French, recovered the greater part of the land of Lavoro, and perhaps too obliged Lautrech to raise the siege of Naples. Or we might have gone to

1528.

Calabria, where that same Francesco de Loria (Lauria?), who went over to the enemy with his galley, is doing all the mischief he can. The Viceroy of Sicily, however, by the last advices, seems to have made up his mind to send thither 2,000 Spanish infantry and some cavalry, and if so the Imperial rule in that province will be soon re-established.

He (the Count) had received orders from the Prince [of Orange] and Cardinal [Pompeo Colonna] to place himself at the head of the 600 Spaniards above mentioned, and take from the enemy a fortress on the Garigliano pass, besides Tore ad mare (Ortonamare), which the French are said to be fortifying in great haste. After reducing those two places he was to go to Rocca Guillelma, which had also surrendered to the French. Having left Gaeta in execution of his orders, found that the Prince of Melphi (Caracciolo) had been despatched by Lautrech with about 150 men-at-arms, 200 light horse, and 2,000 foot, to throw a bridge over the river between San Germano and Le Fratte (?), close to which our camp was situated. With our small force we went up to them on the banks of the river, and carried away their boats under their eyes, to their great shame, leaving many of their cavalry and infantry dead on the field. Meanwhile the Cardinal and Knight Commander [La] Rosa, who were in another district, had to retreat, in consequence of Fundi and Ytri (Atri), both of which they had left behind, and whither the enemy had sent 400 foot, having again revolted and opened their gates to Don Federico Jaetano (Gaetano), and also because they heard that the galleys were about to attack the Castellona, one of the most important defences of this city [Gaeta]. For this reason he (Maddalone) has been recalled and ordered to quarter his men close to the Castellonae, at two places called Miranda and Castello Honorato.

Observing our retreat, the Prince of Melphi (Caracciolo), Don Federico Gaetano, and Federico de Monforte, with their respective bands, pushed on as far as Le Fracte and Traiecto (Traietto). Up to the present hour not one of the enemy's galleys has shown herself; should they come we are quite prepared for the defence.

As the enemy's fleet in these seas consists of about 22 galleys well armed, it would perhaps be dangerous to send us infantry from Spain, unless the Imperial fleet was numerous and strong enough to overpower that of the enemy. As that cannot be the case for the present, it would be advisable to send the intended reinforcements by sea, by way of Calabria and Sicily, in five or six vessels at a time. Humbly requests the Emperor, in acknowledgement of his services, to grant him the fief of Arientzo, which Signor Petri (*sic*) Standardo has forfeited, owing to his having become "Commissario della grassa" to Lautrech and his minion, or else that of Carra, which is contiguous to Mathalun, and belongs to the Marquis

1528.

of Layno (Laino). He is ready to pay for this latter 12,000 ducats, which is his wife's portion.—Gaeta, 20th June 1528.

Signed: "Lo Comte de Mathalune."

Addressed: "Sacrae, Cesareae, et Cath. Mti."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From Count Matalon. 20th June."

Italian. Original. pp. 2.

20 June. **467.** KNIGHT COMMANDER ALONSO DE LA ROSA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 448.

Has been governor of Gaeta ever since the time of Lannoy, who gave him the appointment. When Don Ugo succeeded, he (La Rosa) applied for men and provisions to defend this city. Could not get any, that Viceroy having answered that he had none to dispose of, but that, if ever he (the Commander) was attacked, he would certainly come to his assistance. Perceiving that his wants could not be supplied from that quarter, looked elsewhere for the required succour. Has since obtained it, and is now sufficiently provided with means to defend Gaeta during eight months, reckoning from the present time. The Emperor need not feel any anxiety about it.

Begs for one of the estates confiscated from the rebels with the title of Count or Marquis, that he may end his military career with honour, and in the Imperial service.—Gaeta, 20th June 1528.

Signed: "El Comendador Alonso de la Rosa."

Addressed: "Sacratissima, Cesarea, Catholica Majestad."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From Knight Commander La Rosa. 20th June. Answered."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

22 June. **468.** ALONSO SANCHEZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 452.

Since his last, in date of the 17th, the Signory has signified its intention to keep both Ravenna and Cervia. Not only have they declared this to the French ambassador, but they have reinforced the garrison of the former place with 500 men from Treviso.

It is impossible to say whether the Signory is in earnest, or whether it is a feint devised and agreed upon between the French and Venetians. He (Sanchez) may possibly be mistaken, but he fancies that, were anyone to offer them the undisturbed possession of those cities, he would have the Venetians on his side. But, on the other hand, his (Sanchez's) opinion is that they ought not to be allowed so to increase their territory.

Letters from Viterbo of the 7th inst. announce that the Pope has declared to the Venetian ambassador at his court that unless Ravenna and Cervia are immediately restored to him, without excuse of any sort or waiting for the answer

1528.

from France, he (the Pope) will ally himself with the Emperor, who has already offered to restore to him Ostia and Civittà Vecchia, as well as the cardinals kept at Naples as hostages, put him in possession of Ravenna, Cervia, Modena, and Reggio, make him master of Florence, and marry his two nephews to two ladies of the Colonna family, one of them the daughter of the late Vespasiano, and heiress of all Prospero's estates. He had, moreover, received Juan Antonio Muxetula most affectionately. The French ambassador who came on that delicate mission is still here; he is to return soon to the Pope with the answer.

(*Common writing* :) Letters have been received here from Lautrech's camp of the 13th and 15th inst. It is stated in the former that there was scarcity of wine in Naples, and that the Germans in consequence were much exasperated, and threatening to go home, though they had lately discovered some butts of it at Castilnovo, and were drinking the contents; that a proveditor of this Signory, named Luys (Alvise) Pisani, was very unwell, and Lautrech also. A conspiracy had been detected at Naples for delivering one of the city gates to Lautrech; but the traitors, a nephew of Bourbon and three more Frenchmen, had been made to pass through the pikes (*pasados por las picas*).*

(*Cipher* :) Of the new German army, and of Leyva, there is no certain news, some saying that they are close upon Lodi, whilst others maintain that Brunswick had crossed the Adda, leaving with Leyva some of his infantry, and taking Italians in their stead. His intention was to pass the Pò in the direction of Naples. The truth is that Brunswick, from want of money, is not advancing as fast as could be desired, and as the situation at Naples requires. He is collecting provisions all over the country to store at Pavia and Milan, and other towns of Lombardy, where Leyva intends to remain, and when that is done, towards the end of this month, will start for Naples.

(*Cipher* :) Soria's answer has not yet come to hand, owing, no doubt, to his being no longer at La Mirandola, and to his having gone to the German camp. Expects it in a day or two, when he will take final leave of the Signory, &c.—Venice, 22nd June 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty, in the hands of Secretary Soria."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. Sanchez. Venice. 22nd June."

Spanish. *Original partly in cipher*. *No deciphering appended*. pp. 3.

* A military punishment, very common in the Spanish army about this time, in cases of treason, desertion, &c. The culprit was made to pass through two ranks of men armed with pikes, every one of whom had a thrust at him, until he fell quite dead.

1528.

24 June. 469. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 457.

Has just applied for and obtained the Signory's leave to quit Venice. It has been graciously granted with the promise of a safe-conduct through their territory. Intends taking his departure next week. Will write again.

The Signory has had letters from France, of what date he has been unable to ascertain, announcing that Mons. de St. Pol had arrived at Lyons on the 15th inst., and was hastening the march of his army. Fancies that they cannot be in Italy before the end of July.

Encloses letters from the King of Hungary and from Leyva.*

An English ambassador,† who resided at the Pope's Court, has come to Venice to press the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia, but has not yet been able to obtain a satisfactory answer.

Hears that Leyva and the new German army are besieging Lodi.—Venice, 24th June 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

28 June. 470. HIERONYMO MORON to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 101.

If this city and kingdom are to be preserved for the Emperor the Germans must make haste. If more succour is to come from Spain, let it land first in Sicily, and be composed only of Spaniards.

The Venetian galleys give great annoyance and stop the supplies. A powerful fleet is required to drive them away. Besides, Lautrech is doing all he can to starve us.

Indorsed: "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract.

29 June. 471. ANTONIO DE LEYVA to SANCHEZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 43.

This new German army comes in a spirit that I am really afraid will render it of little good. I can assure you that, had I not joined it with part of my own forces, it would already have gone back to Germany, for the Duke [Henry of Brunswick] says that none of the promises made to the men have been fulfilled. Had I not come in time, upwards of 400 of them, mostly Frenchmen, would have left. I have brought them as far as this place, and will do my utmost to take them to Naples. Will give them 2,000 of my Italian hackbutiers, for there are not enough among them, and will remain behind, suffering martyrdom, as in times of old. Cannot imagine that they can be as hard-up at Naples as they represent, but

* That of the King, in date of the 4th, is at p. 702 under No. 447, but Leyva's is not in the volume, unless it be one under the date of the 29th, which will be abstracted hereafter.

† Sir Gregory Casalis or da Casale?

1528.

since they say they are in danger, I will do my best to send the Germans that way. The Duke is a very good soldier (*muy buen caballero*), and well disposed to serve the Emperor. We are expecting Soria, who has gone [to La Mirandola] for money to pay the troops. As soon as he returns, the army will receive orders to march.

Respecting your further destination, about which you seem to ask my advice, I really do not know what to say. Me-thinks, however, that you are doing good service there, where you are, and should wait until the Venetian ambassador has left Spain; then you may go in whichever direction you please, or come here to me. The enterprise against Bergamo was put off. I dared not take the Germans so close to the mountains as to tempt them to go home. I can assure you that the soldiers of this new army are not easily managed (*estan de mala digestion*). The arrival of French reinforcements is considered certain, but I cannot persuade myself that they bring with them so many Germans as they say, &c.—Torreta contra Lodi, 29th June 1528.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

30 June. 472. The DUCHESS OF FRANCAVILLA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 468.

Writes in favour and commendation of Madame Francesca Porcara, widow of Miçer Laudisio de Laudisiis, who followed with fidelity and zeal the Aragonese party in the kingdom of Naples. Since the present French invasion, and the death of the said Laudisio, his widow Francesca and their son Aurelio have taken refuge in this fortress. Begg that the pension of 100 ducats granted to the husband for his services to King Federico be continued to his widow and son.—Del su Castylo de Yscla (Ischia), ultimo Junii 1528.

Signed: "Fidel sua vasalla che sue mani et pedi basa 'La Duchessa de Francavila.'"

Addressed: "Sacrae, Cesareae, Catholicæ Mti."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From the Duchess of Francavilla. 30th June 1528. In favour of Francesca Porcara."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

30 June. 473. The MARCHIONESS OF PESCARA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
470.

In favour of widow Porcara and her son Aurelio.—Del su Castylo de Yscla Ischia, ultimo Junii 1528.

Signed: "Humil syerva y vasalla la Marquesa de Pescara."

Addressed: "Sacrae, Cesareae, Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From the Marchioness of Pescara. In favour of widow Porcara."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

1528.

30 June. 474. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 101.

Let His Imperial Majesty think only of his greatness and immense power, and be sure that with it he shall be able to conquer all his enemies and defeat their wicked plans. His true friends and servants will never fail in their duty, or cease to devote themselves to the cause of the Empire, as she, her brothers and relatives, have always done and will do in the future.—30th June 1528.

Indorsed: "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. p. 1.

1 July. 475. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 1.

Wrote on the 15th ulto. by Domingo de Aguirre, the courier, and again on the 17th by the master of a Spanish caravel. The present goes through a gentleman who is to sail this evening [for Barcelona]. Did not hear of his going until this morning, and therefore must be brief.

The news of the Germans is that on the 17th of June they were at Bologna, and therefore will be shortly upon the frontiers of Naples. It is said that the Pope had sent commissaries to have provisions served to them on their passage through the lands of the Church, which circumstance, as well as his firmness in observing neutrality, is not much to the taste of the confederates.

Cardinal Campeggio has left Rome for England. He goes there as Legate [to judge and report] on the case of the King's divorce from Her most Serene Highness the Queen [Katharine]. The report here is that the whole of the kingdom [of England] has risen in consequence, and that the Cardinal has been arrested.

Cardinal Frenesis (Farnese) goes as Legate to Rome, but the Pope himself will not go thither until Civittà Vecchia and Ostia are restored to him.

Suspicious having been aroused about Fabricio Marramao's fidelity, he has been arrested by order of the Prince of Orange, who has written home about it. Fabricio is now detained at Castilnovo until an investigation take place, and the truth be brought to light. Begs that justice be done unto him.

Captain Arrati is still under arrest. What his guilt is no one yet knows,

The Prince has no doubt informed His Imperial Majesty of his negotiations with Count Filippino [Doria]. It is asserted that both he and his uncle, Andrea, have made their peace with His Imperial Majesty, and that the former is now going to meet his uncle with his galleys to concert the means of effectually serving the Emperor.

The Germans are at present engaged in looking out for wine and food in private houses and monasteries. No one offers any resistance, but opens at once his door to them.

1528.

They do, however, take other things besides wine and food which is a great sin.

Juan Antonio Muxetula writes to say that the Pope granted all his requests at once, and promised to fulfil all his engagements towards the Imperial army. He had then gone to Rome, to return by that route to Naples, but up to this hour has not made his appearance.

The plague is raging both here and at Castilnuovo.

The French camp is still where it was. They no longer skirmish with our troops as they used to do, but keep within their own lines.—Naples, 1st July 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacrae, Cesareæ Majestati."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

1 July. 476. The COLLATERAL COUNCIL OF NAPLES to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 99 vº.

Are in great want and danger owing to the expected succours not coming. Letters have been received from Lombardy, attributing the delay to Leyva, who, they say, wishes to recover certain towns in the Duchy of Milan; if so, Lombardy will not be saved, whilst Naples will be irretrievably lost.

Beg for a powerful fleet of galleys which may at once relieve the place and bring in provisions. If Andrea Doria could be persuaded in the meantime to join his forces to those of the Emperor they would no longer doubt of success.

A viceroy ought to be appointed to replace Don Ugo.—[Naples], 1st July 1528.

Indorsed: "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. p. 1.

1 July. 477. LUYS DE YCAET to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 100 vº.

In favour and credence of Captain Rodrigo Davalos, who is about to sail for Barcelona, and who will be able to explain the situation of affairs.—[Naples], 1st July 1528.

Indorsed: "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. p. 1.

2 July. 478. ALARCON to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 99.

In credence of Captain Rodrigo Davalos, who sails for Barcelona. He will inform His Imperial Majesty of the state of things at Naples. There is more to be feared from friends than from the enemy himself. No money to pay the army, and the consequence is that the men become every day more unruly and unmanageable.

Recommends Don Antonio Dixar (de Hixar).—Naples, 2nd July 1528.

Headed: "Relac. de diversas cartas, &c."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

1528.

3 July. 479.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Cart. d'Eras., &c.,
f. 23.

ALFONSO DE FONSECA, Archbishop of Toledo, to ERASMUS
OF ROTTERDAM.

The storm which was last year raised against him is subsiding. His adversaries have to learn that they must proceed by force of reason and argument, not by oppression and tyranny. Has read his defence. Praises his mother. His fame will be immortal. Advises him to write in order to confute errors, especially in Germany, where heresy prevails. He alone is capable of doing so. Erasmus is not a flatterer, nor a mere disputant, but one who argues for the cause of religion alone.

Encloses a bill of exchange.—Madrid, 3rd July 1528.

Latin. Original minute.

3 July. 480.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 5.

KNIGHT COMMANDER LA ROSA, Governor of Gaeta, to
the EMPEROR.

Since his letter of the 20th, nothing new has occurred at Gaeta.

Naples is every day more closely invested by the enemy. Fears that unless the auxiliary forces from Germany come in time all will be lost, as the garrison begins to feel the want of wine. If the last news received be true, the Germans had not yet crossed the Pò, having been detained on its banks by the state of things in Lombardy.

Here, at Gaeta, things are very different. Is confident that, even in the event of the whole kingdom falling into the hands of the French, it would be soon recovered from this place, whose garrison is in excellent spirits. Though wine is perhaps as scanty here as at Naples, the men bear the privation cheerfully, and there is provision of food for six or eight months. The army at Naples is making a very stout defence; the least succour would enable them to take the offensive, and then victory would be certain. The French have lost thousands of men in skirmishes and by the plague; there are nowdays upwards of 6,000 sick in their camp; and the camp itself would have been broken up had it not been for the many traitors and Angevines (*angevinos*) who have joined it. But henceforward we hope that matters will improve, for the agreement made with Andrea Doria is no longer a secret. Already some of his galleys have entered this port for the purpose of taking certain oars which Il Gobbo has lent them. On board one of them come the daughters of Antonio de Leyva.* The rest are said to be at Yscla (Yschia). Begs again that his long services be taken into account, and that whenever the estates of the rebel barons come to be confiscated he may get a portion of

* Antonio de Leyva had two daughters: one, Doña Constanza, who married Don Francisco Fernandez de la Cueva, fourth Duke of Alburquerque; the other, Doña Juana, who married Marco Antonio Doria Carreto (Carreto de Oria?), Prince of Melfi. See "Haro Nobiliario Genealogico," tom. ii. lib. x. p. 401.

1528.

them with a title of marquis or count.*—Gaeta, 3rd July 1528.

Signed: "Commander La Rosa."

Addressed: "Crea. y Mt."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From Knight Commander La Rosa. 3rd July 1528."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

3 July. 481. The DUCHESS OF FRANCAVILLA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 7.

In favour of Laura Monforte, "baronessa de lo Laurito," and of her husband, "lo Capitan Luise de san Laurentio," who has faithfully served the Emperor in the Italian wars. The French having lately taken possession of the "Casale di Laurito," belonging to her, she is under necessity of claiming the Emperor's help and assistance.—Del suo Castello de Isca (Ischia), 3rd July 1528.

Signed: "La Duchessa de Francavilla."

Addressed: "Ces. Mta."

Indorsed: "Lettres baillees par le Capitaine Davalos† sur negoces particulliers de Naples."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

4 July. 482. CARDINAL COLONNA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 100 vº.

In commendation and favour of several Italians and Spaniards who have served under him, and especially of Captain Vergara, married to a daughter of Cabra (*sic*).—Gaeta, 4th July 1528.

Indorsed: "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Italian. Contemporary abstract. p. 1.

5 July. 483. The EMPEROR to DON IÑIGO DE MENDOZA.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Rep. C. 234.

We have received by sea your letters of November, December, January, and February (the 12th, 19th, and 21st), that of the 24th March, and two more of April, whereby you inform us of various conferences held with the King of England and with the most Reverend Cardinal [of York] on the subject of peace; how both have told you that they desire it, and that the English ambassadors at this our court had misunderstood

* In another letter, dated the 24th, La Rosa asks for the baronies of Litera and Gravano, formerly held by Carlo Mirabale, who was with the French. Their aggregate income, he says, might be about 1,200 ducats.

† This is followed in the volume by a letter from Laura Monforte, addressed to Captain Pietro Davalos, about to proceed to Spain, begging him to recommend her husband's suit for a place in the Collateral Council of Naples.

1528.

what their real mission was when they joined* in the challenge [of the King of France]. The answer you made on the occasion was in accordance with our wishes and intentions, because, though the English ambassadors might have exceeded their mandate in this important matter, We could not but resent the extraordinarily harsh language used on the occasion. We were well aware that it was the French ambassadors who induced those of England to join in the challenge, pretending that their King wished them to speak out first, and do whatever the French bade them do.† And so they did, and in a more hasty manner (*apresurada*) than befitted the King [of England], their master. This notwithstanding, as there is no reason for our forgetting our mutual affection and friendship of so long standing, We shall be most happy, as hitherto, to establish that good understanding between the two countries which is desirable for the public weal.

You inform us that the King and Cardinal have lately sent a gentleman of that Court to us [in Spain], accompanied by a servant of the Lady Margaret [of Flanders], our most beloved aunt, who is to be the bearer of new overtures concerning the present peace, the Cardinal himself having assured you that the said English messenger would bring us such propositions thereupon as We could not but accept. Neither the aforesaid English gentleman nor Madame's servant has yet made his appearance at this our Court, and We are at a loss how to account for the delay, unless the French themselves have arrested them on their way, in order to create enmity between us and the King of England, and impede the negotiations for peace, as they are known to have done on other occasions.

You will tell the King [of England] and the Cardinal that, since their messenger has not yet arrived, We know not what answer to make to their wishes for peace, as expressed to you, but, when he comes, he shall find us prepared to accept any honourable and just terms that may be offered, simply on their account and for the public weal of Christendom at large. And since you tell us that it is the wish of the King and Cardinal that no more demonstration (*muestra*) of war should be made in these our kingdoms than is actually made in England, that hostilities between us should cease, and the intercourse of trade continue as before, you will tell them that We also wish it so to be, because We never thought or think of making war against the King, whilst waiting for the terms that this their messenger is to bring, unless indeed We were in the meantime compelled to take up arms in our own defence. Such are our instructions to Mons. du Rœulx, who left lately for Flanders with 2,000 Spaniards, and experience will show our affection for England, for her great barons and

* "Y el desseo que ambos muestran tener á ella, y commo os han dicho que sus ambaxadores (*sic*) no avian entendido su commission haviendo fecho el desafio."

† "Que el Rey de Inglaterra queria que ellos hablassen, y en todo hiciessen lo que los dichos [embaxadores] ingleses les mandassen."



1528.

prelates, as well as for the knights, nobles, merchants, and people of that kingdom, and our desire to keep the old friendship between the King and our predecessors. It would be quite unfair, just for the sake of pleasing our traditional enemies, that We should both make war upon and destroy each other without quarrel or reason whatsoever, for although We do owe money to the King, as We have all along acknowledged and still acknowledge, it would be unworthy for so trifling a cause as a debt to inflict on our own subjects such dire calamities as war generally brings in its train. Besides which, we have always offered the King the payment of our debts in a manner with which he may well rest contented, and thus not only continue in our friendly intercourse, but increase the same for the common welfare of our respective kingdoms.

Respecting the Cardinal's complaint that in our answer to the challenge certain angry words were introduced concerning him and the King, his master, you will offer as an excuse that We could not but stand up in this case for the defence of the Queen's honour, she (Katharine) being our most beloved aunt, and our mother's own sister, and endeavour at the same time to secure the King's being so well advised on her score as to ensure the satisfactory arrangement of the present [matrimonial] dissension. Her cause is ours, and We shall hold it as such.

With regard to other [angry] words spoken on the occasion, We could not but use, for the assertion of our innocence, words of equal force with those of the various charges contained in the said challenge.

You well know that in past times We were sincerely attached to the Cardinal, and anxious for his prosperity; matters have changed since. His credit with the King being such [that nothing is done without his advice], We had sufficient reason to presume that this challenge of his master was made at his instigation. Such being our impression at the moment, We could not forbear from alluding to him in our answers. Yet if he will persevere in his work as a faithful servant of the King, his master, and as a good Englishman, and not be the friend of the traditional enemies of his King and country, but act towards them [and us] as he used formerly, so that the peace of Christendom may be ensured by his exertions, that will be the safest road for making us forget the past. And since they (the King and Cardinal) have shown you, as you say, much good-will, We have already given our orders to suspend forthwith any kind of hostile demonstration against England. We shall, moreover, raise the embargo on the persons, ships, and goods of English subjects trading with Spain, hoping that similar measures will be taken in England respecting our own subjects. You will inform the King of this our resolution, and if, for the better settlement of this matter on each side, the King of England should find your presence there necessary, you shall remain until further orders.

1528.

As soon, however, as We hear of your release, orders shall be issued for the English ambassadors [in Spain] to come to this our Court freely, and at their leisure wait there for their King's mandate.—Valencia, 10th May 1528.

P.S.—Your letters of the 18th and 27th of April have come to hand, as well as the duplicates brought by Madame Margaret's messenger. As Silvester Daryo, the collector, is waiting for us at Madrid with the English ambassadors who are to communicate the mandate of their King, We will not say more at present, as you are by no means to leave [London] until our departure for that town, which will take place at the end of this month of July. Then, after listening to what the English ambassadors have to say, We shall send you our instructions.—Monzon, 5th July 1528.

Addressed: "To Don Iñigo de Mendoza, of our Council, bishop elect of Burgos, and our ambassador at the Court of England."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 5.

5 July. 484. COUNT MADDALONE to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 48,
f. 9.

Hears that the Emperor is preparing at Barcelona a fleet to come over to Italy. May it be so, for although Count Filippino Doria, in consequence of Lautrech having paid up his galleys and dismissed him from the service, is, as well as his uncle Andrea, disposed to take engagements with His Imperial Majesty, it must yet be owned that our affairs are not so prosperous as they ought to be. The Germans, at the request of Leyva, have tarried in their march. What reasons that captain may have had to keep them in Lombardy nobody here knows, but certain it is that the whole of this kingdom is endangered by the delay. Cardinal Colonna has had letters announcing that the German commander (Duke of Brunswick), after leaving 2,000 of his men with Leyva, had at last taken the route to Naples, but whereabouts he was, or at what point he intended crossing the Pò, the correspondence does not state. Ascanio Colonna and the Marquis del Uasto (Guasto) were in the Bergamasco. Leyva wished them to undertake Lode (Lodi), which is very strong.

Filippino Doria with 12 galleys, two of which were unarmed, arrived in sight of this port, and anchored close to the six of Venice that have for some time been blockading us. The Prince of Melphi (Caracciolo), Federigo Gaetano, and Federigo di Monforte, with some cavalry and part of the Venetian crews, occupied the pass of the Garigliano, and possessed themselves of Torre ad Mare (Torrelamar) through the neglect and cowardice (*per tristitia et ribaldaria*) of certain Spaniards who were inside, most of whom took part with the French. As he (Maddalone) was marching to their assistance with about 1,000 infantry, he met on this side of the Garigliano pass six or eight of them, who said

1528.

they had been betrayed by their comrades, who being in league with the French had surrendered the place on their approach. His men are now quartered four miles from Gaeta, at Maranola (Miranda?) Castello Honorato, and Castellone, whilst the Prince [of Amalfi] and the others occupy Traiecto (Traietto), Spigno, Le Fratte, and other places in the neighbourhood. The Prince himself has gone to Sessa to recruit more men.—Gaeta, die quinto Julii 1528.

Signed: "Mathalun."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. From Count Madalone."

Italian. Original. pp. 2½.

6 July. 485. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 11.

Since his last of the 17th of June the news is that the Germans did not stop to take possession of Bergamo, because both the Duke of Branzvich (Brunswick) and Antonio de Leyva thought that the place being so close to the mountains, and so many Germans having shown an intention of returning home, it was dangerous to halt on the road. Even in spite of this precaution some of the soldiers deserted and went home.

The siege of Lodi was then determined upon and undertaken, in order that Milan, Pavia, and other districts of Lombardy should have time to get in the harvest, &c. They are still investing that place, which, they say, cannot resist much longer. May it be so, for certainly they have lost much precious time on the road instead of marching straight on Naples, which was the principal object. Knows that the captains, when interrogated about this unnecessary delay, will accuse him (Soria), and say it was entirely his fault for not sending money for the pay of the Germans, who were mutinous and would not advance without. (*Cipher*:) His answer is that he cannot furnish money if Thomas de' Fornariis does not first give it him. That banker has accepted the bills, but as the money is in the hands of his correspondents at Venice, Florence, Genoa, and Lucca, which are all hostile cities—with the exception of the last, which, though neutral, is not much attached to the Emperor—it naturally follows that he cannot procure funds, as it has been forbidden under pain of death to pay money to the Emperor's generals and agents in Italy. This is a sort of thing which neither the Duke, nor Leyva, nor the soldiers will stop to consider, often asking for money as pressingly as if he (Soria) had his chests full, and using in case of refusal such language that he would rather die on the spot than hear it. It is not in his power or that of Thomas to act otherwise.

(*Common writing*:) All he has been able to procure amounts to 25,000 ducats. Of these he has already sent 20,000 to the Duke for the pay of his Germans, and will send

1528.

him the remainder in a day or two, and indeed any other sums that come into his possession, for the said Tomasso is now with him, and is doing all he can to procure funds. It must, however, be observed that all what the aforesaid banker is prepared to furnish, under the present circumstances and difficulties, is 36,000, having, as he says, paid the remainder in Naples, and not having yet made up his mind to accept the other 150,000 until he hears from his brother Domenico, at Court. Unless this last sum is paid by Tomasso it is quite certain that the Germans will refuse to advance, and will either return home (*se moveran en ala*), as they have already attempted to do, or will break into mutiny. At this very moment the Duke of Branzuick (Brunswick) is absent from the camp, owing to his soldiers having threatened to kill him if he did not pay them immediately. They are indeed bad men and bad Christians, capable of anything. In short the Emperor's affairs in Italy are in a sorry plight unless these Germans are paid their arrears. But how to get money upon bills? Cash must come from Spain, or else everything may be lost.

(*Common writing* :) The Duke and Leyva have granted commissions to various gentlemen for raising 3,000 Italian hackbutiers and 600 light horse. These forces, united to the Germans and to some Spanish infantry, are destined for the relief of Naples. Of course he (Soria) is expected to pay all the expenses of the enlistment, which has already commenced. The Italian Princes, on the other hand, are also preparing for war, most likely to help the confederates, not us. (*Cipher* :) To-day the governor of this place has sent him a polite message in the Duke of Ferrara's name, bidding him quit his territory as soon as possible, as the League has complained of his giving shelter to one of the Emperor's officials. Has determined in consequence to start to-morrow for Reggio, (*common writing* :) especially as this city (Ferrara?) and its immediate neighbourhood, and indeed almost all Italy, is visited now by a most fatal plague, which has already carried off thousands. Famine will be inevitable next year; for although the harvest is just in, corn can only be had for its weight in gold. How the Imperial armies are to be supplied is more than he can tell.

The Pope still remains neutral, and is trying to recover Ravenna and Cervia from the Venetians, but although both France and England have sent their ambassadors to support and enforce His Holiness' just demands, Venice obstinately refuses to yield.

Alonso Sanchez writes from Venice on the 27th of June, that he has at last got leave from the Signory, and intends quitting Venice on the 2nd inst. (*Cipher* :) He also advises that the King of Hungary will not be able to send more men, owing to want of money, and the military preparations he has been obliged to make in view of the Vayvod's threatened invasion, assisted by the Turks.

1528.

(*Common writing* :) A few days since 14 French galleys from Provence under a new admiral, and with 800 Gascons on board, entered the port of Savona. Andrea Doria, who was then at Genoa, having heard that they came to take away from him the prisoners of the last sea battle in the Gulf of Salerno, and that a new admiral had been appointed to the command of the fleet, and also that the King refuses giving Savona back to Genoa, weighed anchor and went away with his prisoners to San Remo (?), a strong place belonging to the Order of San Giorgio, on the coast, where he holds to his determination not to serve the King of France any longer, but offer his services either to the Pope or to His Imperial Majesty. It is to be presumed, however, that the King will do anything to conciliate him and retain him in his service. (*Cipher* :) On the other hand, it is very probable that Guasto, Colonna, and the rest of Doria's prisoners have made some arrangement with him, and perhaps also promised in the Emperor's name the government of Genoa and other advantages.

(*Common writing* :) The French galleys, after landing the Gascons at Savona, went to Leorna (Leghorn) to take up Renzo da Ceri and the forces under him, and convey them either to Naples or Sicily. Sixteen Venetian galleys had arrived in sight of Naples, but their admiral had since died of disease. Luis Pisani, the Venetian proveditor, had also died in Lautrech's camp. The last advices of the 21st of June are that Naples was still closely invested, and that the besieged had sent Micer Joan Antonio Muxetula to the Pope to offer Ostia, Civittà Vecchia, and the cardinals whom he had given as hostages, and negotiate other matters relating to the Imperial service.

Muxetula writes to say that he was well received by the Pope.

A messenger who left Naples on the 15th has just arrived. He says that the garrison is in want of wine, fresh meat, and other things. (*Cipher* :) The Prince of Orange writes that unless the auxiliary forces make haste, Naples will altogether be lost to the Emperor, the Germans refusing to serve and do duty because they have no wine. He, however, adds : "Nothing shall be left undone to persuade them to fight, and I trust that before I surrender to the enemy my Germans will eat one another." Has written to the Duke [of Brunswick] and to Leyva to inform them of the Prince's almost desperate situation.

(*Common writing* :) Has heard lately from Leyva. He and the Duke were still before Lodi, which they expected to storm within three days. Immediately after the taking of the city the Duke, with his Germans, was to march to the relief of Naples.

Of St. Pol the news is that on the 15th [of June] he was at Lyons. Some of his Germans, about 2,000, had already arrived [in Italy], and more were expected soon to cross the

1528.

mountains, so that when our Germans are gone towards Naples there will be plenty of work to do in Lombardy.

(*Cipher* :) Has a most serious complaint to bring against Nicolao and Stefano di Grimaldo for their refusing to pay the 4,000 cr. which remained in their hands out of the last exchange. Last year, when he [Soria] was at La Mirandula he agreed with Stefano that he should go to Genoa and bring back cash, or else procure bills payable in Germany to the order of George Fransperch (Fruntsperg), to whom the money was owing and had long been promised. He now writes that it is quite impossible for him in the state in which Genoa is to procure any funds, which places him (Soria) in the most awkward position, as the said Fruntsperg will no doubt think that it is his fault if he is not paid. Such tricks as these ought to be severely punished, and an example made of these and other bankers who refuse to fulfil their money engagements.

(*Cipher* :) Neither is Miçer Ansaldo [Grimaldo] very punctual in his engagements. True it is that he does not peremptorily refuse to pay, but he delays it as much as he can, which plainly shows that both he and his partners in business are but little, if at all, attached to the Emperor's service. It is not to be supposed that they are unable, as they pretend, to pay that or a much larger sum, and therefore their refusing to surrender under the present circumstances a sum of money which they have had in their possession during a whole year without paying interest is an evident sign of disaffection.—Reggio, 16th July 1528.

Signed : "Lope de Soria."

Addressed : "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 8.

6 July. 486. The SAME to the HIGH CHANCELLOR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 425.

Will be brief, as he is on his way to the German camp, and has written to His Imperial Majesty by this post. Can assure him (the Chancellor) that nothing is so difficult just now as to procure money. The bills of exchange are generally drawn on places either in the hands of the enemy, or so difficult of access that there is no means of safely conveying the cash to its destination. Meanwhile the Germans and some of their principal officers do nothing but crave incessantly for their pay. Is, however, doing all he can to satisfy their claims and keep them in good humour, but if they fancy that he (Soria) can work miracles and give them money, when there is none, they are very much mistaken; he will rather leave and go somewhere else. Only the other day, as he went to the camp on a visit to the Duke, some of the German captains showed an intention to have

1528.

him detained until they should be paid for this month. If this is their conduct when they have scarcely been in Italy four weeks, your most illustrious Signory can very easily imagine what it will be when there are three or four months owing to them.

If the wants of this new army are to be regularly provided for, the Commissary General of the army must have also the administration of the funds in the treasury of Milan or Naples.—Reggio, 17th June 1528.

P.S.—Since writing the above, hears that Commander [Luis] Ycart is on the point of leaving Genoa for Spain. He will most likely be the bearer of this present, closed on the 6th of July.

Signed : "Lope de Soria."

Addressed : "To the most Illustrious Sir Don Mercurino de Gattinara, &c., High Chancellor of His Imperial Majesty at Court."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1528. Soria. 6th July."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

8 July. 487. MARTIN DE SALINAS to FERDINAND, King of Hungary.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 196.

His Highness' letter dated Vienna, the 17th of March, came duly to hand on the 7th of June. Wonders how it is that no despatches from him (Salinas) have been received at Court since the 22nd of November, for certainly he has written several times since. But sea voyages are uncertain, and at the present moment merchants seldom send their ships to sea, except when an occasional convoy can be had. Very few expeditions have left for Flanders, and Mons. de Orrus (Rœulx), who was to have sailed with 2,000 men, has been nearly six months on the coast of Andalucia. Does not know what may have been the cause of the delay, but the fact is that he did not reach Lisbon until the 20th of June. A servant of his came on the 2nd inst. to acquaint the Emperor with his arrival at that port and to ask for money. Until supplied with it, Mons. de Rœulx is not likely to sail for Flanders, which accounts for His Highness not having received either his (Salinas') despatches or the bills of exchange, amounting to 50,000 ducats, for the pay of the Germans who are to go to Italy.

The Emperor has heard of the taking of Pavia by Antonio de Leyva, and of his intention to march on Alessandria. He showed contentment when he (Salinas) announced to him that the Germans would be in Italy on the first day of Easter, provided money was forthcoming. His reply was that a sum of 50,000 ducats had been remitted from Villar de Cañas, which was considered sufficient for all purposes. He was confident that by this time Mons. de Rœulx had reached the coast of Flanders, and forwarded the bills of exchange to His Highness. No trouble should be spared in making fresh

1528.

levies to send to Italy ; and as to money the Emperor would do his utmost to procure it.

Took the first opportunity to inform the Emperor of the causes and reasons which have induced His Highness to mistrust the Pope's friendship. The Emperor was of a different opinion, saying he had still hope of a favourable settlement of their differences. He (Salinas) must observe, however, that most of the councillors and courtiers share His Highness' opinion on this subject.

He (the Emperor) was glad to hear of the recent victories in Hungary against the Vayvod, but sorry to learn that the King of Poland (Sigismond) had given him shelter in his estates, and the embassy which His Highness intended to send thither.

The Emperor entered Valencia on the 3rd of May, and was received with great pomp. During his stay in that city there was nothing but carousing and dancing, together with jousts, tournaments, and other manly exercises. The Emperor would have taken share in these last, had he not been prevented by the news which happened to come about that time of the loss of his galleys, and the death of Don Ugo de Moncada and other knights. No sooner did he hear of it than he gave immediate orders for certain ships to be fitted out at Valencia to convey flour [to Naples], and sent orders to Sicily for a supply of men and provisions ; for Don Alonso Manrique, who had left that island on an expedition similar to that of Don Ugo, has not reached his destination, and nobody knows what has become of him.

On the 20th of May the Emperor left for Monçon, where he now is, holding Cortes of the three Estates together. Having heard before his departure from Valencia that the King of France was sending one of his heralds* to challenge him to single combat, he sent orders and safe-conducts to all the frontier towns and seaports in Spain that he should be everywhere well received and properly entertained. The herald arrived at Monçon on the 7th inst., and took up his lodgings at Secretary Lallemand's, by whom he was handsomely entertained in token of the great pleasure which His Imperial Majesty derived from his visit. Having delivered his message the day after, in the presence of the lords and knights (*señores y caballeros*) then at Court, he was graciously dismissed by the Emperor, who promised to send his own herald† with the answer. The herald, therefore, left for France well provided with money for the expenses of his journey, and having besides received as a gift 400 ducats, and a velvet robe lined with brocaded silk and gold tissue of the Emperor's own wearing.‡ This done, he wrote to the grandees of Castille, informing them of the challenge he had received, and consult-

* His name was Guienne.

† Bourgogne.

‡ "Y le hizo merced de 400 ducados y una ropa de su persona, de terciopelo, aferrada en brocado tela de oro rrico."

1528.

ing them thereupon. All replied in terms full of sympathy and devotion, and the Emperor has accordingly despatched his own king-at-arms with a suitable answer, of which a copy is enclosed.*

Luis de Taxis was detained at sea by contrary winds, but it is to be hoped has reached [Flanders] by this time. News has come of the safe arrival of Monforte and the Provost of Balericque (Valtkirek) on the 8th of April, and also that the Flemings have made a truce of six months with the French, which last piece of intelligence has not been much to the Emperor's taste, as he considers that these are not times to treat with the common enemy. Those who govern Flanders may have had cogent reasons for this step, and perhaps His Highness is aware of them, but nevertheless the measure has not met with approbation at this Court.

On his departure from Madrid the Emperor, thinking that the time was come for his journey to Italy, which for many a day he has had in contemplation, appointed the Empress to govern these kingdoms during his absence, for which purpose a suitable household, with the Count of Miranda† at its head, was named in the Castillian fashion. Matters have since changed, and the projected journey has been abandoned. She has since been confined of a daughter.‡

The Emperor, on His Highness' suggestion, wrote a gracious letter to the Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga), and conferred besides with an agent of his, residing at this Court. It is to be hoped that the promises hitherto made will induce him to espouse the Emperor's cause. As to the contemplated marriage alliance, his opinion is that His Highness ought to hold out hopes to him, without taking any engagement thereupon.

The Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon) has been appointed Viceroy of Naples and Captain-General of the Imperial armies in Italy in His Highness' absence, and the Emperor is now sending [to Rome] Miçer Mai, of the Council of Aragon, a very wise and learned man, with full powers and instructions. This latter goes in the room of the Archbishop of Toledo (Fonseca), appointed in the first instance, but who has since declined the post.

Hears that the journey to Italy is not entirely given up. When the Emperor first came to Aragon orders were issued for a number of galleys to be fitted up in the ports of the Mediterranean, but this late challenge of the French King has caused a change of plans. Whilst the herald, lately sent to France with his answer, is on his way back, the Emperor is thinking of going to Madrid, and from thence sending the

* Not in the volume. Sandoval, however, printed it in full in his *Historia del Emperador Carlos V.*, lib. xvi., § xxii.

† Don Francisco de Zuñiga y Avellaneda, third count.

‡ Doña Maria, born at Madrid the 21st of June 1528, who married in 1548 Maximilian II. of Austria.

1528.

Constable of Castille to Fuentarrabia to prepare the field for combat, &c. The Cortes of Aragon will be prorogued for a term of three calendar months, during which time it will be ascertained whether the French King insists on his challenge, where and when the personal combat is to take place, and so forth. This will give the Emperor time to return to Aragon, and in the meanwhile the fleet of galleys will have made ready to put out to sea, and convey him to the coast of Italy. True it is that this plan is naturally subordinated to the turn that politics and war may take in those parts. With the exclusive management of the former the Chancellor (Gattinara) has been entrusted by the Emperor, whose real designs and plans are known only to a few.

Pedro de Ascoytia has received orders to delay his departure until the French King's answer arrives, that he may announce to His Highness the issue of the whole affair, and what the Emperor intends doing.

Expected invasion of Hungary by the Turks.

News from the Indies. Hernan Cortes has just arrived. He comes for the purpose of acquainting His Imperial Majesty with the affairs of those distant regions, and answering certain charges brought against him. He (Salinas) intends visiting him in His Highness' name, and asking him for particulars of what he has seen and done [at Mexico].—Monçon, 8th July 1528.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 7.

9 July. 488. The MARQUIS DEL GUASTO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 98 vº.

The Germans make no progress in their march. Was one of the first to ask for them, thinking they would be employed at once in the relief of Naples. Instead of that, they are now besieging Lodi. The consequence will be that we shall lose both Naples and Lombardy.

Juan Antonio Muxetula, who is doing very good service at Rome, writes that the Pope is willing to desert the League, and openly declare in our favour, provided the Germans are made to advance; but experience has shown that the soldiers of that nation will not move without pay, and he fears that there is no chance of that for the present.

The negotiations with Doria still continue, and there is a hope of his coming over to the Emperor.

Should Naples fall, Sicily is sure to come next. It would be advisable to increase the garrison of that island with Spaniards or Germans (*gente extrangera*), as the natives are not to be trusted.

Has spent considerable sums in fortifying his own castle of Yscla (Ischia). Is, however, without provisions (*vituallas*). If the Viceroy of Sicily could send thither a vessel with them.

1528.

that part of the Neapolitan coast might be efficiently defended.*—9th July 1528.

Indorsed: "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. pp. 2.

12 July. 489.

The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 99.

The Doria convention has been signed. He can be of great use under present circumstances, as Bauri (*sic*) will not fail to advise.—13th July 1528.

Indorsed: "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. p. 1.

14 July. 490.

HIERONYMO MORON to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 102.

It is reported that the Duke of Brunswick hesitates, and that Antonio de Leyva wishes to retain him in Lombardy, fancying that, by doing so, both things may be achieved, the kingdom of Naples saved from destruction, and the Duchy of Milan preserved. In his opinion, Leyva is mistaken. If a few thousand Spaniards landed in Sicily, that would be a more effective succour than any these Germans can afford. His Imperial Majesty must not rely too much on the German soldiers. They are at all times undisciplined and unruly, particularly those at Naples. Hears that most of them are actually in treaty with Lautrech, and have promised to desert, if by the 9th of July they had not received one month's pay, besides one crown per man on the 19th. Their generals are getting the money ready by whatever means they can; but in future, unless the money comes from Spain, there will be no means of appeasing their clamorous begging.—14th July 1528.

Indorsed: "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract.

15 July. 491.

SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 17.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 258.

Wrote on the 1st inst. by Captain Rodrigo Davalos, owing to which, and to the Prince having reported fully on military affairs, he (Perez) will be brief. (*Cipher* :) Unless money is shortly remitted from Spain we shall not be able to defend Naples, for there is hardly a church or convent in this city that has not been despoiled of its ornaments, gold, silver, silks, &c.

* All the letters contained in this volume under the head of *Relacion de diversas cartas de Italia de los meses de Mayo, Junio, Julio, y Agosto del año MDXXVIII.* are evidently contemporary abstracts of originals not preserved at Simancas. Very few state the place whence they were written. It is, therefore, very difficult to determine in some cases where the writers were. For instance, this one of the Marquis del Guasto must have been written on board of Doria's galley, or somewhere about Genoa, for he had not yet recovered his freedom and returned to Naples.

1528.

to give to the Germans, and yet they rise in mutiny every other day. The Spaniards bear privation much better, though most of them never touch meat or wine.

Since the departure of Doria's galleys for the coast of Genoa, on one of which was Rodrigo Davalos, the Venetian fleet has invested this city more closely, not allowing barks to pass with messengers or provisions. The boatmen, however, still hazard the bringing in a few; for what costs them 10 ducats they are sure to sell for 100. The population, however, is so considerable that these occasional supplies will not be sufficient. Already an ox sells for 50 ducats, a fowl for two and a half, and a couple of eggs for one real. Wine, there is none to be had; and now they say that Lautrech has given orders for all cattle within a radius of 10 leagues round Naples to be removed to other districts far inland under pain of seizure, &c. All this might be remedied through the Germans coming this way, for no sooner would they arrive at Tronto than Lautrech would most probably depart.

There is a report that Cardinal Campeggio has not yet started for England, and that Frenesis (Farnese) is to go to Rome [as Legate]. Some even assert that the Pope himself is going thither soon, and that preparations are being made for his reception in his palace.

The Prince of Malfa (Caracciolo) and a son of the Duke of Trayeto (Traietto) have recovered Trayeto, Fundi, and the other towns which the Spaniards, who came last from Sicily, took. The Abbot of Farfa, it is reported, went to a small town called Frascati, close to Rome, belonging to Cardinal Colonna. There happened to be inside the town with a few Spaniards one of his nephews, a bishop,* who managed so well that he defeated the Abbot and took 200 of his men prisoners.

Fabricio Marramao is still a prisoner at Castilnovo, but they say will soon come out with honour, for his accuser does not sufficiently prove his charges.

Believes that Thomasso de' Fornariis is with the new army, and that Lope de Soria accompanies him.

The Prince is suffering from fever.—Naples, 15th July 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

16 July. 492.

PRINCE BISIGNANO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 101.

States the many services he has rendered the Emperor. Is entirely ruined, the whole of his patrimonial estates being occupied by the French.—[Naples?], 16th July 1528.

Indorsed: "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract.

* Guicciardini (lib. xix.) mentions an engagement in the Abruzzo where this very bishop (Marzio Colonna?) was defeated and slain by the Abbot of Farfa.

1528.

17 July. 493. The EMPEROR to MIGUEL MAI, his Ambassador [to Rome].

S. E. L. 1,554,
f. 626.

B. M. *Add.* 28,577,
f. 261.

Credentials.—Montisoni, 17th July 1528.*

Addressed: "Mig. Mai equiti, Consiliario et Oratori nostro."

Latin. Original draft.

17 July. 494. PROTHONOTARY CARACCILO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 20.

In consequence of the taking of Pavia, Abia,† and Como by the enemy, as reported in his former despatches, Leyva resolved to cross the Adda and join the auxiliary forces coming from Germany. His intention at first was to lay siege to Bergamo, and thence detach the Germans under Brunswick. The want of money and provisions in the army of the latter obliged Leyva to abandon this project, and undertake Lodi, in hope of finding in that city or its immediate neighbourhood resources with which to maintain the fidelity of these new Germans, more mutinous and rebellious, if possible, than their comrades. Money he had little to give, as his own men have received no pay for several months, and yet whatever funds he could procure from Milan, or from other quarters, he distributed equally between Brunswick's Germans and his own. For this purpose Lodi was invested, and an assault attempted, which proved unsuccessful, and caused the death of many brave soldiers, and, among the rest, of Captain Diego Ramirez Burman, who fell gloriously in front of the city walls.

Naples is so surrounded by the enemy that, unless these Germans now in Lombardy can be sent to their assistance, the city, and indeed the whole kingdom, is in great danger; and yet the mutinous spirit of these troops, and the total want of means to pay them, preclude all hope of their advancing in that direction. Meanwhile St. Pol is coming from France at the head of 400 men-at-arms and 10,000 foot, among whom are some German lansquenets. Italians he has none. The Venetians and the Duke Francesco [Sforza] muster about 4,000. Leyva, however, loses no opportunity of attacking the enemy wherever he is, and, if he only had money to pay his troops, would work wonders. He is still investing Lodi.‡ —Milan, 17th July 1528.

Signed: "Il Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Milan. Caracciolo. 17th July."

Italian. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (fol. 24). pp. 4.

* As will be seen hereafter, Mai did not leave for Rome at the date of this draft.

† Perhaps Abbiategrassa or Biagrassa in Lombardy.

‡ A duplicate is at fol. 22.

1528.

17 July. 495. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 26.

After the above was written a mutiny of the Germans (*Tedeschi*) at the camp in front of Lodi has obliged Leyva to come here to Milan, in order to procure money if possible. As the Germans threaten to sack this city, and then join their comrades on their way home, the greatest efforts are being made to satisfy their cravings. Part of the money has already been procured, and the remainder promised for to-night. But what good? The lansquenets are sure to begin again at once, for they are really insatiable. Leyva sends Captain Rivadeneyra to Spain that he may inform the Emperor of the state of things in the Duchy. The consequences of the mutiny at Lodi have been serious. The Germans under Brunswick having abandoned their positions on the other side of the Adda, the city has been largely supplied with provisions and ammunition. Fears that Leyva will be compelled to raise the siege.—Milan, 17th July 1528.

P.S.—Hears that one of the articles in the Doria convention bears that the important city and port of Gaeta will be placed in the hands of that general for him to hold the government. This is rather a dangerous move, although it is not to be supposed that Andrea will act dishonourably.

Signed: "Caracciolo."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528."

Italian. Original in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. p. 1.

17 July. 496. ASCANIO COLONNA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 98.

Writes in credence of Captain Pedro Davalos, going to Spain.

Describes the situation of Naples, and the pains he and the Marquis del Guasto have lately taken to make the Germans advance to its relief. Both have been trying to bring over Andrea Doria to the Imperial service, and make him go to Naples without waiting for the ratification of the agreement. Has reason to think from the message lately brought by Baury that Doria has quarrelled with the King of France, and is ready to desert from him, the cause of the dispute being that the latter wants to get the prisoners of Salerno into his power.

Genoa is so affected by the plague that, if attacked, it can offer no resistance to the Imperialists. The plan is not abandoned, though in reality its taking would be of very little use just now.

St. Pol is coming down with 400 lances and 7,000 foot, but up to the present only 1,500 lansquenets, "de la banda nera," have arrived, and are encamped between Haste (Asti) and

1528.

Genoa. As the Venetians have strongly fortified Bergamo, and might in conjunction with that general annoy Leyva, it would be advisable to send for more Germans, and arm two galleys to bring money in specie, without which it is very dangerous to increase the number of the auxiliaries.

The Pope is exceedingly anxious (*avidissimo*) about Florence and Ferrara, and much dissatisfied with France, and specially with the Venetians, who still retain Ravenna and Cervia. Both he and the Marquis [of Guasto] are raising funds with which to pay their respective ransoms, in order to serve again in Naples, or wherever they may be ordered to go.—[Naples?], 17th July 1528.

P.S.—Since the above was written Doria has accepted the conditions brought by Baury, and actually deserted from the League. Both that general and his nephew Filippino will be of great use for relieving Naples; they are going thither with their galleys, and he (Ascanio) accompanies them.

Signed: "Ascanio Colonna."

Indorsed: "Relacion de cartas de Leyva, Colonna y otros."

Italian. Contemporary abstract. p. 1.

17 July. 497.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 99, vº.

The COLLATERAL COUNCIL OF NAPLES to the EMPEROR. Strongly suspect that the delay of the auxiliary Germans is caused in part by the Pope, who secretly favours it, for there is a report that His Holiness is making levies of men, and has caused a gentleman from this place, who went for the purpose of hastening the march of the Germans, to be detained in his territory. If by the end of August Naples is not relieved by sea and land, the whole of the Imperial dominions in Italy are lost for ever.

Twenty thousand ducats have been procured with the greatest difficulty to pay some of the arrears due to the Germans.

A person of authority and parts is much wanted to fill the post of Viceroy.—[Naples], 17th July 1528.

Indorsed: "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. p. 1.

18 July. 498.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 19.

PROTHONOTARY CARACCILO to the EMPEROR.

His Majesty the Emperor will hear by his (Caracciolo's) other despatches of the same date the events [of Lodi and Pavia]. As this might change the plans of the generals respecting Lodi, were a messenger to be sent thither, he (Caracciolo) being at Milan, and the news not come in time, in such case Antonio de Leyva himself will no doubt give information about the whole affair.—Milan, 18th July 1528.

Signed: "Il Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Caracciolo. Milan."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

1528.

18 July. 499. The DUCHESS OF FRANCAVILLA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 101 vº.

She has done, and is doing, her best to help the army at Naples. Has sent provisions and money. Has also sent to the Marquis del Guasto and Ascanio Colonna the money for their ransom (*talla*); both are expected to take service again.

The last news is that Lautrech has been struck by the plague. Writes again in credence of Pedro Davalos.—[Ischia?], 18th July 1528.

Indorsed: "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Italian. Contemporary abstract in Spanish.

19 July. 500. ALONSO SANCHEZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43.
f. 33.

Since his letter of the 24th of June, wherein he announced that he had applied for, and obtained, leave to quit, and was determined to go that same week, two things have happened to upset his plans. In the first place he was attacked by a fever which kept him 12 days in bed. Secondly, when called upon by the Signory to draw out a paper stating that as Imperial ambassador he had enjoyed all possible liberty at Venice, and been allowed to go freely wherever he chose, he (Sanchez) refused to do this unless a clause was introduced concerning the bill of exchange accepted by Ludovico di Affayta, and which that banker had begun to pay, when the Signory ordered him to stop payment. Without a clause to this effect, showing that he has never recovered the amount of that bill, he (Sanchez) refused to draw up the certificate (*fé*) that was required of him; upon which the Doge declared that he should not receive a safe-conduct to leave Venice. Three days after this, one of the Doge's secretaries came to him (Sanchez) proposing a middle course, which was that an act should be drawn before a public notary, either at the ambassador's dwelling or at the College-Hall. Persisted in his refusal, saying that unless an order was issued for Ludovico di Affayta to pay him his money, and he himself was allowed to quit Venice with his moveable property and family, according to the engagement taken by their ambassador before he was allowed to quit Spain, he would never sign the paper. The Secretary then asked whether he (Sanchez) was willing to go on the receipt of the safe-conduct. His answer was that he begged them to fulfil the engagement entered into by their ambassador. If they did not, as he could not force them to do it, he would accept the safe-conduct, and depart as soon as he was sufficiently recovered from his late illness, he being still suffering from fever at the time. This conversation having been reported to the Doge on the 10th inst., a safe-conduct was put into his hands, bearing date of the 28th June, without his signing the paper in question, or receiving from Ludovico di Affayta the sums which are owing to him personally. Intends, though not very strong yet, to start this evening for La Mirandola, where he will wait for an

1528.

answer to his letter to Antonio de Leyva. Instead of going, as his friends advise him, to Germany, where he might be of service, he much prefers remaining in Italy and joining Leyva, wherever he may be, notwithstanding the insecurity of the roads, and the plague in the Ferrarese and Mantuan territories, through which he must of necessity pass.

Has written to the King of Hungary and to Madame the Governess of Flanders, to Don Iñigo de Mendoza in England, to the Prince of Orange at Naples, to Miçer Joan Antonio Muxetula, who is now with the Pope at Viterbo, and in fact to all the Emperor's agents, announcing his departure from Venice, and informing them of the state of affairs in Italy. (*Cipher:*) Must not omit to say that, having applied for a safe-conduct to pass through the Ferrarese, the Duke has replied that he wonders much why Imperial ambassadors should ask him for such a thing, as they ought to know that his estate is as secure for them as Spain would be. The same answer did the Marquis make when asked for a safe-conduct.

The ambassador of the King of Hungary remains. His orders are to wait until he (Sanchez) is gone, and then feign illness and say that the physicians advise him to take change of air in his native country. Has obtained a promise from him that he will not leave Venice until he hears of his arrival at La Mirandola, and has appointed somebody to take charge of his correspondence, so that his (Sanchez's) letters may be directed to Germany, and the answers sent to La Mirandola, or wherever he may be.

(*Common writing:*) Has no news of Antonio de Leyva since the 19th ulto. Hears that he and the Germans newly arrived were besieging Lodi. (*Cipher:*) Most likely the want of funds to pay the said Germans is the cause of their not advancing, as they are ordered to do, for otherwise it is hardly conceivable that, for the sake of Lodi, the relief of Naples, which is of such importance, should be indefinitely postponed. Lope de Soria writes that, of the 400,000 ducats which His Imperial Majesty sent by Julian (Giuliano della Spezzia) some time ago, the troops at Naples have already consumed 140,000. There remain in his (Soria's) hands 60,000 more, for the other 200,000 have not yet been paid by the bankers on whom the bills were drawn. Though duly accepted, they will not pay them until they hear from their correspondents in Spain whether this and other moneys owing to them have been paid by the Imperial treasurers.

This delay of the succour that is to go to Naples makes him (Sanchez) suspect there must be some other reason for the Germans not advancing, for certainly it cannot be only the want of money. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the tardy provision from Spain on one hand, and the dilatory proceedings of Leyva and his Germans on the other, have placed Naples in jeopardy. The kingdom is almost en-

1528.

tirely wasted and destroyed, and the plague besides is making great ravages. Hears that the city of Bari has lately surrendered to the League, and acknowledged the supremacy of the King of France, as they did formerly that of the Emperor. They say here that the governor has acted thus at the instigation of the King and Queen of Poland. In Pulla (Puglia) only Manfredonia remains faithful, and in the Otranto territory the capital [Otranto], besides Taranto and Gallipoli. In Puglia also the plague is making such ravages among the country people that there is scarcely one left to reap the harvest.

Has had letters from the King of Hungary, dated Prague, the 19th of June, in which he acknowledges having received bills of exchange for a considerable sum. He (the King) had written to Antonio de Leyva and to the Duke of Fransbich (Brunswick) inquiring whether they chose to have money or men. If the latter, he would immediately order new levies to be made. It is not known what the answer of those captains has been.

His Highness' secretary, however, writes to say that fears are entertained of the Turk returning this year to Hungary, and in that case the King is by no means so well prepared to meet him as he should be. The latest news from Constantinople is that the Sultan [Soliman] has replied to the King's ambassadors that he will not make peace or truce unless the Vayvod [of Transylvania] is first reinstated in his kingdom of Hungary, and more especially the Venetians, who are his friends, left in peace. Many think, however, that for this year the Turk will not do much harm in Hungary.

(*Common writing* :) This Signory have had letters from the Court of France of the 27th June, and from Lyons of the 29th. Hears that the former relate to the affair of Ravenna and Cervia in answer to the consultation forwarded by the French ambassador at the Papal Court. Has been unable to ascertain what the King of France's decision is; (*cipher* :) certainly the Venetians are not in the humour just now for restoring those cities to the Pope, but, on the contrary, are fortifying them as much as they can.

(*Common writing* :) Those from Lyons are from Mons. de St. Pol, who, it appears, has sent a messenger to the Duke of Urbino, asking assistance in money. Hears that the Signory sent him three days ago 26,000 ducats, a very small sum in proportion to what St. Pol asks. The rumour of this captain's crossing has somewhat subsided of late, and yet some say that he will be in Italy by the first week in August.

Fourteen—others say sixteen—French galleys sailed the other day from the coast of Provence to join those of Andrea Doria and of the Venetians before Naples. They will make in all about 40 galleys, a division of which is to be sent to Sicily, with a proportionate land force, not only to cut off the supplies going to Naples, but also to ravage that island, which

1528.

they can do easily, (*cipher* :) since His Imperial Majesty has no fleet whatever in those parts.

Letters from Viterbo of the 6th inst. state that Sarra (Sciarra) Colonna and other partisans of his family had defeated at Subiaco the Abbot of Farfa, who with 3,000 foot and 500 horse had taken up arms in favour of the French. After this feat of arms, the Colonnese had taken the road to the Abruzzo.

(*Cipher* :) Needs scarcely point out the advantage of having the Pope on our side, and that therefore it would be advisable to persevere in the line of policy lately adopted, until that object be fairly accomplished. As to the Venetians, he (Sanchez) knows them so well, having resided many years in their city, that he can only repeat now what he has so often said about them, though he reserves many little things for the day when he shall be allowed to kiss the Emperor's hands and feet, when he hopes to be able to point out what is best for his service.

(*Common writing* :) Italy is completely ruined, and threatened everywhere with pestilence and famine. Genoa, he hears, is almost deserted, and has been lately visited by fever, and a sort of pestiferous disease, which has carried away many thousands. All fear that next year there will be a most awful famine, for the harvest has been generally bad. Here, at Venice, the price of wheat came down considerably some time ago, but has since risen higher than ever, although the harvest has just begun.

Hears that the Signory have just received letters from Lautrech's camp in date of the 3rd and 8th inst. The former state that Andrea Doria had suddenly disappeared and gone to Genoa with his galleys. Some say that he has taken service with the Pope, others with the Emperor. Three—some say five—vessels laden with corn and provisions from Sicily had entered the port of Naples. Sickness prevailed in the French camp, and four or five persons of distinction had been struck by the plague. Luis Pisani, the Venetian proveditor, had died on the 30th of June.

Those of the 8th announce that Lautrech had retreated to, some say 15, others 18 miles from Naples. This news is too good to believe; and yet the report is that at the last muster passed by that commander he found that upwards of 7,000 of his men, receiving pay, were missing; so that, what with desertion and sickness, his camp must be so reduced that he has perhaps found it advisable to raise the siege.

Antonio de Leyva is still at Lodi, which was so closely invested that it could not make a long resistance.

The last news from France is that St. Pol has been unable to subsidize any Germans. They say that France and Venice will do all they can to secure the services of Switzers instead. The same letters announce that the King of France was very ill indeed with his usual complaint, and that his mother had sent an ambassador to Spain to treat again of peace

1528.

The ambassador of France to the Papal Court is still in Venice. He has made no progress in the negotiation about Ravenna and Cervia. The Signory refuse to restore them. The English ambassador, who came also from the Pope's Court, took his departure for England yesterday. Hears (*cipher*) that the aforesaid English ambassador before his departure used very strong language against the Signory, and said that they would by no means be allowed to keep those cities [Ravenna and Cervia] unless they helped [the English] in the Cambray affair.

Of the 500 Turkish horses which this Signory has bought in Coruatia (Croatia) upwards of 200 came 10 days ago; the remainder arrived the day before yesterday.—Venice, 19th July 1528.

P.S.—The Duke Francesco Sforza is at Bressa (Brescia), owing, they say, to the plague which now rages at Cremona. Others maintain that this is only an excuse, and that he has removed thither to convince the Venetians that he has no understanding with the Emperor.

The Imperialists have taken by storm a castle called Santangelo, between Lodi and Pavia, and put to the sword upwards of 800 men who were inside.

The present is a triplicate of others despatched by way of Flanders and England.

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 7.

19 July. 501. The SAME to the GRAND CHANCELLOR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 53.

Is about to start for La Mirandola, where he will wait for orders. Could not leave before on account of illness. Is literally ruined, having used all his resources in the payment of couriers and messengers, advances made to his secretary, and, above all, by the loss sustained in consequence of the non-payment of the Affayta bills.—Venice, 19th July 1528.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

20 July. 502. PROTHONOTARY CARACCILOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 56.
R. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 262.

(*Cipher:*) Strongly recommends the ratification of the secret convention entered into with Andrea Doria. Under the present circumstances, nothing can more effectually serve the Emperor's cause and save the kingdom of Naples than the powerful co-operation of that experienced captain. Not only are his terms moderate, but in his (Caracciolo's) opinion they ought to be improved upon.

As His Imperial Majesty must have heard by his despatch of the 17th, things here are in great confusion, owing chiefly to the want of discipline and frequent mutinies of the

1528.

Germans under Brunswick, whom, for fear of their going home, Antonio de Leyva is trying to retain before Lodi.—Milano, 20th July 1528.

Signed: "Il Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Italian. Original entirely written in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet at fol. 60. pp. 4.

20 July. **503.** The EMPEROR to ALONSO SANCHEZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 62.

The King. Alonso Sanchez, of our Council and our ambassador in Venice.

Your despatches of the 24th March and 6th April have come to hand. We thank you for the news they contain. On the receipt of this you shall take leave of that Republic and ask them to have you accompanied and escorted to the frontier, as We have done with their ambassador, who is already in France.

With regard to the information conveyed in your letters respecting the Turk and his armaments, We trust in God that their plans will be defeated.—Monçon, 20th July 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Spanish. Original minute. p. 1.

20 July. **504.** GIULIANO DELLA SPEZZIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 104.

Relates what passed between the Germans of Brunswick and Antonio de Leyva, and what pains the latter has taken to retain in the Imperial service about 4,000 of them, by paying them every 15 days. Very little hope there is, however, of the Germans doing their duty henceforward, for certainly the whole difficulty has arisen from their unwillingness to go to Naples. Leyva has tried every expedient with the Duke of Brunswick, but to no purpose; his Germans will not leave Lombardy. If so, no help is to be expected from them. Unless a fleet arrives from Spain with money and provisions for this army, there is no knowing what will become of us all.— —, 20th July 1528.

Spanish. Contemporary abstract.

22 July. **505.** MIGUEL DE AGUORRETA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 64.

Was one of Don Ugo's confidential servants, and witnessed his death. Knows well the motives he had for the dangerous expedition in which he lost his life. As he has no doubt that the facts of that glorious encounter have been misrepresented by Don Ugo's enemies, he (Aguorreta) will now relate the most remarkable incidents of that maritime battle.

Shortly after the siege of Naples by Lautrech, Andrea Doria arrived with his eight galleys and two brigantines. On his arrival the Baron of Pruxita (Proscida) began to treat with the French and to send them provisions. A town and district called Vicco, within the Bay of Naples, Massa, Cas-

1528.

tellamare, Sorrento, and the Island of Capri, likewise sent in their submission. It was, moreover, feared that Puçol (Puzuolo) would soon follow their example, as it has since done, in which case Naples might have been reduced to the last extremity from want of food. To avoid this, and to drive away Doria's galleys, Don Ugo determined to attack them with six he had at his disposal, besides two more vessels armed by Spaniards. This determination he took with the counsel and advice of the principal officers of the army, who not only approved of the plan, but advised him to take the command as captain-general of the sea. Don Ugo sailed from Naples on the 27th of May; the following day he met the enemy's galleys at Capri, near Salerno. Don Ugo's attack was so successful at first, that had not two of his own, named the "Perpinyana" and "Calabresa," belonging to Francesco Loria, forgotten their duty, the victory would have been most complete. For disregarding our general's orders, instead of engaging two of the enemy's galleys that were some distance from the rest, they only attacked and plundered two of the others, which Don Ugo at the first onset had disabled with his artillery and almost compelled to surrender, and at the thickest of the battle, when Don Ugo's captain-galley was surrounded by those of the enemy, instead of succouring their general they came to Naples with their plunder, proclaiming that the victory was ours.

Meanwhile Don Ugo fought gallantly against the whole force of the enemy. Two of his galleys having deserted him, and the two armed vessels manned with Spaniards having also fled at the commencement of the action, he fought desperately against the eight of the enemy. Two of ours were sunk by the enemy's fire, the "Santa Barbara," Captain Mossen Serans, and the "Santo Andrea," commanded by Don Bernat Villamarin. The captain-galley and that of Il Gobbo were both taken after a long struggle.

Don Ugo, whilst on the deck of his galley, attacked as she was by two of the enemy's, was first shot in the right arm, then in the left leg, and lastly in the breast, when he died, saying, "Comrades, go on fighting stoutly; the victory is ours."

He (Aguorreta) was perhaps the only person standing (*en pie*) when his master fell, so that should His Imperial Majesty wish to know more details, he can furnish them, though it may be to the detriment of many people's reputation. Dares not speak out plainly, because he is not generally beloved on account of his devotion to Don Ugo, and yet must live in Naples.

Mons. de Ubauri (Waury) was shot in the head and shoulder, as well in various other parts of his body. Fortunately for him he was well armed, and the shot was small; otherwise he would have been killed on the spot. As it was he remained senseless on deck for upwards of three hours.

1528.

As His Imperial Majesty will see by the enclosed copy of his nomination, the Prince of Orange has been pleased to confer on him the lieutenancy of Castil del Ovo, to be held until the governor, whoever he may be, comes from Spain. The salary is only 200 ducats a year, a sum not excessive if his long services be taken into account. In case of the governor coming soon, he should like to be appointed to the office of Vice-Admiral of this kingdom, now vacant by the death of Francisco Despuche (Despuig?).—Naples, 22nd July 1528.

Signed "Miguel de Agurreta."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. From Naples. From Agurreto (*sic*). 22nd July."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

22 July. 506. ANTONIO DE LEYVA to ALONSO SANCHEZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 68.

(*Cipher* :) Has received his letter of the 11th inst. Thanks him for the information it contains. The Germans under Brunswick turn out to be a regular nuisance. On the plea that the terms stipulated with them have not been fulfilled, and that since their arrival in Italy they have received no pay, they refuse marching [on Naples], and some of them actually go home. Is doing all he can to prevent desertion.

With regard to his movements, his opinion is that, the safe-conduct from Venice once obtained, he (Sanchez) can easily cross the Veronese, go thence to Bergamo, and afterwards to Trezzo, whence he will have no difficulty in reaching the Imperial camp.

Encloses copy of his answer to the King of Hungary.

Spanish. Copy. pp. 2.

24 July. 507. DR. BARON to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 102.

Encloses duplicate of his letter of the 22nd.

The Germans mutinied the other day, and sacked several lodgings, among the rest those of Hernando de Alarcon. Every day we are subject to similar proceedings on the part of the lansquenets for want of wine and money to give them. This, and the total want of news from Spain, makes our situation exceedingly precarious.

Five-and-twenty thousand ducats have been received from Gaeta, and 15 cwt. of biscuit sent to Doria's galleys, as there can be no doubt now that he has accepted service under the Emperor.—Naples, 24th July 1528.

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. p. 1.

1528.

24 July. 508. SECRETARY SERON to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 102.

Has little to add to his despatch of the 23rd, informing His Imperial Majesty how, after being made a prisoner at the battle of Salerno, he ultimately recovered his liberty. When he arrived at the French camp before Naples, Lautrech told him in private many things concerning the Emperor, which he intends reporting on a future occasion. Among other pieces of bravado he said, "Since the Emperor will not make peace, I hope to be the man to take him prisoner."

Mentions the affray of the 18th, in which the French were defeated, and refers entirely to Hernando de Loaysa, a devoted servant of the Emperor, who has sent home the particulars, &c.

Commander La Rosa is worthy of praise for the timely succour he has sent to Naples of money and provisions from Gaeta.—Naples, 24th July 1528.

Indorsed: "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. p. 1.

26 July. 509. INSTRUCTIONS to MARTINO CENTURIONE.

S. Pat. Re. Nap.
L. 4.

What you, Martino Centurione, our servant, must do in your Italian journey, whereon you are at present sent, is as follows:

Besides that which by another previous instruction we have commanded you to execute, you are to send a certain number of caracks from Genoa, and as many men as you can [to Naples?], and are to keep this entirely secret.—Zaragoza, 26th July 1528.—Yo el Rey.—Alonso Valdés.

Spanish. Original minute. p. 1.

26 July. 510. LEYVA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 87.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 263.

Writes in commendation and favour of Jorge Frunespergh (George Fruntsperg). It was entirely through him that the Germans marched on Rome without pay. Has done, and is doing, all he can to persuade those who are here [at Milan] to serve the Emperor, and prevent them from disbanding and returning home, as they have threatened to do several times. He has lost a son at Rome, and Colonel Gaspar, another of his sons, who was with him (Leyva), has gone to Germany in a most deplorable condition from wounds and sickness, but promises to return soon. His Imperial Majesty knows what George is, but still he can do more with these Germans than all of us put together.

Humbly begs the Emperor to treat George with consideration and care for his affairs; it will be a reward to him and an example to others.—Lodi, 26th July 1528.

Signed: "Antonio de Leyva."

Addressed: "A la Sacratissima, Cesrea. Magtad."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From Anthonio de Leyva. 26th July 1528. Answered."

Spanish. Original pp. 2.

1528.

27 July. 511. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 98.

Captain Valentino, the bearer of this present, will inform the Emperor and his Council of the many great services rendered by George Franesperg (Fruntsperg), as detailed in his letter of yesterday. Begs credence for the said Valentino.—Milan, 27th July 1528.

Signed: "Antonio de Leyva."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

28 July. 512. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 75.

Will be brief, as he has just arrived at the Imperial camp and finds that the bearer of this despatch (Rivadeneyra) is to leave soon.

(*Cipher:*) Has passed a few days at the estate of the Duke of Ferrara, negotiating with Thomasso de' Fornariis and other bankers. Has obtained 18,000 cr. from the former, and 14,000 more from Stephano Centurione, which he (Soria) considers a great triumph, as most of the bills are payable at Venice and Florence, and there is actual prohibition under pain of death to procure funds for us. The remaining bills, amounting to 150,000, Thomasso refuses to accept, on the plea that most merchants and bankers at Genoa have failed in consequence of late events. Trusts, however, that the said Thomasso, who is sincerely attached to the Empire, will do his utmost to procure funds. If so, he (Soria) wishes to know whether the 12,000 ducats which constitute the ransom of the Marquis [del Guasto] and of Ascanio Colonna are to be handed over to the Prince of Orange.

(*Common writing:*) It has been resolved to apply to the King of Hungary for 7,000 more Germans paid out of the 50,000 ducats lately remitted from Spain, and on their arrival despatch them to the relief of Naples, together with some Italians and a few light horse; the command to be given to the Marquis, if he will accept it. Fears that this succour will come too late, as Naples is so closely invested by land and sea, that unless Doria manages to supply them with his galleys, the Imperialists will be compelled to surrender. St. Pol is reported to be at Asti with a strong force; Venice has a good and well-appointed army; and the Duke Francesco Sforza holds Cremona and other towns of Germany, so that Leyva will have enough to do to defend himself against forces so superior. He has lately succeeded in stopping 3,000 of Brunswick's Germans who were going home, and joined them to his, making in all 7,000; but neither force is to be relied upon, as they insist upon being paid every week; there is even fear of those in Naples mutinying one fine day. Such being the state of things in Italy, it behoves the Emperor to provide money for his armies, and send general officers to command them, as Antonio de Leyva is old, and out of health.

1528.

The Pope is still at Orbieto. Ever since the arrival of this new army he has maintained a neutral position, and even given secretly marks of his adhesion to the Empire; but there is no knowing what he will do now that the German army is almost dissolved, and whether he will continue in the same mood. It would be advisable to secure his alliance by means of the marriage of Princess Margaret to one of his nephews, or by helping him against the Florentines, now that the Duke of Ferrara, whose son (Hercole) has lately married Madame Renée de France, is likely to espouse the cause of the League.

Thomasso de' Fornariis has paid to the army in Naples upwards of 100,000 cr. If to this sum be added the 32,000 paid to Brunswick and Leyva for their respective forces, there will only remain 22,000 cr. out of the first set of bills accepted by him.

Recommends Captain Rivadeneyra, bearer of this despatch. —Campo contra Lodi, 24th July 1528.

P.S.—Hears that the Duke [of Brunswick] writes by this post to complain about him (Soria), saying that he is responsible for the breaking up of his army, by not having procured funds in time; but the fact is that whatever sums he has been able to obtain from Thomasso have been immediately handed over to his Germans. It is no fault of his if that banker could not make the payments in time owing to the disturbed state of Italy. Besides which 200,000 cr. would have been insufficient to make his Germans march on Naples, determined as they all were to plunder Lombardy, and then go home instead of relieving that kingdom. This and no other seems to have been their purpose, as has since been ascertained, and it is moreover rumoured that the Duke's orders were to relieve Milan and return home through the Venetian territory, doing all the harm possible to the country. The Duke [of Brunswick] is a noble person, and a good servant of the Empire, very brave, but he has little experience of Italian affairs, and those who compose his council have not acted with the honesty and prudence that could have been desired.

Mons. de Valdemont (Vaudemont) has died of the plague near Naples.

Begs to be relieved from his charge so far as relates to the distribution of moneys. It is exceedingly galling to hear the abusive terms in which Brunswick and others speak of him, as if it were in his power to satisfy their cravings. Asks also leave to go to Spain and kiss the Emperor's feet.

To-day, the 27th, he (Soria) has entered Piacenza in company with the Marquis del Guasto, who is going to meet Doria. Has met Bornaldino della Barba, the Pope's commissary in Lombardy, with whose aid and assistance many difficulties have been removed.

In case George Franchspereg (Fruntsperg) should complain of him, and say that he has not yet been paid his due, let it

1528.

be known that he has already received 4,500 cr., and that the remaining 1,500 will be paid out of the very first funds in the treasury.

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 10.

29 July. 513.
S. E. Port. L. 368,
f. 194.

DOÑA MARIA DE VELASCO to the EMPEROR.

The King of Portugal [Dom João III.] has ordered the challenge of the Kings of France and England to be notified to all the monasteries and convents in his kingdom, inviting both monks and nuns to offer up prayers for the Emperor.—Lisbon, 29th July.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

29 July. 514.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 80.

ALONSO SANCHEZ to the EMPEROR.

Wrote the very day of his departure from Venice, on the 19th inst., and addressed his despatches through Flanders and England. Hopes that both have reached their destination. The Duke of Ferrara gave him an escort through his estates. The Marquis of Mantua did the same. On the 29th he arrived at La Mirandola, by whose lord (Giovanni Thomasso Pico) he has been so handsomely received and treated that he has no words to express his gratitude.

Has had an answer from Leyva. Encloses a copy of it, that His Imperial Majesty may better understand how matters are in Lombardy.

Intends staying at La Mirandola until he hears from Leyva. Hears from Andrea del Burgo that at his departure from Milan it had been settled that the Duke of Brunswick and his Germans should march on Naples, and that he (Sanchez) should accompany them.—La Mirandola, 29th July 1528.

P.S.—The above is the duplicate of his despatch of the same date that went through Flanders. This one goes by another channel, Lope de Soria having undertaken to send it to Spain with his own.

Indorsed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. No deciphering. pp. 3.

30 July. 515.
S. E. L. 368,
f. 155.

LOPE HURTADO DE MENDOZA, Imperial Ambassador in Portugal, to the EMPEROR.

Negotiations concerning the navigation [of the Portuguese] to the Moluccas.

Has told certain courtiers near the King's person that he (Hurtado) is surprised that the King of Portugal (João III.) made no suitable demonstration of good-will when the Emperor informed him of the challenge sent him by the Kings of France and England.

Respecting the affair of England the King of Portugal will appoint a person in whom he can place confidence. He will

1528.

send an answer to the King of France.—Lisbon, 30th July 1528.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty our Emperor and Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

31 July. 516. DON FADRIQUE DE PORTUGAL to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
t. 96.

It is reported that the Pope is sending this new cardinal, Fr. Francisco de los Angeles, with a message to His Imperial Majesty. A gentleman who comes in the cardinal's suite tells him that, although His Holiness had disposed at first of the priory of San Miguel de Esfay in favour of one of his courtiers, he was sure that if the Emperor would only write about it he would annul the grant, and appoint any ecclesiastic of these kingdoms. Begs for the said priory for himself.

Is delighted to hear of the convention entered into with Andrea Doria. With him and with the Imperial galleys in the Mediterranean we shall soon become masters of the sea. Besides the three galleys of Don Alvaro Bazan, which are completely fitted out and ready for sea, there are three more which may be armed at very little cost, and another one belonging to the Procurator-General of Mallorca, which could keep watch on the African shores.

As the Emperor must have seen by the report of treasurer Ferrer, 13 galleys may easily be fitted out at this port. True most of them want men to man the oars; but if the service is officially announced, and a salary fixed, more sailors from the coasts of Andalucia and Valencia will enlist than are wanted. As to artillery, besides that which is at Malaga, there is plenty in private hands, and in the castles of the nobility. If anchors do not come from Viscay, as commanded by the Council of War, they can be cast here. Masts and spars have been ordered in haste, and, once at Barcelona, can be prepared and fixed in a very short time.

As there might be some surplus of artillery at Salsas, Perpiñan, and Colibre [in Catalonia], orders might be sent to the wardens of those fortresses to report about the number and quality of the pieces; and as there are here [at Barcelona] two foundries (*casas de fundicion*) guns might be cast if there were only metal and a couple of founders from Malaga.—Barcelona, 31st July 1528.

Signed: "Don Fadrique, Bishop of Sigüenza and Viceroy of Catalonia."

Addressed: "To the most invincible Cesar, Catholic and most powerful Lord, the Emperor and King, &c."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

1528.

31 July. 517. ASCANIO COLONNA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 104.

Vadamon (Vaudemont) is dead; Lautrèch and Pedro Navarro are struck with the plague, which is very prevalent in the French camp. So great is the mortality that if the auxiliary German army were to show itself now we should gain an easy victory.

Sanga, the Pope's secretary, came the other day to visit Andrea Doria in his galley, and try if he could persuade him to return to the French service. Doria's answer was such as might be expected from so honourable a captain. Sanga is known to have said that in sending him with such a message to Doria the Pope only meant to be civil to the French, knowing, as he did, that Doria would never accept.— —, 31st July 1528.

2 Aug. 518. ALONSO SANCHEZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 106.

Has received the enclosed "avisos" from the Bishop of Trent and from Venice. The latter come from a trustworthy person who generally gets very good information.—La Mirandola, 2nd August 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty, directed to Secretary [Pero de] Soria."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Venecia (*sic*). Alonso Sanchez. 2nd August."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

2 Aug. 519. LOPE DE SORIA to the HIGH CHANCELLOR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar A. 43,
f. 108.

His despatch of this date, addressed to the Emperor, contains a full account of what passed between him and Brunswick's army. Has paid into the hands of that general all the money he had in hand; would have given more, had Thomasso de' Fornariis been able to fulfil his engagements; but such was the unruly character of the Germans, and Brunswick's own inexperience, that the thousands of ducats paid to them were like so many drops added to the sea. Yet he knows that that general has sent a man to court to complain of him and say that it will be his (Soria's) fault if the relief of Naples should not be accomplished. This accusation is entirely unfounded, as His Excellency the Chancellor will see by his despatches. It is very hard to have to deal with heretics so obstinate and wilful. Has begged the Emperor to relieve him from the charge of treasurer and give him permission to go home. Trusts that his petition will be granted. There are now plenty of ways of remunerating his long services, as besides the many vacancies which the unfortunate naval battle in the Gulf of Salerno has produced, there are the

1528.

estates confiscated to the Neapolitan barons who went over to the French, and few are so deserving as he (Soria) is, for he has been ruined in the service, and has no bread to put into his mouth.—Correggio, 2nd August 1528.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious Mercurino, Count Gattinara, &c., His Imperial Majesty's High Chancellor, my lord."

Indorsed: "To the Chancellor. 1528. From La Mirandula (*sic*). Lope de Soria. 2nd August."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

2 Aug. 520. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 110.

Encloses duplicate of his despatches from the camp before Lodi, as well as from Piacenza. (*Cipher:*) Has come to Correggio for the purpose of cashing certain bills drawn by Thomasso de' Fornariis, amounting altogether to about 12,000 ducats. Cannot tell yet whether he will be successful.

(*Common writing:*) Count St. Pol is at Asti collecting his forces. He is said to be at variance with the Duke of Urbino (Francisco Maria della Rovere). Neither of them will march on Milan unless the other goes forward. Imagines they will agree at last. Hears that Leyva has raised the siege of Lodi, and taken up positions between Milan and Pavia for the purpose of attacking one or the other of those cities, as the opportunity offers. If supplied with money, Soria has no doubt that the Imperialists will be victorious, although Leyva's health is not good, and he has few good advisers near him.*

The Marquis del Guasto arrived last night from Milan. Told him that Brunswick was furious against him (Soria), saying that he had deceived him, and was the sole cause of his men refusing to serve. That very night as he (Soria) was passing by the German quarters he heard them cry out at the top of their voice *Guelte! Guelte!* Next morning the Duke himself arrived also from Milan, and he (Soria), considering the many threats he had uttered, and that the camp was entirely composed of soldiers of his nation, who fancied he had money to give them, but would not, thought it prudent to go away, the more so that when Brunswick first arrived in Lombardy there was, as he (Soria) has since been informed, an idea of arresting him. As it had been agreed between him and the Marquis [del Guasto] that they should go to Piacenza that same day, Soria did not hesitate, but left the camp a few hours before he had intended.

Respecting the Duke's unfounded complaints, enough has been said in former despatches, but in order that His Imperial Majesty may the better understand the Duke's unreasonable

* "Está mal dispuesto y pobre de personas de consejo."

1528.

demands and his own inculpability, he will here relate what has passed from the beginning.

When he (the Duke) arrived at Peschiera, Soria and the Doge of Genoa (Antoniotto Adorno) went to visit him and offer their services. They met him at Desençano, on the lake of Garda, where Andrea del Burgo, who was there, advised him (Soria) to promise some money to his men, the Duke's intention being then, as it has been since, to return to Germany through the land of the Venetians. Must observe that the Duke is quite inexperienced in military affairs; he knows nothing about them, and is therefore entirely in the hands of a council of officers appointed to advise him. At one of those councils, which Andrea del Burgo and the Doge Adorno also attended, the Duke asked how much money could be immediately issued to his troops. Soria's answer was thus conceived: "None, Milord, but I expect some soon, and as I have orders from the Prince of Orange to furnish Your Excellency with one month's pay, that the men may go at once to the relief of Naples, I will do my best to procure the funds." "How much can you give me, and at what time (replied the Duke), for 10,000 florins are wanted for my cavalry alone?" As by this time some money could be had at Lucca, the Doge interposed, saying that in his opinion the last-named sum could be procured within a week's time. Soria observed that Italy was disturbed by war, the roads infested by the enemy, and that it was no easy matter to procure that money from Lucca with due secrecy and precaution, but that if 12 days were allowed, he undertook to get it from thence. The Duke then inquired how soon after that he was to expect more. His answer was that as Giuliano della Spezzia, there present, could testify, the banker who was to pay the 10,000 florins had promised a larger sum for 20 days after that date.

After this promise, with which the Duke seemed satisfied, Soria, Andrea del Burgo, and Giuliano left the camp, the former for Lucca, the two latter for Genoa, to treat with the bankers of that city respecting the payment of other bills of exchange. There was a talk in the Duke's council, as he (Soria) has since heard, of having him arrested until the whole of the sum should be forthcoming, but some of the councillors having opposed the measure, he was allowed to depart. Went to Lucca and got with some difficulty 16,000 ducats, afterwards increased to 21,000, which he managed to bring to the German camp, and handed immediately to the Duke. To show how unreasonable the latter has been in his demands, it will be sufficient to state that he departed from Desençano on the 6th of June, and that on the 28th of the same month he was back at the German camp with 21,000 ducats, more than double the sum he had promised to procure within 12 days.

Thought naturally that the Duke would be satisfied with this. Not at all; scarcely had a week passed when he sent

1528.

for more money, and ordered him (Soria) to pay 5,000 cr. to certain Italian captains who had undertaken to raise a number of horse and foot. Answered that he had nothing to do with that. He would remit gradually all the money that came into his hands, and the Duke might then employ it as he thought best. His instructions were limited to the Germans of his army, whom he was to pay out of the Imperial treasury. Soria has in his possession the reply sent by the Duke on this occasion ; it is anything but temperate.

Again did the Duke send for 20,000 ducats. His (Soria's) answer was that he had only at his disposal 5,000, which he did not remit at the time owing to Count Gayaco having crossed the Pò in those days, and lying in wait for them, having had information through his spies that money was in readiness for the German camp. Shortly after the Duke himself sent for the 5,000 cr., which he (Soria) delivered, adding 10,000 more in bills on Giuliano della Spezzia, which were immediately cashed, so that on the 16th of July he had received 15,000 cr. ; and yet two days after, on the 18th, his men rose in mutiny and took the road to Germany, the Duke himself at their head.

The truth is that these Brunswick men are the roughest, most unruly and heretical set of soldiers that ever left Germany.* They never intended going to the kingdom of Naples, but were only bent on sacking the whole of Lombardy and getting as much money as they could from the Emperor. On their first arrival in Germany they compounded for 10,000 cr. with certain villages and towns on the banks of the Salò. They afterwards did the same in the Bresano (district of Brescia) and in the Bergamasco, getting therefrom considerable sums of money, which they have spent, God knows how. After they had compounded with the towns they generally sacked them without mercy, and yet they never ceased to crave for money. Up to this day he (Soria) has paid down 32,000 cr., a sum sufficient for any other auxiliary body of troops, were it not that the utmost confusion and mismanagement prevail in the German camp, that large salaries are paid to numerous people in office and other persons who have no right to them, and that money is squandered in various superfluities.

When they were about to quit, Andrea del Burgo and a German captain of the name of Buldristan sent a message to Soria, requesting him to meet them at a place on the Pò called Guastalla, and take Thomasso de' Fornariis with him. Went thither on the 15th of July, and they discussed the chances of getting more money for the Duke's auxiliaries. Having shown them the impossibility in which we were of attending to the Duke's wishes, Captain Buldristan observed that both the Emperor and his brother, the King of Hungary, had written to the Duke promising that all expenses of his

* "La verdad es que esta gente que vino con Branzuick era la mas rustica y eretica que nunca salió de Alemaña."

1528.

army should be paid out of the Imperial treasury, and that he complained of him (Soria) for his not fulfilling the Imperial commands. His answer was that he had no doubt the Emperor and the King had written to say so to the Duke, but that he (Soria) had never received any such orders. The Prince of Orange, who was the Emperor's captain-general in Italy, had commanded him to give one month's pay to the Germans under Brunswick, that they might at once march to the relief of Naples. This he had done superabundantly, and therefore could not do more. The captain afterwards related this conversation to his general, who got very furious at his calling the Prince captain-general of the Imperial forces in Italy, the thing he dislikes most, for he and his Germans always misinterpret any word said to them on that subject, and will only do their own pleasure. Some days after the Duke himself asked 4,000 cr. for his own private purse, as, he said, he had no money to go back to Germany. The message was brought by Captain Buldristan and by Count [Giovanni] Battista Lodron. Told them that he had no money to give, which was the fact. Had he had any he could never have been persuaded to part with 1,000 for the private expenses of such a man as Brunswick is (*por ser la persona que es*).

The above is the cause of the Duke's dislike to him. As to George Fruntsperg he has likewise been exceedingly annoying, at times threatening to arrest him (Soria) until he should be paid his due. The Emperor knows by his despatches that it was no fault of his (Soria's), but of the bankers who took the bills. Out of the 6,000 ducats, which is the amount of his claim, he has already received 4,500, and the remaining 1,500 will be paid to him very shortly.

Cannot help remarking that if the Emperor is to employ Germans in future, the command-in-chief must not be given to generals of that nation, for they have no experience of Italian affairs and are very punctilious (*y tienen muchos puntos de honrra*). Never will an army entirely composed of Germans, and having a commander of that nation, achieve single handed anything of importance.

Encloses a letter from Alonso Sanchez, who is still at La Mirandola, without knowing where to go. Had not Juan Antonio Muxetula gone to the Pope's court, he might be sent there, for he has nothing to do at present, and is a person of great experience in political affairs. Miçer Andrea del Burgo is at Rebello, in the estate of the Marquis of Mantua, with his wife.

Advices from Naples say that the Imperialists have broken into Lautrech's camp. The news is too good to believe without confirmation.—Correggio, 2nd August 1528.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed.

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 10.

1528.

3 Aug. 521. The PAPAL NUNCIO in Spain to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,553,
f. 239.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 268.

His late indisposition has prevented him from waiting on His Imperial Majesty, as it was his duty to do. Hopes soon to be able to quit Saragossa and follow the court.

Has this day received a Papal brief, in which he is ordered to request His Imperial Majesty to order, with all possible instance, the release of the three hostages, still detained [at Naples]. The College of Cardinals writes also to this effect, and both the Pope and they have expressly sent the Bishop of Leche,* his chamberlain (*intrinseco servitore*), for that purpose. Unable to accompany him on his mission, begs credence for him.—Çaragoça, 3rd August 1528.

Signed: "Humillissimo servitor e schiavo, El Nuncio."

Addressed: "Alla S. Ce. e. Cat. Mta."

Italian. Original. pp. 1½.

6 Aug. 522. MICER SIGISMONDO DI LOFREDO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 103.

Begs to observe that most of the noblemen and people to whom the royal revenues (*rentas Reales del Reyno*) have been consigned are now in open rebellion against the Emperor, owing to which they have forfeited that and all they possess. In case the Emperor should dispose, as is but just, of their confiscated property, it would be advisable to retain for the Crown and Imperial Court the said fiscal dues (*los dichos pagamientos fiscales y rentas Reales*).

Recommends Giovanni Battista Pignatello, who, unlike other Neapolitan nobles, has served, and is serving, faithfully in this Imperial army with his own son and several of his relatives, as his father Annibale [Pignatello] has no doubt informed the High Chancellor by this time. Would likewise have recommended Scipione di Suma, Pignatello's half-brother, had he not seen lately letters, not addressed to him, but to other parties, stating that he has gone over to the French. Hesitates to believe the news, but if true, it must be his own wife, a grand-daughter of the Marquis of Campo Basso, who is the cause of it. Annibale is very much concerned about it, and says that he will do his utmost to secure the person of the said Suma, and should he fall into his hands, will send him to Spain to be beheaded.

The moment the siege of Naples is raised, he (Sigismondo) intends joining the army with his son.—[Naples?], 6th August 1528.

Signed: "Sigismundo de Lofredo."

Indorsed: "Relacion de las cartas, &c."

Italian. Contemporary abstract.

* Lecce, which Count Baldasar Castiglione, at this time Apostolic Nuncio in Spain, writes *Leche*, is a town of Naples in the province of Otranto, and the see of a bishop, who at this time must have been Gonsalvo di Sangro.

1528.

10 Aug. 523. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 116.

Is in receipt of two Imperial letters, one a duplicate of the 13th December last, and another of the 20th January, brought by Captain Sancho Lopez. No answer is required, as the orders contained in them could not be executed, and the death of De Vere (Veyre) put a stop to the new commission entrusted to him. Will wait at Naples until fresh orders come from Spain, for it would not be either honourable or convenient that he should, under present circumstances, go home, and use the leave of absence lately granted to him. (*Cipher* :) As the bankers who are to discount the bills of exchange accepted [in Spain] are absent from Naples, and Thomasso de' Fornaris himself is with the new German army, he (Perez) has literally nothing to do. 30,000 ducats drawn by that banker on a merchant of this city cannot be had, as the party is in the island of Capri, lately occupied by the French, and he writes to say that it is expressly forbidden to pay money or accept bills for the Imperialists.

Has of course been unable to attend to ecclesiastical business at the Pope's court, as he was commanded to do, such as to request His Holiness not to grant the petition of the Dean of Jaen to resign his benefices in favour of persons not approved of by the Marquis, his father; that the trial for the murder of Pere Villalonga of Mallorca be committed to the High Commanders of Calatrava and Alcantara; the affair of the Provost of Valdtkirck and others.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Naples. Perez."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

10 Aug. 524. PROTHONOTARY CARACCILO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 123.

(*Cipher* :) Has written at full, through Captain Rivadeneyra, of the events after the departure of the Duke and his Germans, of whom Antonio de Leyva has again been able to retain nine companies. In consequence, however, of the bank of the Adda remaining defenceless, the enemy was able to supply Lodi. As the place occupied by the Imperialists was very unhealthy during this hot season, and many of the soldiers were attacked with fever and ague, it has been decided to move to Marignano and its neighbourhood, principally as Mons. de St. Pol is reported to be at Castel San Giovanne in the Piacentino, there to join the Duke of Urbino. When united, their forces will amount to 18,000 foot, besides the men-at-arms and light horse, with competent artillery and ammunition. But Antonio de Leyva is thinking of attacking them together or separately, as it may be, and is sure of victory, for the enemy's army, though more numerous, is almost entirely composed of raw levies. Yet he thinks that

1528.

there will be no pitched battle, as St. Pol is not likely to try the fortune of arms, but will fly before us.

Has no doubt that Leyva will write home explaining his plan for the future campaign, and therefore will end this despatch by observing that there is no money, that the Germans will not fight without, and that it is absolutely necessary that we should be provided with it, since the enemy, according to report, has plenty.—Milan, 10th August 1528.

Signed: "Il Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. 1528. From Milan. Caracciolo. 10th August."

Italian. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering between the lines and on separate sheet (fol. 123). pp. 4.

10 Aug. 525. The SAME to the HIGH CHANCELLOR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 118.

Writes to the Emperor about the affairs of the Duchy. Has addressed letters innumerable (*infinite*) both to His Imperial Majesty, and to him (the High Chancellor), and yet has never received an answer. Since his departure from Genoa,* and return to Spain, has not heard from him. Is very much hurt at being treated in this manner, he who has staked his life and property for the Imperial service.—Milan, 10th August 1528.

Signed: "Il Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Caracciolo. Milan."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

11 Aug. 526. ARTICLES of CONTRACT with DORIA approved by the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. f.
B. M. Add, 28,577,
f. 269.

In consequence of the negotiations carried on between our councillors Ascanio Colonna, Grand Constable [of Naples], the Marquis del Guasto, our High Chamberlain for the said kingdom, and Francisco de Ruytt (*sic*), knight and lord of Vauri, gentleman of our household, on one part, and Miçer Andrea Doria on the other, and in conformity with the terms and conditions proposed by the said Andrea in a memorandum dated from the castle of Lezzo the 19th ulto., and brought [to Spain] by his nephew, Miçer Erasmo Doria, the following articles have been drawn up:—

1st. Should he (Doria), by God's favour, succeed in snatching the city and territory of Genoa from the hands of the enemy, the Republic shall recover its freedom as well as its former dominions, especially the territory of Savona. The said restoration to be accomplished without any charge to the Emperor, except that which the Republic itself may vote and obtain from the citizens. Orders to be sent to all the Imperial generals in Italy to defend Genoa from all attack and violence. *Granted.*

* The Chancellor left Montoggio (Montobio?) on the 13th of August. See p. 346, No. 167.

1528.

2nd. That all Genoese be allowed to trade with the Emperor's dominions, and enjoy the privileges of Imperial subjects. *Granted.*

3rd. That any injury of whatsoever kind done by him (Doria) or by any of his lieutenants and delegates to His Imperial Majesty or his subjects and vassals in time of war be forgotten, and no indemnity of any sort demanded. *Granted.*

4th. That he (Doria) be not bound to free any of the Emperor's subjects and vassals now serving as prisoners in his galleys, unless exchanged for slaves, or criminals sentenced to the galleys for life. *Granted.*

5th. Asks for a condotta of 12 galleys, with which he engages to serve His Imperial Majesty wherever and against whatsoever foes it may be his pleasure to send him. The said galleys to be furnished with competent artillery and ammunition, and provided with crews and soldiers as befits so great a Prince as the Emperor. For the maintenance and provisioning of which, as well as for the pay of mariners and soldiers, 60,000 cr. of gold, of those called 'del Sole,' shall be paid by instalments in advance at the beginning of each month. *Granted.*

6th. Is to have the title of captain-general [of the Sea], and lieutenant-general of the Imperial galleys under his command, with the same authority over them and the same privileges as those enjoyed by his predecessors in command, and latterly by Don Ugo [de Moncada]. *Granted.*

7th. Asks for himself and family (*per lui e sua casa*) a fit place in the kingdom of Naples, close to the sea, where his galleys may lie in security. Gaeta would be a convenient place for this purpose, but if His Imperial Majesty objects, any other maritime town in the kingdom of Naples might be named.

Granted. The Prince of Orange has been written to to provide for the said Doria a place close to the sea, where his galleys may be safely at anchor; Gaeta, being in the hands of an officer so deserving [as Alarcon is], cannot be disposed of.

8th. He further asks for permission to obtain from Sicily or Puglia, as may be most convenient, 10,000 *salme* of wheat at the usual price, and have them conveyed to the nearest port and the best suited for the provisioning of his galleys. *Granted.*

9th. To be provided with cannon balls and gunpowder, as customary in such sea services.

Granted. He shall have every year 2,400 cr. to keep up the needful supply of these articles.

10th. That this present engagement begin from the 1st of July 1528, the date at which he (Doria) took his *congé* of the most Christian King Francis I. of France. The engagement to last and stand good for two years, during which neither His Imperial Majesty can dismiss him from his service, nor he (Doria) ask for his *congé*, unless in the event of his not being paid at proper times, or the Emperor making his peace with France. *Granted.*

1528.

11th. Should it be necessary for any important undertaking, or otherwise, to increase the number of armed men on the galleys, he is to be allowed to put 50 men on board of each at the Emperor's expense, or else the Imperial ministers and agents shall supply him with the said infantry. *Granted.*

12th. That on the first vacant sees or other benefices in Spain, the kingdom of Naples, or in other of His Majesty's dominions, an annual pension of 3,000 or more ducats be granted to one of his near relatives.

To this twelfth and last article His Imperial Majesty has already given a proper answer through Miçer Erasmo Doria, "con razon y honestidad á su contentamiento."

The aforesaid Miçer Erasmo, in his own name and in that of Miçer Andrea, promises to have this engagement sworn to and ratified, and to place the same in the hands of the Imperial secretary, &c.—Madrid, 10th August 1528. Follow the signatures of Don Juan Manuel; Nicolao Perrenot; Fr. Ruptt (*sic*); Juan Aleman; Erasmo Doria.

Ratification of agreement with Andrea Doria.—Madrid, 11th August 1528.

Signed: "Carolus, Cessareæ et Catholicæ Majestatis mandato. J. Aleman."

Italian and Spanish. Original. pp. 7.

13 Aug. 527. ASCANIO COLONNA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 105.

Is about to sail for Gaeta with Doria. The object is to see whether provisions cannot be obtained for the relief of Naples. To do this effectually a large fleet would be required, but at any rate let it come sooner or later; if anything be lost it shall be speedily recovered.

Hears that Octavio Orsino had arrived at Rome with money, and is actually raising troops to reinforce the French before Naples. Is sorry to say that the Pope has given Orsino permission to make levies of men in the lands of the Church. No wonder, since he has also allowed the Abbot of Farfa to invade the lands of the Colonnese, burn and destroy what little remained. For this end the widow and daughter of Vespasiano* gave him four pieces of artillery. The Abbot, after this, marched away in the direction of Lautrech's camp, but was met on the road thither by a nephew of the Cardinal, who, happening to be much inferior in numbers, was defeated and slain.† All these misfortunes have fallen on his house and family, owing to the want of Imperial troops in that district ever since the siege of Naples.

Cardinal [Pompeo] Colonna is still at Gaeta, ready to go to whichever place he can be of most use to His Imperial Majesty.— —, 13th August 1528.

Indorsed: "Relacion de diversas cartas, &c."

Italian. Contemporary abstract in Spanish. p. 1.

* Giulia Gonzaga and Isabella Colonna. Vespasiano had been married first to Beatrice, daughter of the Lord of Piombino.

† Marzio Colonna. See above, p. 741, No. 491.

1528.

13 Aug. 528. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 12.

After his letter dated from Correggio the 2nd ulto., the galleys of France arrived on the coast of Naples, and landed close to that city on the 19th the *soi-disant* Prince of Navarre (Henri de Bourbon) and Renzo da Ceri, with a considerable sum of money for the use of the besieging army. Lutreque (Lautrec) sent a strong body of infantry and cavalry to receive them; but the Imperialists, having had intelligence of their march, went out and attacked them so successfully that very few escaped being slain or made prisoners. Among the latter was a French superior officer, named Mons. de Candala, Count Ugo de Pepuli (Peppoli), a Bolognese, and three more captains. Some go as far as to say that our people also got possession of part of the money, which seems hard to believe. The Prince of Orange was ill at the time, as likewise Mons. de Lautrec. Many died outside the city of various diseases (*dolencias*), as likewise inside Naples, and the death of Valdemont (Vaudemont) was confirmed.

Advices from Viterbo say that the Leaguers were making levies of men to reinforce Lautrec's army, the ranks of which had been so thinned by the plague and daily skirmishing that there were scarcely 2,000 men fit for service. Vessels laden with provisions entered Naples from time to time; there was no longer the anxiety of former days. This was owing principally to the galleys of Andrea Doria, which were doing good service on that coast. Count Burrello had obliged the French to raise the siege of Manfredonia and recovered the whole of Calabria.

Leyva has raised the siege of Lodi, leaving part of his forces between that city and Milan. Another division is in the Lomelina, and he himself with the rest of his army is in the Giaradada (Giara di Adda), close to the Venetian territory, and ready to pounce upon them, though it is reported that the Duke of Urbino is coming to meet him at the head of considerable bands. Mons. de St. Pol occupies strong positions on this side of the river Pò, between Alessandria and a place called Estradela (Stradella), and they say that he and Francesco Sforza and the Duke of Urbino have agreed to meet at Piacenza for the purpose of settling a plan of campaign. Leyva, however, writes in date of the 6th that the French general (St. Pol) had gone to France post-haste, on account of the illness of the King of France. This last piece of news is too good not to require confirmation.

Alonso Sanchez is here, suffering from fever and ague. Andrea del Burgo is also expected, for he is afraid that the Venetians will have him assassinated in the territory of Mantua, where he is at present.

Has just heard that two gentlemen have passed through Reggio post-haste. They are sent by Lutreque (Lautrec) to St. Pol, urging him to go to Naples as soon as possible with the whole of his force; otherwise, he says, the war of Naples will last a long time, or else his camp will break up.

1528.

A friend writes yesterday from Reggio that St. Pol was about to cross the Pò near Carmona (Cremona), at a place called Bocadada (Bocca d'Adda), in order to join his forces to those of the Duke of Urbino. This intelligence, however, is not confirmed.

The Pope is still at Viterbo.—La Mirandola, 13th August 1528.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Soria. 13th August."

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

15 Aug. 529. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 129.

On Sunday, the 19th of June, there was a skirmish, almost a battle, between this garrison and part of the French army. Lautrech had sent several companies of foot to the coast for the purpose of protecting the landing of certain supplies of money and provisions which their galleys had brought. So fierce was the onset of the Imperialists that the enemy took to flight, losing more than half their number. Mussiur de Candala (Candalle), colonel of Gascon infantry, and Count Pepuli (Peppoli) were taken prisoners. The former died shortly after his arrival at Naples, having lost an arm; the latter managed to get exchanged for three of our captains of men-at-arms and light horse, prisoners in Lautrech's camp, besides paying 10,000 ducats* to the man who took him. So complete was the victory, that had our men pushed on in pursuit of the flying enemy, the whole of the French camp would have been broken up, for already some of the troopers began to fly, and they were so frightened that they could hardly saddle their horses.

Very few days pass without the Imperialists bringing in prisoners, horses, and food of all kinds, for the peasants no longer help the French, whom they hate, but guide our soldiers through the country, and give them all sorts of information. Only the other day the skirmishers went to a tower (*torre*) 10 leagues distant from this city, where the enemy had stored a quantity of gunpowder; they escalated the tower, and set fire to it after securing the powder.

Count Borrello has crossed over from Sicily to Calabria and defeated the Duke of Somma and other French captains. They say that he is coming this way, accompanied by the Prince of Bisignano and Pero Gonzalez de Mendoza, and that Lautrech is afraid that they will stop his supplies from Pulla (Puglia). After his defeat the Duke of Somma visited Lautrech in his camp, who abused him immensely for allowing himself thus to be beaten by the Imperialists. In general he treats

* Thus in the original letter, but perhaps it is a mistake for 1,000, which seems a more adequate ransom.

1528.

the Neapolitan barons who are with him very badly; all are sorry at what they have done.

As a sort of make up for this, Castellamare has been taken by the enemy. Nine companies of foot whom Lautrech sent thither with artillery succeeded in planting their guns in a commanding position, and the governor was obliged to capitulate.

Fabricio Marra-mao has come out innocent from the charges brought against him. He was charged with being in treaty with Lautrech to open to his men one of the city gates which he commanded. The accusation proved to be false, and he has been restored to his command, at which all are very glad, for he is a favourite with the soldiers. His accuser has this morning been dragged through the streets of this city.

Doria's galleys are anxiously expected on this coast, for the Marquis del Guasto writes that they would be at Gaeta on the 6th inst. The Venetians are greatly in fear of them, and have sent a message to their provveditor carefully to avoid an engagement. On Doria's arrival, however, all anxiety will cease as to the provisioning of this city and army, for already barges begin to come with grain from Sicily, and even with preserves and sweetmeats (*dulces y conservas*).

Lope de Soria writes, in date of the 19th ulto., that 2,000 Germans had mutinied in Lombardy, but still there was some hope of Brunswick coming here with the rest of his force. Leyva was to accompany him, leaving a sufficient garrison in the castle of Milan.

The Prince of Orange and Hernando de Alarcon have been unwell; they have since recovered. Alonso Manrique and Don Alvaro de Çuñiga have died. In the enemy's camp the mortality is very great; most of the men-at-arms are quartered outside, owing to the prevailing disease and want of food. The other day a marauding party (*sacomanos*) from this city, having elected a captain of their own, surprised a town called Soma, where many of the French men-at-arms were quartered. They brought in all the wine and cattle they could find, and several prisoners of note, all of whom will be able to pay a good ransom.

Advices have come that Renzo da Ceri,* who had gone to Aquila, Spoleto, and Perosa (Perugia) by Lautrech's command to raise levies, has been completely unsuccessful. The people, knowing the weakness of the enemy, will not enlist. At Benevento, and for 12 or 15 miles round, nothing else is heard but "Spagna! Spagna!" the country people doing honour to the Imperialists who happen to go thither, and informing them how they can best harm the enemy.

His Holiness is raising troops to the amount of 8,000 infantry and 800 horse. The object of these armaments is unknown, but is generally believed that he will wait for the issue of this campaign to declare himself. It is a fact that he

* Though generally so called, he belonged to the Orsini family. His full name was Lorenzo Orsino da Ceri, contracted into *Renzo da Ceri*.

1528.

has lately been trying through one of his chamberlains to dissuade Doria from taking service with the Emperor. He is still at Viterbo, and there is no talk of his returning to Rome.

The governor of Ostia having found that two or three officers of his garrison were in treaty with the French has had them executed.

The Duke of Traieto has died, instituting as his heir the son of his second son, called Lodovico, for the eldest is now with the French. Hernando, another of the Duke's sons, who is now here, has been appointed his guardian.—Naples, 15th August 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Perez. Naples. 15th August."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

19 Aug. **530.** MANFREDINO BUCCHA and TROIANO BOCZUTO.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 134.

Beg compensation for their losses. Unwilling, when the war began, to reside on their estates, lest the French should oblige them to declare in their favour, they went to Naples with their wives and families. Such, however, was the ill-treatment they sustained from the soldiery (*le militi spagnoli et alamanni*) that they were obliged to leave behind all their goods and chattels, and take refuge in Palermo. Here they are now, sincerely attached to the Imperial cause, and ready to sacrifice their lives for it. Beg to be kept in mind, and indemnified for their losses when the day of retribution comes, and the French are expelled from the kingdom of Naples.—Panormi (Palermo), 19th August.

Italian. Original. p. 1.

20 Aug. **531.** MAXIMILIANUS TRANSYLVANUS* to ALFONSO DE VALDES.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Cart. de Er. y otr.,
f. 76.

Was agreeably surprised by his letter announcing the challenge of the two kings. Quite a tragedy, though he (Maximilian) believes the issue will be rather comical than otherwise ("sentio exitum comicum potius quam tragicum futurum"). Meanwhile people talk of nothing else, "quidquid delirant Reges plectuntur archivi."

News from Italy and from Gelders.

Regrets that the canonry of Cartagena could not be obtained for his brother Jacopo Valdés.—E Sylvano nostro, die 20th Augusti 1528.

Signed: "Maximilianus."

Latin. Holograph. pp. 3.

* This Maximilian was a friend of Peter Martyr ab Angheria, with whom he was in literary correspondence. See the Epistles of the latter, published for the first time at Alcalá, 1530, in fol. As to the *Jacobus Valdesius* here named the reader may consult the *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*, pp. 60–81, and Pidal, *Juan de Valdes*, &c. He was not, however, the brother, but the cousin of Alfonso.

1528.

20 Aug. 532. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Cart. de Erasmi. y
otr., f79.

Duplicate of the above with the following postscriptum :—
As I was closing my last, yours from Saragossa came to hand, and with it a transcript of the Emperor's answer to the French King's challenge, "quæ certe mihi jucundissimæ fuerunt." That dialogue of yours of the Sack of Rome appears to me wonderfully fine. I beg you not to deprive me of it. It will be kept by me secret as if in a tomb, if for fear of envious people you do not choose it to be published.*

I am very glad to hear that the High Chancellor again enjoys the Emperor's favour as much as ever. From his greatness and splendour I anticipate much good to myself and to you.

The canonry of Cartagena, &c.

Latin. Original. p. 1.

24 Aug. 533. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 137.

On the 16th, the day after the date of his last despatch, a duplicate of which is enclosed, there came to the gates of this city a trumpeter of the Marquis of Saluzzo (Michael Antonio), announcing Lautrec's death the night before, and asking for some balsam to embalm his body, which was speedily sent him. It appears that Lautrec before dying, appointed the Marquis to succeed him in the command of the French army, which he has long coveted. What he will do with it under the present unfavourable circumstances is more than he (Perez) can say. He still expects reinforcements from France, though the rumour is that St. Pol, who had nearly reached—others say passed—the frontiers of this kingdom, has been obliged to return post-haste, owing to a dangerous illness of King Francis, and that Renço de Cherri (da Ceri), who was to accompany him in the expedition, can find nobody to go with him.

Fabricio Marramao with his band is still outside Naples, inflicting all possible harm on the enemy, who, according to the report of spies and deserters, is greatly discomfited and on the point of raising the siege. The other day he took from the enemy the town of Nuchera (Nocera), and some villages and castles in the immediate neighbourhood of Naples. He is now laying siege to the citadel [of Nocera] where Count Montorio is said to be. In the town itself, the Bishop of Avellino, a staunch French partisan, was taken prisoner. It is expected that he will pay a good ransom.

* "Dialogum illum tuum de Urbis excidio mirum in modum videre gestis ; oro te noli me ullo fraudare. Erit apud me quodam modo, sepulchro, postquam eum edi non vis ob invidiam declinandam." The first edition of this book : *Dialogo : en que particularmente se tratan : las cosas acaecidas en Roma el año de MDXXVII, preceded by another of his brother Juan, intituled : Dialogo de Mercurio y Caron*, is supposed to be of 1529.

1528.

Sanchez wrote from La Mirandola, in date of the 31st of July, that he was about to join the Germans and come this way. The intelligence must be true, for Antonio de Leyva is doing his utmost to hasten their march. Should those auxiliaries come, or else the Imperial fleet, 50 sail strong, exclusive of the galleys now fitting at Barcelona, soon make its appearance, the triumph is certain, and surely the French will be ultimately expelled from this kingdom.

Four vessels (*naos*) are expected from Sicily which have lately come from Spain (*cipher*;) with wine and provisions. They will be right welcome, for certainly bread is getting scarce, and will be still more so by next month, the shortness of that article being always more severely felt than that of wine among us Spaniards.

Juan Antonio Muxetula, who resides at the Pope's court, writes to say he has despatched a messenger informing the Emperor respecting the customary presentation about this time of the white steed (*hacanea*) for the kingdom of Naples, as likewise that the cardinals had decided in consistory to send troops against Civittà Vecchia. He (Muxetula) had entered into an agreement with His Holiness to give him, instead of the 7,000 ducats annually presented about this time, a quantity of corn from Sicily amounting to the same sum; but it appears that the Prince of Orange and the Council object to this arrangement, on the plea that wheat being so dear this year, the Pope would gain nearly 3,000 ducats by the transaction, and that it will be enough to commute that sum for a permission to export a certain quantity of corn. Muxetula has been instructed to say this to the Pope, who is not likely to take this objection of the Council in good part. He complains bitterly of the governor of Civittà Vecchia [Don Alonso de Cordoba], to whom the Prince has written, recommending him the Pope's affairs, but at the same time ordering him to keep good watch over the city and castle.

The Prince of Orange has recovered and returned to his work. He daily visits Alarcon, who is not quite well yet.

Permission was applied for by Vaudemont's servants to have him buried at one of the monasteries in this city. This has been readily granted by the Prince, but the body has not yet been brought to Naples. They say that the Marquis of Saluzzo opposes it.

Count Sarno with his band attacked Nola the other day and took it by capitulation, allowing the Countess, with about 40 of her people, to go out of the place. Valerio Orsino, who was inside with some French troops, retired to the citadel, which was immediately invested by Sangro's (Sarno's?) men. The French then sent to the relief of the besieged upwards of 1,000 men, but Hernando Gonçaga having heard of it, went out of Naples with 300 horse and as many hackbutiers, met them at a short distance from Nola, and defeated them with great slaughter, taking three of their banners. Had not night

1528.

come on they would have been slain or taken prisoners to a man. It is expected that Orsino will soon surrender.

Benevento, Salerno, and Sanct Severino have been reduced to obedience. It is expected that many other cities and towns will soon follow their example, so that before this post leaves, the Emperor may perchance be informed that the whole of this kingdom has been reconquered.

Count Burrello is 50 or 60 miles from hence. Fabricio Marramao has gone out to meet him, that they may both attack the French, who, it seems, are greatly disheartened and in want of provisions, for they can only get them now from Aversa and Capua, and even those our men have seized once or twice. They have abandoned Puçol (Puçuolo), after taking with them all the seamen they could find. A stone house on the sea shore, which they had carefully fortified, and in which they always had two guns of large calibre, they have likewise given up, no doubt because they could not defend it any longer.—Naples, 24th August 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Perez. 24th August."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

25 Aug. 534. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f 144.

Has written by Captain Rivadeneyra, who left the camp before Lodi on the 25th ulto., and afterwards on the 4th, 11th, and 13th inst., by way of Genoa. The Germans did at last what they had long threatened. No sooner did the Duke of Brunswick receive the 15,000 ducats which he said he wanted for the pay of his men, and to march to the succour of Naples, than they actually took the road to Germany. (*Cipher:*) Needs scarcely point out the dishonesty of such conduct, having often done so in his former despatches. Suffice it to say that if there has been any fault in not paying Brunswick's auxiliary troops in time, it is certainly not his, as the Duke pretends, but Thomasso's, from whom and from Centurione he (Soria) has only received 37,000 ducats up to this day. Of these Brunswick has received 33,000; the remainder has been handed over to Leyva to pay his own men.

A letter has been just received from the Prince of Orange of the 8th inst., ordering him (Soria) not to pay money to any person or for any service whatsoever, unless it be for the immediate relief of Naples. This, in his humble opinion, will be injurious rather than otherwise to the Imperial service, inasmuch as the Germans under Leyva must be paid, or else they are sure to mutiny. That general engaged them at the

1528.

time they were going home. They have done good service, and may hereafter defend Lombardy, but if in pursuance of the Prince's orders no pay is to be issued to them, what is Leyva to do? Is in great perplexity and knows not how to act. Thomasso persists in his determination not to advance one carlino out of the other 200,000 ducats of this new credit, as he says that his brother and partner in Spain have not been reimbursed of their advances.

Before Branzwic (Brunswick) left Italy, (*cipher* :) the King of Hungary had been applied to for 6,000 more Germans to remain in Lombardy under Leyva in case of the former marching on Naples. (*Common writing* :) The King's answer, dated the 12th inst., has come, stating that orders had already been given for the raising of the said Germans, who were to be paid out of the 50,000 ducats lately remitted from Spain. Nothing more has been heard since, but when His Highness hears of Brunswick's departure he will no doubt hasten the armament. (*Common writing* :) He (Soria) has written to him, begging for the speedy enlistment of this force, (*cipher* :) and requesting that the general in command of them be one of ability and experience, willing to serve under a commander-in-chief in Naples or Lombardy, as it may happen, for it is a known fact that Germans by themselves cannot achieve anything important in Italy.

(*Common writing* :) The Pope is still at Viterbo, but had announced his intention of returning to Rome soon. (*Cipher* :) He had heard of the arrival at Naples of Miğer Mai, and was glad of it, although he (the Pope) was on very good terms with Muxetula.

(*Common writing* :) Leyva's last letter is dated from Mariñano (Marignano) the 18th inst. His plan is to attack the enemy whenever they come near him. Frenchmen and Venetians had effected their junction between Cremona and Crema, and crossed the Adda close to Lodi on the 20th, where St. Pol was, with the intention, as it was rumoured, of marching on Milan, though the Venetians were not in favour of such a movement. (*Cipher* :) Now that French power is on the decline, and that victory is almost sure in Naples, as well as in Lombardy, His Majesty must think of retaking Genoa, which, besides affording good anchorage and shelter to the Imperial fleets, possesses many rich bankers and men of business. Whatever may be the form of its government, anything is preferable to its being, as well as Savona, in the hands of the French.

(*Common writing* :) Sanchez is here. He has been unwell lately, but is now much better. Andrea del Burgo is also here with his wife. He was obliged to quit the Mantuan territory, as the Marquis insisted upon his leaving. Both help him (Soria) in his commission, which consists in getting out of

1528.

Thomasso Fornaris the rest of the money.—La Mirandola, 25th August 1528.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. La Mirandola. Lope de Soria. 25th August."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (fol. 143). pp. 7.

26 Aug. 535. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 147.

Encloses duplicate of his despatches of the 15th and 24th inst. Since then intelligence has come of the arrival of Doria's galleys at Gaeta, which has greatly rejoiced this army. His force amounts to 19 sail, of which 13 are large galleys.

On the 26th the combined French and Venetian fleets passed before this city with two ships (*naos*) and one galleon. They anchored at Castellamare, and took on board Lautrech's horses and Vaudemont's goods and chattels (*ropa*). It is believed that the galleys came for no other purpose than to protect the two ships from being captured by Doria. They say that, before sailing off, the enemy dismantled Castellamare and removed the artillery.

The Countess of Nola has come, and is now staying at Castilnovo with the Princess of Salerno. She has brought with her about 40 people. Valerio Orsino still holds the castle, but in all probability will be obliged to surrender soon.—Naples, 26th August 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. From Rome. Perez. 26th August."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

30 Aug. 536. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 149.

Though His Imperial Majesty must have heard from the Prince, Alarcon, and others, the news of the great victory just gained over the enemy, he (Perez) will relate in a few words what passed.

On the morning of Thursday the 27th of August, intelligence was brought to this city that about 700 Frenchmen, posted on a mountain commanding the gate of San Genaro, were preparing to go away, and had begun to remove their artillery and baggage. In order to prevent this, Juan de Urbina and other Spanish captains decided on attacking them, which was done, the French retiring to a fort they had con-

1528.

structed on the top of the mountain. This the Spaniards immediately invested, and attacked during the whole of Thursday and Friday, until the French within the fort, perceiving that they were not succoured, offered to capitulate and leave behind their arms, artillery, and baggage, provided they were allowed to join the French camp. These terms were accepted by Urbina, and being executed, when all of a sudden the bulk of the French army advanced to the relief of their comrades. But as it was night, and a most awful storm of wind and rain raging at the time, the Spaniards had no difficulty in beating off the enemy, who, panic struck, ran away in all directions, following them to the very trenches of their fortified camp, which they found completely deserted. Only the Marquis of Saluzzo with about 1,500 infantry escaped, and took the road to Aversa, where he would not have been admitted had not the governor, who was a creature of his, taken forcible possession of one of the gates, and let him in. This very day, the 28th, the Prince of Orange, though not yet entirely recovered from his last illness and still very weak, has gone thither with the whole of the forces at his disposal, infantry, cavalry, as well as artillery, to batter the walls of the city in case the Marquis should refuse to surrender.

Besides the two large guns and two smaller ones left in the fort at the top of the mountain, the French in their flight abandoned the whole of their baggage, their tents, and artillery, besides large stores of ammunition. Thirteen large guns were found at their camp, a quantity of powder and shot, carts innumerable, and all manner of valuable property. Every day the men and women from this city go out and come back loaded with the plunder, and it is quite wonderful to see the Neapolitans, like so many strings of ants, going to and fro in search of sheeting and wearing apparel of all kinds.

Many Germans, and even Frenchmen, have remained in the camp unable to move, being for the most part sick or convalescent. Strict orders have been issued at the gates not to let them in for fear they should bring in the plague; but notwithstanding these and other precautions, the Germans, moved to pity by the miserable state in which their countrymen in the French service have been left, let some of them in by stealth.

The roads to Aversa are literally covered with fugitives, and 6,000 or 7,000 Frenchmen, most of them disabled by the prevailing disease, are on their way thither. The Imperialists in pursuit kill but few of them, only looking after their purses. The light horse have made the most booty and taken some prisoners, among whom is Count Pedro Navarro, who was brought in last night, exceedingly emaciated and weakened by intermittent fever, which he caught 40 days ago. Saw him last night with Alarcon, who, though still very weak, called also at the house of the captain who took him prisoner. Great has been the latter's disappointment at not having



1528.

been present at this French defeat, and although the physicians would not let him go, he was on the point of leaving last night, and would have joined the Prince of Orange at Aversa had he been able to sit his horse.

Another of the light horse brought in the brother of Mons. de Labrit (Albret), who offered him 10,000 ducats if he would let him go, only that the trooper refused, and wounded him slightly in the face (*en el gesto*).

Another of the prisoners was Mons. de la Vala (Laval), who, being ill at the time, was brought in a litter between two great mules, on each side of which walked a page in livery.*

A Spanish captain of the name of Moya was also taken prisoner, who is not likely to fare well, having deserted our ranks and gone over to the enemy.

Last night news came that Capua had raised its banners for the Emperor, and that its governor had been slain by the inhabitants; a sad blow for the French, who will now have no place of refuge; this is no doubt the reason why all flock to Aversa.

Andrea Doria is at Yscla (Ischia) exchanging shots with the enemy's fleet. It is reported here that one of the French or Venetian galleys was sunk in those waters by Doria's artillery, though they succeeded in removing Lautrech's valuables, as well as a good number of fugitives from his camp.

Count Burrello was at Castro Villa (Villani?) in Calabria, waiting for Pero Gonzalez de Mendoza to come to Naples. As their assistance is no longer required here, it is to be supposed that when they hear of the late success they will rather look to the entire subjugation of that province, where only a few insignificant places still remain in the hands of the French.

Humbly begs His Imperial Majesty to decide what is to be done with this army. Is very much afraid that both Germans and Spaniards will not leave Naples without being paid; already there is some talk of it among soldiers of both nations.

The castle of Nola has surrendered. Valerio Orsino, who is now here, swears that he will never again serve the King of France, and that if the Emperor will only accept his services, he will do his best to wash out the spot on his escutcheon.

Count Pero Navarro is still at the lodgings of his captor, and refuses going elsewhere. The light horse have lately brought in other French prisoners of note, and among the rest one Mons. de Torno and his brother.—Naples, 30th August 1528.

P.S.—News has come that Aversa has capitulated. The Marquis of Saluzzo and Count Guido [Rangone?] to remain prisoners until the whole of this kingdom be reduced and pacified. The rest of the French to go out with arms, in

* "El qual vinie enfermo en letica, que la trayen dos grandes hacemilas, y en cada una un page vestido de su devisa."

1528.

trowsers and doublet (*en calças y jubon*), and reeds in their hands. But as Captain Rodrigo de Ripalda is going to Barcelona with the above happy news, he (Perez) needs not say any more on the subject.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. From Naples. Perez."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4½.

1 Sept. 537. The EMPEROR to QUEEN KATHARINE.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof- u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224.

Most serene Queen, most high, excellent, and mighty lady, my dearest and most beloved aunt: I have been told that the most serene King, your husband, is constantly trying to bring the Pope round to the opinion that your marriage is not a true one. A highly scandalous thing indeed (*tan fea novedad*) this would be if such a proceeding were to be attempted by the King, your husband, and my uncle, when it is notorious that he and you have been married for upwards of 23 years, by perfectly legitimate Papal bulls and dispensations, of which I possess the originals, and now enclose attested copies; and that out of the said marriage has issued so graceful and excellent a daughter as the most illustrious Princess of Wales, Doña Maria, my dearest and most beloved cousin. It is indeed very hard (*recia cosa*) to believe that a King and Prince, such as your husband is, should consent, much less try, to have it declared and published that the said Princess is illegitimate, and, at the same time, should doubt and contest the authority of the Pope as Vicar of Christ over this world.

I really believe that so evil a proceeding (*tan fea novedad*) as this does not spring from the King, your husband, but is caused by the advice of some of his ministers. It surprises me that Your Serenity does not write of what is passing about these matters, for it is right that everything should come to my knowledge, and that you should not be condemned before being heard.

I am well aware that all the bishops and doctors (*obispos letrados*) of that kingdom have been summoned, and told the truth to the King, your husband, and that he would not receive their opinion, as he wishes to take another wife, and intends following his inclination on that score.* Now I hear that Cardinal Campeggio is going to England, but I am certain—because the Pope writes me so—that nothing will be done to your detriment, and that the whole case will be referred to him at Rome, the Cardinal's secret mission (*cargo secreto*) being to advise the King, your husband, to do his duty. Putting aside these infatuations (*estas abusiones y*

* What follows is added on the margin by the Emperor himself.

1528.

designios), the King is a good Christian, and having assumed the title of "Defender of the Faith," it is to be believed that he will act as such, and not bring matters to so scandalous a pass; yet in case the King, your husband, were so ill-advised as to act in opposition to Cardinal Campeggio's advice, I declare to Your Serenity that I place all trust in the Pope's sanctity and virtue. As he has been fully informed by me of all this business, I am persuaded that he will not allow so great an injustice as this, nor give sentence without hearing both parties.

However this may be, I beseech and recommend Your Serenity by no means to consent to the marriage being dissolved, to the great dishonour of the royal blood whence you are sprung, and the scandalous example to other Princes, whom, close as they are in consanguinity to us, this matter concerns almost as much as your own person, and who all hold it as such.

If, however, Your Serenity were to be so greatly sinned against, that the King, your husband, after giving you full hearing as befits between man and wife, would not consider and treat you as his legitimate wife, and the illustrious Princess of Wales, Doña Maria, as your own legitimate daughter, then every one of us must strive to make the King conscious of his duties, and aware of the error under which he lies, for you know well the love and affection which I and my predecessors have always borne to the house of England, and which myself bear towards it, notwithstanding the unjust challenge the King has lately made me, and his taking up the quarrel of his inveterate enemy, the King of France.

Your Serenity will give me great pleasure by sending me news of your health, and saying what more you wish to be done, not only in this matter, but also in all that concerns you, because everything in my power shall be most willingly done. Unless Your Serenity writes soon, I shall conclude that you are as ill-treated by the King, your husband, as the report here [in Spain] is. May it not be so, but may God bestow His grace on you both, that you may live together in matrimony as Mother Church commands, &c.—Madrid, 20th April 1528.* Your good nephew, "Yo el Rey."

Indorsed: "Respuesta á la Reyna de Inglaterra, 1st September 1528."

Spanish. Original draft partly holograph. pp. 2½.

3 Sept. 538. JUAN DE URBINA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 152.

Is no historian, and therefore has no talent to describe in brilliant colours the battle of the 29th. Begs credence for Captain Rodrigo de Ripalda, present bearer (*lator presente*),

* Both the superscription and signature to this letter are in the Emperor's hand.

1528.

who, having been present at all the late encounters, will relate better than he himself could the total discomfiture of the leaguers. Should His Imperial Majesty be satisfied with his behaviour on this and former occasions, he (Urbina) has good reason to think that they will be rewarded.—Naples, 3rd September 1528.

Signed: "Juan de Urbina."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. From Juan de Urbina."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

4 Sept. 539. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43.
f. 156.

Fancies that Captain Ripalda has not sailed yet, and therefore will relate what passed after the taking of Aversa. Though the Marquis of Saluzzo (Michaele Antonio) capitulated, nothing could prevent the soldiers from entering the city and sacking it completely. It is said that the Prince of Orange had most of the French treasure and valuables removed to the castle, under the keeping of Juan de Urbina, and yet a good deal of silver plate, money, and jewels was found in the dwellings of French officers and noblemen. A rumour, however, is afloat that, not contented with having well filled their pockets, the soldiers still insist on being paid all their arrears, which is next to impossible, as there is no money in the treasury.

On the last day of August Ascanio Colonna, the Marquis del Guasto and Filippino came here in one of Doria's galleys, and left almost immediately for Aversa in quest of the Prince. Andrea remains at Yscla (Ischia), watching the enemy's combined fleet, which dares not separate from fear of being attacked and beaten, though superior in number.

Gironimo (Girolamo) Moron has also written to Muxetula at Viterbo, announcing the victory, that he may inform the Pope. When his answer comes it will be known how His Holiness takes the news. (*Cipher* :) Some think that he will be glad ; others that he will be sorry, under the impression that he will be asked for money for the support of the Imperial armies, according to the treaty signed at Rome.

(*Common writing* :) Some ships have anchored at Gaeta laden with flour and provisions from Sicily, and having also three companies of Spaniards on board. These are soon to join Garci Manrique, who is engaged in taking Traietto, Fundi, and other places. The Prince of Malfi (Caracciolo) has evacuated every town he had in that district, and retired to San Germano. He will be soon expelled, not only from that place, but also from the whole kingdom.

Pedro Navarro is now lodging with Alarcon, who treats him very kindly, and nurses him with great care ; but he

1528.

(Navarro), as well as the rest of the French prisoners, cannot bear the disappointment which this last defeat has caused them, and is likely to die from it. Such is the case with Mons. de Laval, who, though only slightly unwell when he came, has got much worse of late. Saluzzo and Guido are allowed to move about as they like. Labret's brother will likewise be transferred to Alarcon's lodgings, that he may be there kept in custody.

Hears that the enemy's galleys have sailed off, and that Doria is going in pursuit in the hope of the Venetian separating from the French, in which case he is sure to attack them and have his revenge.

The Prince has again been struck by fever. On his return from Aversa he went to Castilnovio for change of air.

Some of the French, who capitulated at Aversa, when they came to Puçol (Puzzuolo) found the galleys gone. They will be obliged to return to France by land.

The barons and nobles of this kingdom have been requested graciously to offer a sum of money to the Emperor. They have asked for time to deliberate, and it is hoped that their answer will be favourable.

The island of Proxida has been given to the Marquis [del Guasto] until the Emperor decides who is to have it, its former lord having abandoned the place, and gone to France in the galleys.

Ecclesiastic affairs.—Doctor Solis, bishop of Benarea (Bag-norea) tells him (Perez) that Domenico Pastorello, a servant of the Papal Nuncio (Castiglione?), has taken to Spain the brief for suspending the Marquis of Astorga's marriage, also those for Don Pedro de Castro and the Church of Burgos.—Naples, 4th September 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Naples. Perez. 4th September."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3½.

8 Sept. 540. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 163.

Owing to the Prince's and Alarcon's indisposition it has been impossible to despatch the messengers, and therefore will inform the Emperor of what has happened since.

The barons and gentlemen of this kingdom, as well as the syndics of this city, have agreed to present His Majesty with 200,000 ducats within twelve months, which the Prince and Council have accepted. They are now treating with bankers and merchants to get a portion of the money beforehand, that they may pay the troops; for although most of the Spaniards,

1528.

the light horse, and men-at-arms have already left for the quarters allotted to them outside Naples, the Germans obstinately refuse moving unless they are paid.

Some good servants and vassals of the Emperor have been intrusted with the keeping and administration of the estates confiscated to the rebel barons until His Majesty decide what is to be done with them, and if any portion of the confiscated property is to be given over to those who remained faithful.

Lope de Soria has been instructed to procure as much money as possible from Thomasso de' Fornariis and others out of the bills not yet accepted, amounting to 200,000 ducats. All the said bankers have given him (Perez) does not come to 60,000 ducats. Out of the 33,300 owed by Stefano Centurione 11,150 were deducted, which, he said, were owing to his brother Agostino in Spain.

The Marquis of Saluzzo is much worse than was thought at first. It appears that, while at Aversa, he was wounded in the knee by a splinter of the stone wall which the besiegers were battering. A fistula has been formed, and the physicians fear for his life. The same may be said of Count Pedro Navarro and of Mons. de Labret, who are fast declining. Laval died the other day.

Two Spaniards retain at this place the body of Lautrech in the hope of getting a good price for it. Odd enough, as a friend remarked the other day, the wishes of that general came to be realised at last, for he was heard to say sometime before his death, "My God! is it possible that I shall not be allowed to enter Naples!"

Count Benafrà, a furious French partisan, has been arrested by his own vassals, who besieged him in one of his castles and brought him here. It is reported that, at a place not very distant from this city, the inhabitants seized all the Frenchmen, put them in an oven, and baked them.

(*Cipher*.) Has already mentioned the fact of the island of Proxida having been granted to the Marquis [del Guasto]. Wishes to know whether the Emperor will graciously confirm the grant. The island is fine and very important, to judge from the harm the French have done us ever since the last war. If a fortress be built on it, it would be a fine acquisition to the Crown. In the writer's opinion the Emperor ought to keep it, and only give away the lieutenancy.—Naples, 8th September 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. From Secretary Perez."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (f. 164). pp. 2½.

1528.

8 Sept. 541.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof- u. Staats. Arch.
Wien. Rep. P.C.
[Fasc. 227.]

DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET, Governess of the Netherlands.

Has received her letters stating that as the meeting at Cambray is only intended for the settlement of certain sequestrations (*confiscations*) on both sides, which do not concern the English, there is no occasion for the King of England sending his representatives thither. The Cardinal (Wolsey) having read his (Mendoça's) letters of the 22nd of August on the subject is of the same opinion, and does not intend to appoint anyone. It is, therefore, desirable that Madame should not insist on this point, to avoid the many inconveniences that might arise therefrom.

With regard to deputies being sent to Cambray by the three guardians (*conservateurs*) of the truce, the ambassador's opinion is that Madame should make no such application, for it happens that Spaniards have inflicted more losses upon the French and English during the said truce than they themselves have sustained, and, therefore, it is better that Madame should say nothing about the deputies until their presence should be demanded by the guardians at the request of the Kings of England and France themselves; unless indeed it should be found on inquiry that the enemy has done greater damage in Madame's territories than the Spaniards have to the French and English at sea.

The army under M. de Reux, the ambassador thinks, ought to go to Naples.

It is said that Cardinal Campeggio will be in England by Michaelmas. The King fearing that Cardinal Campeggio might think that he was only seeking this divorce to enable him to marry Anne Boleyn, has sent her home, so that the Cardinal may not find her at Court on his arrival. She is now in her father's house.

Has heard nothing yet of the arrival of the Vayvod, but will advise Madame as soon as he does hear. A few days ago an ambassador from the said Vayvod passed through England with some fugitives from Castille, sent by the King of France. They were some time with the Legate, who spoke to them in fair terms, but would do nothing for them. They then went on to France, where they prefer residing.

By letters from Paris of the 1st inst., and from Genoa of the 20th ulto., it is said that M. de Lautrec has died of illness, and that the Marquis de Saluzzo is made captain-general in his place.

Count Filippino Doria has returned from Spain with nine of the Emperor's galleys to join the 15 under Andrea Doria, and it is thought that by this time they have provided Naples with every necessary.

An Englishman arrived in London yesterday who left Burgos on the 19th of August. M. de Montfort had passed

1528.

through that city on the 1st of August. The Englishman is surprised that the ratification has not yet arrived, since it had been for some time in the Emperor's hands ready for his signature.

He was at Madrid at the beginning of August,* but that place being considered unhealthy it was said that he would remove to Toledo. Should he (the Emperor) be there the truce can be concluded as well in Spain as in the Netherlands.

It is said that fresh troops are being levied in Germany to join Antonio de Leyva in Lombardy and proceed to Naples together. It would be well that the said succour should be sent immediately, before Mons. de St. Pol stops its passage.

Extract in French of Don Iñigo's letter to the Emperor.
pp. 3.

8 Sept. 542. ASCANIO COLONNA to TIBERIO COLONNA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 161.

Will relate the events of his voyage from Piombino to the coast of Naples. Met at first with contrary winds. Anchored off Gaeta on the 20th ulto. The arrival of Doria's galleys at that port had such good effect, that in less than four days Funni (Fundi), Traietto, et Saxafino a Trano (*sic*) were retaken from the enemy. Doria having received letters there from the Prince of Orange bidding him go to Naples, as he intended attacking the French,—lately so much reduced in numbers by frequent skirmishes and the plague that there were scarcely 4,000 able to carry arms,—it was decided to sail in that direction; no easy operation, since the galleys of the confederates were in the way. Arrived at Ischia; went thence to Proscida, where the enemy kept us blockaded for some days. At last, one of Doria's galleys managed to get out of the port, and, though closely pursued by five of the enemy, entered the bay of Naples. When Julio di Capua and Fabricio Marra-mao, whom the Prince had ordered to join Count Burrello on the road to Calabria, heard of the arrival of Doria's galley, and that all the country round Capua had been recovered from the enemy, that Lautrech was dead, and the French camp in great confusion, they stayed in their march, and, re-entering Naples, joined some days after in a general and sudden attack upon the enemy, which ended, as is now well known, in a most signal victory.

Now is the time for His Imperial Majesty to provide this army with money, that it may drive the French out of Lombardy, and perhaps also follow them into France. The forces in Calabria and Gaeta, when united to those of Naples, will make up a body of 16,000 foot, 500 men-at-arms, and a good number of light horse. If immediately despatched

* According to the Itinerary, published by Bradford (p. 493), the Emperor was at Madrid from the 3rd of August to the last day of October, when he went to Toledo.

1528.

to the assistance of Leyva, Venetians and Florentines will soon desert the League, and furnish enough money to keep for a while the whole of the Imperial army, which, so strengthened and provisioned, would have no difficulty in marching on Provence. If at the same time France should be invaded by way of Salsas in Catalonia, or by the county of Bourgogne, there can be no doubt that the French King will be humiliated and compelled to accept the Emperor's present terms, or harder still should he be pleased to impose them.

Is better of the wound in his leg, which certainly had not improved during his late sea voyage. Leaves in a couple of days for the Abruzzo, of which country he has been appointed governor by the Prince. Is only waiting for Cardinal (Pompeo Colonna), who has been sent for to procure money, &c. The Prince being in bad health does not feel at ease without one of our family by his side.

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

12 Sept. **543.** The EMPEROR to POPE CLEMENT VII.

S. E. L. 1,554,
f. 63.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 299.

Has learned from the letters brought by Antonio Bosio, Knight of St. John of Jerusalem, that His Holiness is in thought and deed supporting the Christian Republic, as befits one who is the Vicar of God on Earth. This is the most welcome news that he could receive at the present juncture.

Respecting the affairs of the Order in the East, about which His Holiness writes, he (the Emperor) is not only ready to comply with the request of the Knights, but has given orders that 25,000 ducats be consigned to them upon his royal treasury. Will give more yet, if necessary, though eight years of incessant warfare have so exhausted his resources, that he finds it difficult to provide even for his most pressing wants. Intends placing at the disposal of the Knights of St. John the island of Malta, Gozzo, and the city of Tripoli [in Africa], granting them the perpetual fief thereof on the annual presentation of one hawk, &c.—Madrid, 12th September 1528.

Latin. Original draft. pp. 3.

12 Sept. **544.** The SAME to the KING OF ENGLAND.

S. E. L. 1,554,
f. 67.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 280.

Informs him of the application made by the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Is ready to help them as much as he can with money—of which he has but little, owing to the wars he has had to sustain against the French—and by allotting them certain islands for residence. Exhorts him as Defender of the Faith to do all he can in favour of the Order.—Madrid, 12th September 1528.

Latin. Original draft. pp. 4.

1528.

12 Sept. 545. The SAME to CARDINAL WOLSEY.

S. E. L. 1,554,
f. 70.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 281b.

Has promised the Order of St. John money and lands.
"Longè maiora prestaturi, si per hostium perfidiam quæ nos occupatos et pecuniæ exhaustos detinet, maiora præstare licuisset."—Madrid, 12th September 1528.

Latin. Original draft. pp. 3.

13 Sept. 546. LOPE HURTADO to the EMPEROR.

S. E. Port. L. 368,
f. 156.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 283.

Negotiations concerning the line of demarcation (*demarcion*) between the newly discovered territories in America.

The King of Portugal has acted most honourably in the affair of the challenge, but has not yet appointed a fit person to take charge of the Emperor's and his own affairs in England. Expects to hear His Majesty's pleasure thereupon.

France—Queen Germaine of Foix, &c.—Lisbon, 13th September 1528.

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty the Emperor, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 6.

14 Sept. 547. PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 169.

His last despatch was dated the 10th of August. Since then great events have taken place, especially in the kingdom of Naples, the glorious news of which Leyva has communicated home. Will not therefore allude further to them.

Here, in Lombardy, the state of affairs is not quite so brilliant. St. Pol and the Duke of Urbino have laid siege to Pavia. Should they succeed in taking that city the whole of the Duchy will be in danger, for they may easily occupy the country round Milan. There is no money to pay the soldiers, who are as usual, "licenciatissimi," and as to provisions there are none at Milan, and they must be brought from the neighbourhood. Should the leaguers take Pavia, the Imperialists must either fight their way out of Milan or starve altogether. Unless funds are remitted from Spain, an honourable peace is preferable to this state of things, now that the power of the French King has been crushed, and the kingdom of Naples saved.

(*Common writing:*) The Doge of Genoa (Antoniotto Adorno) died here, at Milan, the day before yesterday. His Imperial Majesty has lost in him a good and affectionate servant. He leaves behind a daughter, married to Bernabé Adorno, an able and strongly-built youth, fit for any service whatever. As this family of the Adorni has always distinguished itself by its affection to the Empire, and the two last brothers have died in the service, the Emperor might bestow some favour

1528.

upon Bernabé as well as Giuliano della Riva, the last representatives of the Adorni.—Milan, 14th September 1528.

Signed: "Il Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Italian. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (f. 171). pp. 4.

14 Sept. 548. The SAME to the HIGH CHANCELLOR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 168.

As he will see by the enclosed despatch, this is the fit opportunity to treat of peace unless the Emperor decide to carry on war. Driven out of Naples, the French cannot refuse to accept the terms offered to them a year ago.

Recommends Miçer Giuliano [della Riva].—Milan, 14th September 1528.

Signed: "Il Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Italian. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering between the lines. p. 1.

18 Sept. 549. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 124.

(*Cipher* :) The object of this letter is to inform His Imperial Majesty of the fact that the Germans are becoming every day more and more intolerable. After searching all the convents and nunneries of the Order of St. Francis for wine and provisions, and laying violent hands on everything they can find—so much so that from want of food, and the brutal behaviour of their visitors, most of the nuns are wandering about the city—the lansquenets are now repeating this process at the houses of rich citizens and nobles.—Milan, 18th September 1528.

Signed: "Il Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Milan. Caracciolo. 18th September."

Italian. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering between the lines and on separate sheet (f. 174). p. 1.

18 Sept. 550. DON IÑIGO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u.Staats.Arch.
Wien. Rep. P.C.
Fasc. 224, No. 8.

Stated in his last that Cardinal Campeggio, who is coming here as Legate, had left Rome. Last Saturday, the 12th inst., he entered Paris. It is believed that he will stay eight or nine days at the Court of France. This King has sent two gentlemen of his chamber to welcome him, and make him a

1528.

present of money for his travelling expenses, which he intends to defray from the time he (the Cardinal) left Rome until he returns thither. No sooner did the King hear of his arrival in France than he despatched the lady in question (Anne Bouleyn) to her father's house, under the belief that he will better gain his end should the Cardinal find them separated from each other. Believes there will soon be need of a legal adviser from Spain, as he (Mendoza) has already stated.

The people in general here [in England] are much in favour of the Queen. There can be no doubt that His Imperial Majesty, by taking up her case as if it were his own, will, besides doing what is in itself a meritorious action, secure to himself the affections of the English people. At present there is nothing that annoys this King so much as the idea of not accomplishing his purpose. The Queen places her trust first in God, and next in Your Imperial Majesty. Under the present circumstances she needs more than ever Your Majesty's assistance and protection, and she hopes that proper measures will be taken both here and at Rome for the support of her rights.

A copy of the Papal brief of dispensation for the Queen's marriage to this King is much wanted here. It ought to come forthwith, but so fully and legally attested that it may be presented in Court. The one Mendoza has is a mere transcript.

Another dispensation brief has lately been found here, which materially differs from the copy sent to us. Could a copy of it be obtained at Rome, it could come duly attested at the same time as the other which Your Imperial Majesty has there [in Spain]. Should this not be attainable, let an attested copy of the one we have here be sent, for, as I said before, this is but a mere transcript.* In order to gain time orders might also be given [to the Imperial ambassador] at Rome to forward the document, when obtained, straight here, either through the ambassador at Venice,† or in any other way equally safe and speedy.

Both the King and his lady, I am assured, look upon their future marriage as certain, as if that of the Queen had been actually dissolved. Preparations are already being made for the wedding. The Queen, however, trusts in God and in His Imperial Majesty, as well as in the good-will and affection of the people of this kingdom, that the King and Anne will be prevented from gaining their purpose. His own impression is that this Cardinal now coming here [as Legate] does not bring any mandate to declare sentence in this case, but only to

* "Aca ha parescido otra dispensacion que difiere en muchas palabras a (de?) aquella copia que V. Mt. me mandó inuiar. Si en Roma se pudiese aver el transumpto tambien de aquella [dispensacion] seria cosa bien provechosa inuiarle tambien autorizado juntamente con este que arriba digo, y si este no se pudiese aver, á lo menos mande V. Mt. que se inuié el trasunto autorizado de la dispensacion que V. Mt. me inuió."

† "Por via del embaxador de Venecia," i.e., Alonso Sanchez.

1528.

look into it, examine witnesses, &c., and then return to Rome with the result of his inquiry. Suspects, moreover, that the Pope, to keep this King more, as it were, in his power, will delay as much as possible his decision in the matter, which plan his colleague [Cardinal Wolsey] will favour for his own convenience; firstly, because he is terribly afraid of the lady [Anne] becoming Queen [of England], and his own influence and power thereby decreasing; and, secondly, because the King, on account of this intended marriage, shows that he wants him more than ever on his side. However this may be, it is generally believed that both [the Legates] will secretly agree to keep this matter in suspense, and in the meantime profit by the King's favour and largesses. So it is that Cardinal Wolsey shows himself in public as the Queen's bitterest enemy (*en lo publico se muestra gran contrario*), though in secret all know that he is working in her favour, from the reasons above mentioned and fear of the lady (Anne), not from any good motive.

Letters from Paris state that the king-at-arms of Your Imperial Majesty has gone back [to Spain] without an answer. It is also rumoured that the news lately received from Naples was anything but favourable to the French, for they had been defeated, &c. Your Majesty, I dare say, knows by this time whether this intelligence is correct or not; I myself have no means here of ascertaining the truth of the matter, but the French must really have sustained some loss on the occasion, for they hold their tongues in this country, whereas they always brag of their successes when they have any.

Yesterday, the 17th, Your Majesty's ratification [of the truce], which Madame [the Governess of the Low Countries] wrote to say she expected every day [from Spain], came to hand. I have reasons to believe that these people are glad of this, because, seeing me so lukewarm (*tibio*) about the matter, they feared and suspected lest my reports should be the cause of Your Imperial Majesty delaying the same. I always was, and am still, of opinion that the truce ought never to have been granted under present circumstances, and, therefore, did what I could to prevent it.

This very day, the 18th, I hear that this King has publicly announced to his courtiers that the garrison of Naples had made a sally and defeated the French with a loss of upwards of 4,000 men, and that the remainder had been so hotly pursued that they had lost all their artillery, &c. If the news be true, Your Imperial Majesty may be sure that by this time the whole of France is so struck by fear and consternation, and so deficient in men and captains, that if an invasion were to be attempted from these parts (Flanders) they would be placed in a very awkward position.—London, 18th September 1528.

Spanish. Original in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

1528.

19 Sept. 551. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
 f. 124.

Has written by Don Iñigo de Guevara, by Rodrigo de Ripalda, by Captain Loquinger (Lockinghen), and by a son of Mosen Coll, all of whom left this to announce the glorious victory of the 29th August. Since then Naples has become fuller every day, in consequence of a proclamation issued by the Council bidding all people to return unless they prefer lending the Emperor a proportionate sum to be repaid out of the 200,000 cr. granted by the kingdom. Those who do not, to be held as rebels and traitors. It is to be hoped that within two or three days the whole army will be paid, and retire to their quarters outside the city. The old German bands, who came with the Viceroy, have received 5,000 ducats, and have already left; the new ones are to get 35,000, as they insist on being paid without passing muster, as at Rome.

Cardinal Colonna has come [from Gaeta], and is now here. Daily councils are held at his house, over which he presides, owing to the Prince's and Alarcon's bad state of health. The former has had two or three relapses, but is now much better, thank God. He has gone to a place on the coast called Torre del Griego to recruit his strength.

The brother of Mons. de Labret, a prisoner here, died the other day. Pero Navarro has been removed to Castilnovo, where he will probably end his days, as he himself fears.

Count Guido Rangone left this the other day on a mission to the Pope, promising to do wonders for the Imperial service. Abbot Negrone, a Genoese, whom Andrea Doria sent to Viterbo to announce this last victory, writes that the Pope showed much joy at the news, and settled upon him a pension of 200 ducats a year by way of reward. He said he was ready to do anything to help the Emperor in the entire pacification of Italy, and would return to Rome immediately, provided Civittà Vecchia and Ostia were restored to him. The Prince's answer has been that nothing can be done in this respect without the Emperor's orders, but that, knowing his sentiments and the affection he bears him, His Holiness might at once return to his capital and be there in security, as the Emperor's will must soon be known. Such is the tenor of the message which the Prince of Orange and Cardinal Colonna gave Negrone, who went back with it to His Holiness. There is a report afloat that the Pope has already removed to Civittà Castellana, which is closer to Rome than Viterbo. Cardinal Monte is gone thither as Papal Legate, for the moment Farnese, who is a staunch friend of the French, heard of the victory gained by the Imperialists in Naples he deserted his post and went away, on pretence, as some say, that his time was up, and, as others will have it, from fear of the Spaniards and Germans residing at Rome, who begin now to raise their heads and exercise a certain influence.

The Marquis of Saluzzo is fast recovering, and fears are no longer entertained for his life.

1528.

The news from Lombardy is that Leyva on the 26th ulto. raised the siege of Lodi and went to Marellano (Marignano), close to Milan, where St. Pol., the Duke of Urbino, and the Duke Francesco Sforza had also encamped with their united forces.

Several rebel barons have been confined in Castilnovo, where they are being tried at present ; their estates have already been confiscated.

The Spaniards at Gaeta have found in one of the monasteries of Pulla (Puglia) Don Fadrique, the eldest son of the Duke of Traietto. He has been brought here and confined in Castilnovo, where he will be tried.

On the 6th inst. the white steed (*hacanea*) was presented to the Pope at Viterbo, who received it with singular marks of satisfaction.

About 500 Frenchmen from Naples have reached Rome, but in such a miserable condition that they actually died on the roads from starvation, and very few will survive. The same may be said of the prisoners here, who wander through the streets begging in a state of nudity and hunger that is really heart-rending.

The Spanish infantry at Gaeta have been sent to Pulla (Puglia) to operate under Count Burrello. They are in all about 1,200, and when joined to their comrades already in that province, will be able to dislodge the few Frenchmen who, with the protection of the Venetian fleet, still occupy certain towns on the coast. It is also reported that Renzo da Ceri is coming to their assistance with money and troops, but nobody here cares a straw about him ; besides which, Ascanio Colonna is going to the Abruzzo to occupy the passes, &c.

His Imperial Majesty has no doubt been already informed of the capture by Doria of the two French ships, on board of which were the horses and luggage of Lautrech, Vaudemont, and others.

In order to procure money for the pay of these troops the sale of the confiscated estates has already begun. Any one of the Emperor's officers who wishes to become a purchaser has only to pay part of the estimated price in specie, and the remainder in certain bonds issued by the Imperial treasury, showing the amount of salary owing to them. Those who have no such arrears pay in cash. The sales to be confirmed by the "Regia Corte," and ratified by the Emperor, and if not, the money to be returned to the purchasers with an interest of 12 per cent.—Naples, 19th September 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Perez. 19th September."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

1528.

21 Sept. 552. ALONSO SANCHEZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 184.

Congratulates the Emperor on his victory at Naples. If the Imperialists now come to Lombardy not a single Frenchman will remain in Italy, and matters will soon be placed on the old footing. The Florentines, when they hear of the advance of the Neapolitan army, will be happy to sign any conditions His Imperial Majesty may be pleased to impose; and as to the Pope, the Emperor no doubt has by this time sent instructions to the Prince of Orange how to proceed with him. (*Cipher* :) The Venetians, according to a report lately sent by the ambassador of the King of Hungary, are so bewildered that they do not know what to do, except to fortify the towns on the frontier of Lombardy for fear of an invasion. Now is the time to root out that venomous plant and strike a blow at people who have always been the promoters of discord among Christian Princes and the constant abettors of the Turk.

The turn which affairs at Genoa have taken since the arrival of Andrea Doria is certainly unfavourable to the French. Cannot say whether the contemplated union, and the establishment of a Republic in that city will be equally advantageous to the Emperor; but, after all, the acquisition of so able a captain with a fine fleet of galleys is very desirable under present circumstances.

(*Common writing* :) St. Pol is attacking Pavia on one side and the Venetians on the other. There are inside 2,000 Italians and 1,400 Germans, who are making a stout defence. Leyva is at Milan without any fear of the enemy.

(*Cipher* :) Is in receipt of letters from the King of Hungary of the 28th of August, referring to others which he (Sanchez) has not received. The King says nothing about the new succour of Germans, but in reality, if the Neapolitan army marches this way, they will be no longer wanted.

(*Common writing* :) As soon as he has recovered entirely from his last illness he (Sanchez) will go to Naples to serve at his post, for at present he has nothing to do in this town.

Again recommends to the Emperor's notice Count Giovanni Francesco della Mirandola, at whose house the Imperialists have always found shelter, even at times when the Duke of Ferrara, the Marquis of Mantua, and others who profess to be attached to the Empire would not allow them to remain in their respective estates.*—La Mirandola, 21st September 1528.

Signed : "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed : "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1528. From La Mirandola. Sanchez. 21st September."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (fol. 189). pp. 4.

* A duplicate of this letter is at fol. 187 of the same volume.

1528.

21 Sept. 553. The SAME to the HIGH CHANCELLOR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 42,
f. 183.

Has written to the Emperor in favour and commendation of Count Pico [della Mirandola], lord of this place, who, as many of the Imperial ministers in Italy will testify, has done much service in these times.

Now is the opportunity to crush the enemy and to establish the Emperor's supremacy on a solid foundation. If the Neapolitan army is made to march on Lombardy, short work will be made of the few Frenchmen still lingering in Italy.—La Mirandola, 21st September 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To His Excellency the High Chancellor."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

21 Sept. 554. BERNABÉ ADORNO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 191.

The love and devotion which his ancestors, and lately his cousin and father-in-law, the late Doge of Genoa, have always professed towards his grandfather Maximilian and himself are too notorious to require comment. This emboldens him to ask for employment in any branch whatsoever of the Imperial service.—La Mirandola, 21st September 1528.

Signed: "Bernabé Adorno."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred and Imperial Majesty."

Italian. Holograph. p. 1.

21 Sept. 555. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 193.

Congratulations on the last victory. Has advised the Prince [of Orange] to come into Lombardy as soon as possible. The march of the Imperialists will have a double effect. It will save Naples from the destruction which in almost similar circumstances befell Rome, and will drive away from Lombardy the remainder of the French army. Has also advised the Prince not to release the Italian condottieri, as he has done in one or two cases, because it is they who for their own advantage have always kindled and fanned the fire of discord, and if the King of France buys their services, they are sure to take up arms against the Emperor. Has also written to the King of Hungary begging him to continue his overtures to the Switzers and detach them from the service of France; also to suspend the new armaments now being made in Germany, as most likely they will not be required. Instead of that he might remit to us the 50,000 ducats already received for that service.

(*Cipher*.) Above all things the army must needs come from Naples as soon as possible. The news only of its approach will be sufficient to make money flow in from all sides. His Holiness will give considerable sums to be again the master of Florence, and recover what the Venetians took from him.

1528.

Florence itself will give part of its substance not to be under the Pope again. This last expedient would, after all, be more profitable for the Emperor, inasmuch as the Florentines possess many resources and a good deal of money, and it stands to reason that they will make greater sacrifices to be free and independent than to return again under the Pope's rule, which they dislike immensely. Besides, the less powerful Popes are, the better it is for the peace of Italy. As the Duke of Ferrara and the Marquis of Mantua have both furnished money and men-at-arms to the French, it is but just that they should contribute a large sum to the Emperor's war expenses. Genoa is about to proclaim the Union with the assistance of Andrea Doria. Cannot tell whether this new form of government will be as beneficial as the last to the Imperial interests, but would much prefer that the Emperor named a governor of his own, and held the citadel as the French did during their last occupation. (*Common writing* :) The possession of Genoa must, however, be secured at any cost, that city being the only port in Italy whereat the Imperial fleets can anchor, and where money can be procured easily in time of war.

(*Common writing* :) Thomasso de' Fornariis has not yet paid any portion of the 200,000 ducats. He went to Genoa about six weeks ago, as he said, for the purpose of raising that money among his correspondents. He now writes, in date of the 11th inst., that he is laid up with quartan fever at a castle belonging to Count Flisco (Fiescho), and intends going soon to Genoa, where, he is sure, some revolution is about to take place soon, and invites him (Soria) to get nearer to the place. It is a very hard thing that the want of faith of these merchants should oblige the Imperial ministers to run after them in this manner. He will accordingly start for Genoa in a few days, and see what new excuse Thomasso makes for not accepting and paying the Imperial bills.

Since the end of July, when the King of Hungary wrote that the new levies were being made, nothing more has been heard of him. Andrea del Burgo is now here (at La Mirandola) with instructions to represent him at the Papal Court, but as he is waiting both for instructions and money, there is no knowing when he will start on his errand.

Advices from Venice report the death of George Fransperch (Fruntsperg), Count Guicardo Darco, and other German captains on their way to Lombardy. It would have been much better if these officers had died before they entered Italy, with the one exception of Fransperch, who has always been a good servant of the Emperor.

Leyva had to leave Milan, not indeed for fear of the enemy, but of the citizens themselves, who were on the point of revolting. The leaguers are still besieging Pavia, but it is believed they will not take it, for the city is stoutly defended by its garrison.

Strongly commends to the Emperor's attention the persons of Giovanni Francesco [Pico], lord of La Mirandola, and of Andrea del Burgo.

1528.

The Hungarian ambassador in Venice writes that the Signory is about to send a new proveditor to Puglia. Cannot help thinking, if the intelligence be true, that he will soon return when he sees the state of affairs in that province. The Venetians, however, show great confidence, and threaten to bring the Turk into Italy. A considerable force of Turks was, by the last accounts, about to invade Hungary and Slavonia, and a son of the Doge [of Venice], Andrea Gritti, was at the head of 20,000 of them. Anything is credible of these people, for they have lately sent to Lombardy no less than 400 Turkish cavaliers, most of whom, however, have been slain at the siege of Pavia.

(*Cipher* :) Hears whilst he is writing that the Prince of Orange has proposed to his army to take six months' pay for all the time they have been serving, three at once, and three more after passing the frontier. The men have accepted his offer, money has been found, and in two or three days the whole force will march for Tuscany and Lombardy.

Leyva's brother, who was governor of the castle of Milan, is dead. Geronimo de Leyva has been appointed in his room.

A post has just arrived from Modena with the news that the day before yesterday St. Pol and his Frenchmen took Pavia by storm. Cannot believe it, but as this despatch is addressed to Genoa, His Imperial Majesty will hear the truth. —La Mirandola, 21st September 1528.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Soria. 21st September."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (fol. 199). pp. 11.

22 Sept. 556.

BALTHASAR DE WALKIRCH to the HIGH CHANCELLOR
MERCURINO DI GATTINARA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Cart. de Erasmo
y otros, f. 28.
B M. Add. 28,577,
f. 284.

Wrote last from Spires. Was in great danger in crossing to Flanders. Proceeded without loss of time to Germany in pursuance of the Emperor's orders and instructions. Conferred with most of the Ecclesiastical and Imperial Princes, Governors, Lords, &c. Found that all, without exception, were shocked at the behaviour of the French King. His negotiations with the Spiritual Lords and Princes were prospering greatly when the Landgrave of Hesse (Philippe) raised such a tumult in Germany as has never before been heard, not only against such Princes as the Cardinal of Maintz, the Marquis of Brandenburg (Joachim), both electors, the Cardinal of Salzburg, George of Saxony, the brothers William and Lewis, Dukes of Bavaria, the Bishops of Bamberg and Herbipolis, but also against the King of Bohemia and Hungary [Ferdinand] himself. No one felt secure in Germany, or knew what he had to expect. It was found that the whole of the lower classes were disposed to make common cause with the Landgrave, extirpate the true faith, and establish the heretical creed everywhere.

1528.

The Prince Elector of Saxony and his son with a powerful force joined the Landgrave. They intended to deprive the Cardinal of Mainz and the Bishops of Bamberg and Herborn of their estates.

The Count Palatine and the Prince Elector of Treves (Grieffenklau) interfered and succeeded in reconciling the two parties, the Cardinal and bishops agreeing to pay the Landgrave 100,000 gold florins.

The Suabian league is in difficulties. The members of it allege that they have already spent considerable sums in suppressing the rebellion of the peasants; that they are poor, and cannot do much now. Many of them are Lutherans, openly or secretly. Fears that even many of the Imperial councillors [in Germany] share their opinions on religious matters. Has with great difficulty persuaded them to allow a diet of the league to assemble on St. Martin's day next. Promises to do his best, to become acquainted with public opinion in Germany, and ascertain who is for the Emperor, and who is against him.

(*Cipher*.) It is a great pity that the Duke of Brunswick, who was at the head of so excellent an army, has returned from Germany without having accomplished anything. The reputation of the Emperor is likely to suffer in consequence. The Duke did not know the habits of his men, and no discipline was kept. The plan laid for the relief of Naples could not succeed, as the army marched slowly, and the soldiers had only provisions for four and a half months, &c.—Ex Lepsius, die xxii. September 1528.—Fidelis servitor Capellanus Baltazar a Waltkirch* manu propria.

Addressed: "Mercurino di Gattinara, Maximo Cancellario."

Latin. Holograph. pp. 5.

23 Sept. 557.

SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIANI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE OF VENICE.

S. E. L. 1,308,
f. 13.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 286.

Attended yesterday the King's Council, accompanied by Taverna, the Duke Francesco's ambassador. His Excellency the Grand Chancellor (Prat) spoke first, and declared that, though fortune had been adverse to French arms [in Italy], the King did not intend abandoning the defence of Italy, but, on the contrary, purposed sending reinforcements both to Lombardy and to Naples, provided the confederates promised to assist him. He, therefore, wished to know how far the offers made by the Signory to his ambassador [the Bishop of Bayeux] could be depended upon, &c. The Admiral [of France] spoke next, and showed the necessity of sending a powerful army to Italy, if not precisely to prosecute the enterprise of Naples, at least to keep the Imperialists at bay, prevent their levying contributions on the friendly powers,

* I have not seen the original of this letter, a copy of which is in the Bergenroth collection, as above. If the name of the writer is correctly given in the transcript, we know for certain that Valdtirk and Valdkerke, as he is generally designated, are erroneous readings of the same name.

1528.

and inducing the Pope not to accept the Emperor's terms, which he said he seemed inclined to do, provided the possession of Florence, which he has much at heart, be ensured to him. Preparations might be made for next spring. 10,000 more lansquenets ought to be sent to Lombardy, the whole or part of whom might be paid by the confederates, &c.

After this, having been requested by the Chancellor to state his opinion, he (Giustiniani) began to condole with him on the late disasters at Naples as well as Genoa; said that he considered this a great blow, as those cities were the keys of Italy. Encouraged them to persevere in the undertaking, and not to consent to the aggrandizement of the common enemy. Said that Lombardy must at all costs be defended, though with what number of men, and of what nationality, remained to be seen, as also what contingent ought to be paid by Venice. He (Giustiniani) offered to consult the Signory on this point. Then Taverna said that in his opinion Lombardy ought to have so many lansquenets, so many Italian foot, and so many light horse to be paid by France, Venice, and the Duke, his master. He believed that 8,000 or 10,000 men more were wanted for the kingdom [of Naples]. The Chancellor then suggested that Renzo da Ceri had 5,000 or 6,000 men under him, besides 2,000 of the Florentines, and that a portion of your Signory's infantry which was at the taking (*espugnazione*) of Manfredonia might also be used for that purpose.

Replied that in his opinion nothing could be done for the present, except publicly declaring that France, Venice, the Duke Francesco, and the Florentines had agreed upon the prosecution of the war. Where and how such a war was to be undertaken next spring, and with what forces, &c., was a matter for further consideration. He proposed that the King should write to his generals in Lombardy, your Signory to his, and the Duke the same, to try and ascertain what forces were required, and of what nation, what number of men were to take the field, and what to garrison the towns, &c. This information once obtained, there would be plenty of time for settling how many foreign auxiliaries were required, and in what proportion each of the confederated powers ought to contribute to their support.

The Council approved, and it was resolved that each of the ambassadors should write home. A discussion ensued, and it was settled that 15,000 were required, of which 6,000 men were to be lansquenets, 5,000 Italians, and 4,000 French, these last to be exclusively paid by the King of France.

The discussion next fell on Genoa. The Admiral said that a large body of men had already been sent to recover the city, which could not fail to take place soon, considering that Theodoro Triultio (Triulzio) still held the castle; but that the Signory was bound to send him four pieces of ordnance, which he particularly wanted, as they could not be sent from France in time.

1528.

Then Mr. de Burges* hinted at the Signory's debt for certain moneys advanced to the Switzers who went to Naples. Answered that the Signory had stipulated to contribute 20,000 cr. monthly for the pay of one-half of the 10,000 men engaged for that service; but as it was proved that the number had never been made up, but, on the contrary, had diminished day by day, he considered that Venice should go scot-free.—Melun, 23rd September 1528.

Signed: "Sebastianus Justinianus, eques, orator."

Addressed: "To the Doge of Venice."

Indorsed: "Letter of the Venetian ambassador to the Doge."

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 8.

25 Sept. 558. LOPE DE SORIA to the HIGH CHANCELLOR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 201.

Wrote on the 21st both to the Emperor and to him.† As the despatch went by way of Genoa, the surest under present circumstances, and perhaps the vessel has not sailed yet, he (Soria) will only limit himself to recommend his own petition. He is completely ruined. His house in Naples the Germans gutted and destroyed. Great sums are owing to him by the Royal treasurers, and unless His Imperial Majesty come to his assistance, by granting him some confiscated estate, he is doomed to pass the rest of his life in misery and poverty.—La Mirandola, 25th September 1528.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To His Excellency Mercurino, Count of Gattinara and Valença, High Chancellor of His Imperial Majesty at Court."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

25 Sept. 559. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 211.

Wrote last on the 21st. Since then the news has come that the confederates took Pavia by storm on the 18th. Great cruelties were practised on the Germans and Spaniards. No quarter was given, and, even after the surrender of the city, soldiers of those nations found hiding in the houses of the citizens were most barbarously butchered. No harm, however, was done to the Italians, who mostly composed the garrison, for the Germans numbered only about 400, and the Spaniards did not exceed 150.

It is rumoured that the confederates intend now marching on Milan, and that the Duke (Sforza) openly proclaims that he will be inside of it before 20 days are over. Fancies, however,

* Thus in the original; perhaps the Bishop of Bourges, in France (François de Tournon).

† Soria's letter to the Chancellor may be found at fol. 204 of the Academy's volume, but being in substance the same as No. 554 I have not abstracted it.

1528.

that this boasting will not be realised as soon as the Duke imagines, not perhaps in a year hence; though the want of money and provisions, and the scarcity of troops under Leyva to defend so large a city as Milan,—both against the enemy without, and the citizens within, who have for some time given signs of disaffection,—makes it rather problematic whether we shall be able to hold our ground in the Duchy. Has written to the Prince [of Orange], whose answer has been that within a very short time he will be in Lombardy, as on the 10th the Spaniards and Italians were already out of Naples, and the Germans were expected to leave in a few days, as soon as they had received the money promised to them.

Muxetula writes in date of the 21st inst., mentioning the arrival at Viterbo of Count Guido Rangone, who had lately obtained his freedom at the Pope's intercession and request, for the purpose, as it was understood, of employing him in an expedition against Modena and Reggio. Already the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) was raising troops for the defence of the latter city, and the two nephews of Pope Clement had left Piedmont, had gone to Parma, five leagues from Reggio. The Pope himself had announced his intention to return to Orvieto, a stronger place than Viterbo, there to wait and see what turn affairs would take.

(*Cipher* :) Hears also that the Prince has lately sent him (the Pope) two gentlemen to demand the fulfilment of the terms stipulated by the capitulation of Rome, which message cannot but be disagreeable to him.

(*Common writing* :) The Marquis of Saluzzo and Count Pedro Navarro have died of disease at Naples.

Letters have been received from the King of Hungary (Ferdinand), but no mention is made in them of the new reinforcements. Andrea del Burgo has been requested to press the enlistment of the Germans, that they may help Leyva to defend Milan until the arrival of the Neapolitan army. But if the fear of a Turkish invasion, so much talked of in the said letters, be at all founded, the King will have little leisure to attend to the affairs of Lombardy; for, notwithstanding the advanced season, the Venetians are urging the Sultan to invade Italy and Hungary at once, and have already 500 light cavalry in their camp who behaved at Pavia like true infidels.

There is also a rumour that Renzo da Ceri has evacuated the Abruzzo, and intends going to Florence to defend that city both against the Pope and the Emperor.

St. Pol, according to the last advices, is sending troops for the recovery of Genoa; but as the citizens are well prepared they will, no doubt, make a stout defence, though the confederates are still in possession of the castle. Intends going there himself, even without special orders from the Prince, as he considers that he can be of more use there than where

1528.

he is. (*Cipher* :) It remains now for the Emperor to consider what he (Soria) is to do at Genoa, for he hears that the people want to appoint a "gonfaloniero" for a time, and a number of magistrates to govern the place. Bernabé Adorno is said to be in treaty with the French for the purpose of obtaining the command of the forces about to be sent against that city, on the same terms that Ottaviano Fregoso once had it. Fancies that he will succeed, because, besides having received his education in France, like the Marquis of Saluzzo, he is now very poor, and wants to be revenged of the Genoese; besides which the French may think him a good counterpoise against Andrea Doria. Bernabé is not worth much; he is not a man of either importance or reputation, but he is the cousin of Antoniotto Adorno; he and one brother, knight of Rhodes, lately at Naples, being the only survivors of that illustrious family. Has written to him (Soria), asking leave to negotiate with the French, promising, if he ever gets into Genoa, to place himself entirely at the Emperor's disposal, and go out of it again if ordered to do so. Bernabé, moreover, offers to take a solemn engagement to that effect, and draw out a schedule (*cedula*) under his signature and seal. His (Soria's) answer has been that on no account he ought to treat with the French, however advantageous the terms, but wait for the Emperor's favour, who will, no doubt, bestow on him some office or pension for his maintenance.

The Duke of Ferrara and Marquis of Mantua show a desire to embrace the Imperial cause. The former pretends to hate the French, and to wish for his son (Hercules') return from France. Both Princes are very wise (*sabios*), and conduct themselves according to the times. (*Common writing* :) As far as he (Soria) is concerned, he affects to believe their professions, and encourages them in their plans. There is no harm in doing so; though, to say the truth, he has very little trust in either of them.

The Venetians, it would appear, have determined to help the French as much as they can with money and troops. They talk of recruiting Switzers, and even sending forces to Naples to call the attention of our generals to those parts, so as to allow St. Pol to cope successfully against Leyva, and, if possible, take Milan. Should neither of their plans succeed, they will, no doubt, try the Florentines, and persuade them to make a stout defence. But all this will fall to the ground the moment the Prince is able to come to Lombardy.

(*Cipher* :) Reminds the Emperor about Bourbon's jewels, which are still in his (Soria's) possession.

Andrea del Burgo has just left for Mantua with his wife. Sanchez is still indisposed, though improving. As soon as he

1528.

has completely recovered he will go to Naples.—La Mirandola, 25th September 1528.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed:

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (fol. 211). pp. 5.

25 Sept. 560. ALONSO SANCHEZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 213.

Relates the taking of Pavia, and the atrocities committed by the French, who spared no life of either Germans or Spaniards.

Genoa and the offers of Bernabé Adorno.—La Mirandola, 25th September 1528.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. La Mirandola. Alo. Sanchez, 25th September."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

27 Sept. 561. INSTRUCTIONS to the SUB-COLLECTOR, SYLVESTRE DARIO, now sent to the LEGATE of ENGLAND.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats.Arch.
Wien. Rep. P.C.
Fasc. 224, No. 31.

What follows is the answer which His Imperial Majesty gives to the overtures made by the Cardinal of York, Legate of England.

The means proposed by the said Cardinal relate exclusively to the affairs of the French King, who is constantly showing by his deeds how adverse he is to any settlement of peace. This is quite notorious, as he aims at nothing short of keeping up the war he has kindled and encouraged, to the detriment of Christendom at large.

The Cardinal besides is well aware that the said overtures [for peace] have been tendered without any special mandate or powers from the parties most interested in it, and that it would be unfit for the Emperor to declare his intentions on the matter to those who have not been empowered to treat. Even supposing that the Cardinal had received sufficient powers to that effect, which he has not, the means now proposed do not meet the end for which they are intended, since new proposals are actually being made to the Emperor respecting the delivery of the hostages previous to the fulfilment by the King of France of the conditions stipulated in the treaty. Certainly it would be both unreasonable and dishonourable for the Emperor to accede to such demands, since by the experience of the past,

1528.

the King of France's violation of faith, and non-observance of former treaties and stipulations, he is precluded from accepting or giving any other securities, except his own solemn word, that as soon as the terms newly stipulated shall be fulfilled and accomplished the Emperor will set his French hostages free. It is quite notorious, by the despatches from Palencia and Burgos,* that His Imperial Majesty has always placed implicit faith and reliance in the King of England, and out of generosity, and for the sake of the English King, his ally, has consented to waive his own right to secure the settlement of a general and lasting peace; but since the said King [of England] has sent his challenge, and decidedly espoused the part of the King of France, his enemy, the Emperor can no longer rely on him.

Yet such is the Emperor's wish for peace that he will be glad to hear of any other fair overtures that the King of England shall be pleased to make, in order to renew and, if possible, strengthen their old friendship and alliance for the mutual benefit and welfare of their respective subjects; for His Imperial Majesty, unless absolutely forced to it, never will think of waging war upon the King of England or his subjects, but, on the contrary, has always looked upon him and them as if they were his own countrymen.

Such a peace between England and Spain once settled, it will then be suitable and meritorious for the King of England to undertake the task of mediating between us and the King of France, and putting forward such conditions of peace as may satisfy our honour and ensure the welfare of Christendom.—Madrid, 27th September 1528.

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

30 Sept. 562. DON IÑIGO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats. Arch.
Wien. Rep. P.C.
Fasc. 224, No. 9.

I wrote last to Your Majesty on the 18th inst., by Juan Martinez de Recalde, to announce the arrival of Cardinal Campeggio at Paris. He crossed the Straits yesterday, the 19th, and is expected here in London about the end of this week. The King has ordered a very good reception to be made to him everywhere, as to one whom he wishes to welcome and conciliate.

The Queen wrote yesterday to say she had heard that this new Legate brought powers and mandates very detrimental to her and to her rights, which powers, she says, have been obtained from the Pope under false pretences, it having been represented to him that in this present case there was no fear of causing scandal, because all the kingdom was in favour of the divorce, and the Queen herself consented to it, and that, moreover, Your Majesty, whom this business concerned more than any other Prince, did not object to the separation being

* "Il est tout notoire par les communications de Palence et de Bourgos, &c." "Palence" is for Palencia in Old Castille; "Bourgos" for Burgos.

1528.

effected, so that without risk of scandal whatsoever, or fear of war, the King's wishes might be accomplished.

The Queen further says that the Pope, influenced by such false representations, has issued such orders as this King wants ; but I think this cannot be the case, and that the Queen no doubt has been misinformed, for it is not to be presumed that in a case of this sort His Holiness would guide himself by what this King says, especially as he knows that the Queen is not a person to consent to such an indignity, and that Your Imperial Majesty in his letters has sufficiently declared how very sorry he feels for the rumours in circulation, and how displeased he should be if the King attempted to do what courtiers generally think he will. With regard to the people's discontent, that is so public and notorious a fact, that it seems almost impossible that the Pope should not by this time have heard of it. Even had he not, how could His Holiness, in a case so novel and so scandalous as this, proceed to act without first ascertaining what truth there is in the King's statement ? So that, though the Queen may greatly fear the instructions which this Legate is said to bring, I cannot persuade myself that Campeggio's mandate is to take any decided step in this case, but only to inquire how matters stand, interrogate the parties, ascertain what amount of evil is likely to result from the divorce, and then go back and report. We shall soon know the whole truth, and I shall not fail to inform Your Majesty, as it is my duty to do, of all proceedings.

Meanwhile the Queen is daily assailed by people making her all manner of offers, if she will only consent to the divorce ; but she remains as firm as ever, and resolute in maintaining her honour and reputation. She is exceedingly distressed (*atribulada*) at some bishops and lawyers (*letrados*), who were formerly in her favour, having lately deserted her cause through fear or bribes. It would have been highly advantageous to her case if the legal adviser* who is to take it up had arrived [from Spain] ; as it is, I am very much afraid that when he comes, Campeggio may already have taken his departure, owing to this and other reasons. The Queen, however, in order to save time, inclines to have a lawyer from Flanders. My opinion is that, even in the case of Cardinal Campeggio returning soon to Rome, there will be enough to do for the lawyer whom Your Majesty has been pleased to appoint, and that if he leaves Spain immediately after the receipt of this letter he will still arrive in time to be useful.

The Queen relies entirely on Your Majesty, and has no other consolation in her troubles than the hope of being powerfully assisted [from Spain]. She begs me to remind Your Majesty of one thing, which must greatly benefit her case, namely, the promise of another pressing letter to His Holiness, giving him to understand how very dangerous it would be for the

* No doubt Miçer Miguel Mai, whose instructions follow hereafter, though for some reason or other, he did not come to London, but went straight to Naples.

1528.

peace of Christendom if he were to allow this King's will to be done. The Queen thinks also that the Kings of Hungary and Portugal, so closely allied to her, ought to write similar letters; and, moreover, if Your Majesty approves of it, that besides the ambassador who is to be sent to the Pope, two or more personages should come here to speak to this King on the subject. I agree with the Queen on this particular. I firmly believe that, when the people of this kingdom see Your Majesty take up the Queen's cause as your own, much good may be done, and that, besides fulfilling towards her the duties of an affectionate nephew, Your Majesty will win the esteem and affection of all the English, a thing of all others most beneficial at present and for future times.

I wrote some days ago asking for an attested copy of the brief of dispensation. If it could only be procured it would become very *à propos* for the matter now under discussion.*

The defeat of the French before Naples must be true, since this King does not deny it. It is likewise reported that Antonio de Leyva has seized some loads of specie destined to the enemy, and that, although he sustained some loss on the occasion, he ultimately succeeded and carried off his prize.

We hear also, by way of France, that Andrea Doria has entered Genoa, expelled the French therefrom, and proclaimed the freedom of the city.—London, 30th September 1528.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord, &c."

Spanish. Original in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

1 Oct. **563.** INSTRUCTIONS to MIÇER MIGUEL MAI, going as Ambassador to the POPE.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof- u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P.
Fasc. C. 225.

Will embark for England† as soon as possible, and inform Don Iñigo de Mendoza, bishop elect of Burgos, of his arrival in London. Is to hold a conference with that ambassador before letting anyone know the nature of these instructions. After delivering his credentials to the said ambassador, he is to explain how, knowing him to be in bad health, and unable to attend to the delicate business now intrusted to his care, We, at his request, send him (Miçer Mai) to assist and help

* "Los dias pasados escrevi á Vuestra Magestad que era menester el traslado de aquella dispensacion autorizado; si se pudiese aver seria provechoso para lo que aqui se entiende."

† Miçer Mai was at Barcelona, ready to embark for Naples, in October, as appears from a letter of Vicente Navarro to Alfonso de Valdés, the Emperor's secretary, in a volume of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, entitled *Cartas de Erasmo y otros*, fol. 55. Probably these instructions were prepared at the beginning of October, when the Emperor thought of sending Mai to London to assist Don Iñigo and advise the Queen. The Emperor changed his mind, and sent him straight to Italy.

1528.

in whatever may be undertaken or done in behalf of our beloved aunt, Queen Katharine of England.

With regard to this particular business Miçer Mai is to acquaint Don Iñigo with everything that has been done hitherto, as well as with the steps taken at Rome to prevent any measures detrimental to the interests and reputation of the said Queen. He will likewise take care to explain all the incidents of the case, and show to the above-mentioned ambassador (Don Iñigo), or any lawyers that the latter may recommend, the transcripts of the bull of dispensation and brief [granted by Pope Julius II.], and state at once that the original brief, posterior to and more explicit than the bull itself, is in our hands, and that for the present We are unwilling to part with it for fear it should be lost on the way. Of the bull of dispensation We only possess an attested transcript, but imagine that the original must be preserved at Rome. However this may be, We consider that the copies now sent, duly attested as they are, will be sufficient for our present purpose, which is to prove to the people of England that the dispensation of Pope Julius was granted in due form. In this manner, if anyone [in England] were to argue "de ereption ó sumesption" against the said document, he (Mai) and Don Iñigo will be fully prepared to answer any objections raised against its validity, as well as against that Pope's power to dispense. Miçer Mai, however, is not to communicate the above facts to anyone whomsoever, except to the said Don Iñigo, and the person or persons whom our ambassador in England, as well as the Queen, our aunt, may designate.

After conferring with Don Iñigo on this subject, Miçer Mai will wait on the King and Cardinal [of England], together or separately, as it may be, and deliver the letters and credentials whereof he is the bearer. He is to explain how, hearing that Don Iñigo is in indifferent health, We send him to help in this and other business. He will also ask for permission to see the Queen, and, if granted, will deliver into her hands the letter he has for her, without, however, informing the King or Cardinal of the nature of his instructions, or letting them, or anyone else, know that he is acquainted with the business in question. But if on his arrival in London Miçer Mai should find that the affair had become so public and notorious [in England] that secrecy was no longer necessary, then, in that case, he may, after taking Don Iñigo's counsel thereupon, plead on behalf of the Queen in such terms as to show our utmost concern and sorrow at the treatment which one of our nearest relatives experiences in England.

After calling on the Queen, and delivering his credentials and our letters to her, Miçer Mai will, if the opportunity

* "Comunicareys con el dicho Don Yñigo, y con los que a el paresciere los traslados de la bulla [de dispensacion] y breve, y le direys que el original del dicho breve, el qual es posterior de la bulla, y mas claro, está en nuestro poder, y que no lo mandamos por ahora dudando que no se pierda."

1528.

offers itself, console her in her affliction, and say that We send him to England for the express purpose of attending to her case and upholding her rights.*

Spanish. Original draft in Gattinara's hand.

1 Oct. 564. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar A. 43,
f. 219.

Encloses duplicate of his despatch of the 28th inst. The confederates are still at Pavia, holding counsel together as to their future operations. Some are for marching at once on Milan; others, for taking up positions at Viagrassa, whilst the French much prefer attacking Genoa. Some again recommend that Florence should be made at once the stronghold of the League, and defended against the designs both of Pope and Emperor. The cause of such hesitation is no other, in his (Soria's) opinion, than the scarcity of their forces, for besides the many hundreds lost in the taking of Pavia, some have since deserted with the spoil they made there, and others threaten not to move unless their arrears be paid beforehand.

The Florentines refuse admitting Renzo da Ceri within their walls for fear he should be in intelligence with the Pope. They are fast increasing their defences. Perchance the old prophecy will now be fulfilled intimating that Florence shall be destroyed by Germans and Spaniards.

Many of His Imperial Majesty's servants are of opinion that this is the time for making peace with the King of France, if he would only desist from his plans, and mix no longer in Italian affairs. Both he and the Emperor might then turn their arms against Venice, an enterprise as laudable and catholic as if it were directed against the Turk, for certainly the Signory is perhaps the real and only cause of these wars and troubles.

The castle of Pavia surrendered on the 24th ulto. for want of gunpowder and ammunition. Leyva complains of the abandon in which he is, and that no one cares about him or supplies to his wants.

The Prince of Orange is reported to be already on the road to Rome. The Pope was still at Orvieto with the intention of going to Civittà Castellana, which shows that he no longer fears the Prince, and has entered into some secret agreement with him. Sarra (Sciarra) and others of the Colonnese are close to Rome with considerable forces, doing all the harm they can to the estates of the Church and lands of the Orsini. This might perchance retard the return of His Holiness to his capital.

* Then follows a memorandum in the Chancellor's own hand, stating that these instructions were to be copied and prepared for the Emperor's signature, and letters of credence in accordance with the instructions made out for the King, the Cardinal, the Queen, and Don Inigo. As the draft is undated, I have not hesitated to place it here.

1528.

Florentines, he hears, are now engaging all the fugitives from Naples who happen to pass through their territory, and sending besides troops to Renzo da Ceri that he may maintain himself at Spoleto, on the frontiers of the Abruzzo.

Cannot tell yet whether Thomasso de' Fornariis will pay any portion of the last 200,000 ducats. He is still unwell at Genoa. Out of the former credit very little can remain in his hands, if it be true that he has paid in Naples 140,000. This last sum joined to the 33,000 cr. handed over to Brunswick, 8,000 to Leyva, 12,000 to Guasto and Ascanio Colonna for the payment of their ransom, make altogether 53,000 cr., equal to 57,000 ducats at the present rate of exchange.—La Mirandola, 1st October 1528.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Soria."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

6 Oct. 565. The DUKE OF BEJAR* to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 16, f. 365.

B. M. 28,577,
f. 397.

Congratulates him on his Neapolitan victory. Now is the time to subjugate (*reducir*) to the service of God the enemies of our Holy Catholic Faith.—Bejar, 6th October 1528.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

9 Oct. 566. The EMPEROR to DON IÑIGO DE MENDOZA.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof- u. StaatsArch.
Wien. Rep. P.C.
Fasc. 227.

The King, &c.—We have duly received by sea eleven of your despatches, the last of which bears the date of the 13th of August last. We thank you very much for the unfailing interest and care you take in our affairs, which is indeed such as We always expected from you.

By the duplicate of the letters which We addressed to you by Chasteau, dated the 10th May and 5th July, you must have learned of the arrival at this our court, both of the messenger sent by our good aunt Margaret [of Savoy], as well as of the collector, Silvester Dario, who was despatched at the same time by the Cardinal of England. The latter has since presented to us a memorandum containing new overtures (*medios*) for peace, to which We have made the answer herein enclosed. Should the Cardinal first speak to you on the subject, you shall shape your answer entirely according to our views, as expressed in the said answer. If he should not, you will open the subject to him, and show him our answer to his overtures, as well as the memorandum drawn up by the Bishop of Pistoya (Pucci), of which we sent you a copy, that he may see and be convinced that the bishop was as fully empowered as Silvester Dario himself to treat of this peace,†

* D. Alvaro de Zuñiga.

† "Quel dicho bispo [de Pistoya] no traia menos commission en lo de la dicha paz quel dicho Silvestro Dario."

1528.

as he came by the express order and mandate of the King of France. It seems to us advisable that a number of copies of our answer to the Cardinal should be circulated among the worthy inhabitants of that kingdom (*los buenos Ingleses*), because there is a paragraph in it alluding to the love We bear them, and likewise to the great desire We have of seeing the old alliances and friendship between England and Spain renovated and strengthened.

With regard to this point, *i.e.* the renewal of our friendship, or at least of a truce and suspension of arms in our Spanish dominions as well as in those of the house of Burgundy, you are to follow entirely our instructions in date of the 28th of September 1527, forwarded to you by way of Her most Serene Highness the Lady Margaret, our aunt, to whom We then entrusted the present negotiation. You shall therefore adhere strictly to the said instructions, as well as to Madame's orders, except perhaps on one single point in which We wish to have a modification introduced; namely, our debt to the King of England. For if We are not mistaken in the instructions then forwarded to you, We offered to pay to the King of England all our liquidated debts at the same time that the sons of King Francis should be set at liberty. We were then at Palencia, and as there was some probability of peace being made between us, We did not then hesitate to choose that mode and time for acquitting our debt. But now that the prospects of peace are so very uncertain, We wish the payment to be made by instalments, and at the longest possible dates. You may stipulate in our name, if no further respite can be obtained, that the whole of our debt shall be paid in two years by equal sums; that is to say, 75,000 gold cr. of the Sun at the end of each year, since our presently liquidated debt to the King of England only amounts to 150,000. The same to be done respecting any other debt not yet liquidated in full. As to the sum of 60,000 cr. which also appears in the account, the King, as you well know, holds as security for it the fleur de lis of our grandfather Maximilian. If, moreover, the English King should ask you securities for the payment of that sum, you will grant in our name the best that can be obtained from merchants and bankers, and in case of a settlement being made, you will take care to let us know in time, that We may get ready the said guarantees.

Respecting your return to this country, We can assure you that We desire it quite as much as yourself, whenever our affairs at that court admit of it; but, after reading the above, you will agree with us that your presence in London is now more wanted than ever. Yet, if after doing your duty in this negotiation, you should find that the Cardinal is not in favour of the proposed arrangement, you may complain in the hearing of influential and well-disposed Englishmen of your acquaintance of the unwillingness there seems to be in that country to settle pending matters, and renewing the old friendship

1528.

and alliance between the two countries. This being done, you shall go to the King, and try to ascertain from him what his real intentions are, assuring him in general terms that We are ready to grant any reasonable and just demand that may be made upon us, within the limits, however, of the aforesaid instructions, and subject also to whatever alterations Her most Serene Highness the Lady Margaret of the Low Countries may introduce respecting the intercourse of trade, &c. You will also tell the King that his ambassadors in this country, ever since they took leave of us, are daily asking for permission to return to England, which it would be unreasonable for us to grant, unless you also were suffered to depart. This and other arguments which your prudence may suggest will offer you an opportunity—in case of your feeling unable to obtain the renewal of the English alliance, or at least of a good truce—to announce in public, and wherever there is most chance of its reaching the ears of the King, that you are ready to take leave of him and return to Spain. You shall come by way of France under a safe-conduct, which We have no doubt the King of England will procure for you; and once in our presence, We shall then, not before, allow the departure of the English ambassadors to France.

With regard to the Queen of England, our good aunt, We have intelligence both from Rome and from that Court that Cardinal Campeggio has departed for England, and that he has mandate to act conjointly with the Cardinal of York in the divorce suit instituted by that King. Cardinal Campeggio may already be in England, and We ought therefore to lose no time. We consider that the most efficient way of assisting and protecting the Queen, our good aunt, is for us to prevent, by all possible means, the trial of her case coming on in England, and to oppose any mandates of the Pope to particular persons. To this end We have caused two different drafts (*minutas*) to be drawn up of certain protests and requisitions to be made in our name, wherein our reasons for asking that the case be tried elsewhere, and especially at Rome, are expressly detailed. To the said drafts are appended full and special powers drawn out in due form for you separately or conjointly, as the case may be, to make the said requisitions and protests against the two cardinals, or either of them, if one or both should persist in the course of proceeding which appears to have been adopted. For the better execution of this charge, and for the greater security of the affair, you may, if you think proper, enter in the presence of the said Papal delegates (*comisarios*), separately or conjointly, the aforesaid requisitions (*sommaciones*) and protests, and demand act of the same, taking with you, in case they refused, a notary to certify the whole transaction.

That you may better understand our wishes in this affair, and act with your usual prudence and discretion, We enclose*

* The instrument here alluded to is not appended to the Emperor's letter. The protest, however, might be the same abstracted elsewhere.

1528.

a minute of the form and terms of the said deed, as well as a copy of the protest We have lodged before the Pope at Rome. You shall keep to the letter of the said requisitions (*sommaciones*) and protests, saying that you have no other instructions or mandate respecting this affair, and shall take all possible care that neither the Queen herself, nor anyone in her name, interferes directly or indirectly with this course, which We consider the best for her.

We have sent an express messenger to our brother the King of Hungary, and to our brother-in-law the King of Portugal, requesting them to send people of their own to back and support the said requisitions and protests. We doubt not that they will do so, and also send ambassadors to Rome to join in the protest laid before the Holy Father. We have again ordered our ambassador in that Court, Miçer Mai, to see the aforesaid protest duly ratified and attested in his presence, and cause authentic copies of the whole transaction to be sent to you, that the Queen, our good aunt, may know how fully disposed We are to defend her rights, and do anything else that may henceforward appear just or expedient, so that she herself and the World at large may be convinced that We look upon her case as our own.

We leave it to your prudence and discretion to decide whether it will be requisite to challenge the Cardinal as being the Queen's sworn and professed enemy. If so, We have caused two different powers to be made out, one containing the said challenge and the grounds on which the said enmity is founded, the other having no clause to that effect. The words of the former, which allude to the Cardinal's enmity, are placed between commas (*estan verguladas*), so that you can make use of one or the other of the two powers as you may think most suitable for our cause.

If, however, you clearly saw that Cardinal Campeggio had no mandate from the Pope to take cognizance of the affair, it seems to us that it would be prudent to dissemble and not make use of the aforesaid protest, which might no longer be necessary. But you must take good care that by the said dissembling and reservation no injury is done to our good aunt, the Queen of England, and her rights, for it is our wish to help her in all possible ways.

In short, should you find that there was no possibility of renewing the old friendship and alliance, or of making a truce, or in some other fit way remaining at peace with the English, and that you are thereby obliged to ask for leave and quit that kingdom, then in that case We command and order you to make the said protests, even if they are directed against the Cardinal of York separately and singly, since this cannot but be beneficial to the Queen's cause in the eyes of the English people. In view of such contingency, We now write to Cardinal Campeggio the enclosed letter,* which is

* No draft of it is preserved at Simancas nor at Vienna.

1528.

also a credential in your favour. You shall try and persuade him to relinquish his present commission. You may give him the letter or not, as you think best for the success of the present negotiations, respecting which We have fully and resolutely declared our intentions to you. — Madrid, 9th October 1528.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 4.

10 Oct. 567. COUNT BURRELLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 221.

Has not written for many months. Is now in Puglia in pursuit of the enemy, who, after his defeat at Montesoro and Manfredonia, took shelter in Barletta and Trani. Had great difficulty in reaching as far as Andria, where he now is, owing to the enemy being there in great force. Failed in his attempt on Quarata as he had no artillery, and the garrison of Trani hastened to its relief. Is waiting for instructions from the Prince, and in the meantime has quartered his troops in various places of this neighbourhood, losing no opportunity of injuring the confederates wherever they show themselves, and skirmishing with them to the very gates of Barletta and Trani. The other day at one of these skirmishes, Jo. Berno. (Gio. Bernardino?) San Severino, the son of the Duke of Somma, was taken prisoner.

Barletta and Trani are held by the confederates; the former by the French, the latter by the Venetians. These last hold also Monopoli and Polinnano (Polignano). A message has been sent to Count de Joya, who has an estate close to Monopoli, to take the field and annoy the enemy as much as possible. For this purpose two companies of Spanish infantry have been placed under his orders. Instructions have also been sent to the Marquis of La Tripalda, at Otranto, to go to Monopoli with his artillery, as the city cannot offer much resistance, the garrison being scanty and in want of provisions. The Marquis has answered that as soon as Nardo—which he is actually besieging—falls into his power he will immediately start in that direction.

As such nests as these must not remain in the enemy's hands for fear they should become rallying points for the French, he (Count Burrello) has applied to Naples for reinforcements in men and artillery. The Prince's answer has been that they are getting ready, and will be despatched in a couple of days.—Andria, 10th October 1528.

Signed: "El Conde de Burrello."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ, Cesareæ, et Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "XVII. To His Majesty. From Count de Burrello. 10th October 1528."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

1528.

10 Oct. 568. PROTHONOTARY CARACCIOLLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 225.

Wrote last on the 14th and 18th ulto., but fears that both those despatches and the duplicates of others fell into the hands of the enemy. Pavia was taken by storm, and the Imperialists, who took refuge in the castle, were obliged to capitulate some days after. Hearing that the "Castelletto" of Genoa was closely invested by our people, St. Pol thought of going thither with part of his forces. No news has yet arrived from that locality, (*cipher* :) but it is to be presumed that nothing of importance has been achieved, for otherwise the confederates would not have failed to boast, whereas nothing is said about it.

Letters have been intercepted from ambassadors and other people in France, advising the Signory and Francesco Sforza to hold out as long as possible in Lombardy, so that by next spring they may again take the offensive. If so, His Imperial Majesty must immediately provide funds for this Imperial army, or else Antonio de Leyva, who is still in delicate health, will be unable to stand their attack, as both his Germans and Spaniards are in a state of mutiny and refuse serving. Churches and monasteries, as well as the houses of private individuals, are daily visited by bands of undisciplined soldiers, who plunder right and left.*—Milan, 13th October 1528.

Signed: "Il Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Caracciolo. Milan."

Italian. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering between the lines, and separately at fol. 227. pp. 3.

19 Oct. 569. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 231.

Encloses duplicate of his despatch of the 10th. Cannot help alluding again to the danger in which they all are. The Germans are more than ever in a state of mutiny. Out of those who came last, only about 1,000 remain; and as to the old ones they obstinately refuse coming to terms, and insist upon being paid the whole of their arrears, amounting to several thousands. Already Leyva has been obliged to retire to the castle with his Spaniards. The Germans threaten to sack this city, and either going home or passing over to the enemy, as they say they are continually being deceived, and that since Captain Ribadeneyra's departure with their humble petition to the Emperor no tidings have come from Spain. Though every expedient has been tried to appease their discontent, none has been found yet, and now, at two

* This is followed in the volume (fol. 230) by another letter to the High Chancellor. As its contents are nearly similar I have not abstracted it.

1528.

o'clock of night, all the Emperor's subjects are dreading what will come to pass to-morrow.

Giuliano della Spezzia, however, has undertaken, with great personal danger, to go to Genoa and see whether he will be able to obtain there 20,000 cr., with which, and what little more may be obtained here, these Germans may be appeased, though they are so unruly and unsatiable that there is very little chance of their ever doing their duty.

His Imperial Majesty must not rely too much on his Neapolitan army. It is very problematic that it can come to Lombardy in time.—Milan, 19th October 1528.

Signed: "Il Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Caracciolo. Milan. 19th October."

Italian. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

10 Oct. 570.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. .

MARTIN DE SALINAS, Austrian Ambassador in Spain, to the KING OF BOHEMIA and HUNGARY.

Would have written before had there been an opportunity, but no courier has left all this time, and His Imperial Majesty is keeping back Pedro de Ascoytia until the answer of the King of France arrives. His Highness' letters of the 20th of April, 12th, 25th, and 28th of May, 4th, 8th, and 19th of June, and 7th of July, have been duly received. The former, dated Prague, on Resurrection Day, came rather late, as it was already known at this court that His Highness had sent an army [to Italy], and provided the first funds by pawning the Crown jewels. No sooner, moreover, did the Emperor receive this intelligence than he procured and actually sent bills of exchange for 30,000 ducats.

By the said letter of the 20th, he (Salinas) was commanded to wait on the Emperor, and state to him that certain members of the German Diet were of opinion that a great effort should now be made, and some sort of resolution (*apuntamiento*) taken by the Assembly for the purpose of putting an end to the war. The Emperor seemed to approve of the plan, but recommended the greatest secrecy for fear the enemy should think he had anything to do with it.

That of the 15th of May, announcing the arrival of Louis de Taxis and of Letur (La Tour), as well as the dissolution of the Diet convoked for Ratisbona (Regensburg), was likewise considerably delayed. That measure His Highness seems to think originated entirely with the Emperor. He (Salinas) can bear testimony that His Imperial Majesty had no hand in it; nothing indeed could be so far from his mind as to give

1528.

orders which should be unpleasant to his brother. The fault lies entirely with the Provost (*Preposito*) of Balcrique (Valtkirch), whose instructions were not to proceed in the matter until he had delivered his charges. His Imperial Majesty is exceedingly sorry for what has happened, and cannot conceive what motives the said Provost [of Valtkirch] can have had for tarrying so long on his journey, and acting against his express commands, thus giving rise to the scandalous rumours circulated by our enemies.

Lutherans—King of Denmark, &c.

The Emperor was sorry to hear of the King (Christiern III.) having given shelter to the wife and sister of his own brother-in-law. He considers this a blameable act, though very consistent with the general character of that monarch.

Of the levies made by the Landgrave of Ascia (Hesse) and Duke of Jassa (Hesse), and the object for which they were intended, he (Salinas) failed not to inform the Emperor, as he was instructed to do by letter of the 28th May. His Highness seemed to think at the time that those levies were made at the instigation of France. Now he tells us that the League is broken, the men dismissed, and the originator of the whole intrigue found out. The parties, moreover, had come to an agreement with the Archbishop of Maguncia (Mainz) and other prelates. He (Salinas) has acquainted the Emperor with all the particulars of the affair.

The letter of the 4th June related to the threatened invasion of the Turk, as reported by a Franciscan friar; also to the letters which the Signory of Venice had written to the Infidel, promising so to manage matters that by Michaelmas next he (the Emperor) should be dead. His Imperial Majesty thinks the Venetians quite capable of anything, but he trusts in God, and takes good care of himself. Advises His Highness to do the same. When he (Salinas) told him of the embassies sent by the Vayvod, the Venetians, and the French for a similar purpose, he (the Emperor) remarked that God could not fail to punish his enemies for their misdeeds, and that the late discomfiture of the French at Naples was no doubt a sure prognostic of the Divine vengeance. Told him also of the last earthquake at Constantinople; wishes to God it had been so general and destructive as to free us at once of so formidable an enemy.

Monforte arrived at Court before His Highness' letter [of the 19th June] came to hand. He is about to go back again with despatches.

His Highness very justly appreciates the Flemings and their conduct under present circumstances. Indeed what idea can be formed of people who conclude an eight months' truce with the French, just at the time when their King Francis has challenged the Emperor to single combat, thus allowing our enemies to withdraw their garrisons from the frontiers, and send them to Naples under Mons. de St. Pol?

1528.

Respecting the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) and his wavering policy, the Emperor has nothing to observe. He knows him of old, and nothing that he does can surprise him. Perhaps our late success at Naples may be the cause of his changing his mind

With regard to the Pope, fresh instructions have been given to Monforte as to the manner in which the negotiations are to be conducted, for since the Emperor's last letter [to His Holiness] things have materially changed both in Germany and in Italy.

His Highness' last letter of the 7th July refers to the German Princes in general, and to the means he (the King) has employed to make them put down their arms. The Landgrave, it is added, for fear of His Highness interfering in the suit pending between Count Nasaot (Nassau) and himself, seems desirous of embracing the Emperor's cause. But as the justice of the Count's cause is so notorious, and he has already gained three sentences in his favour, His Imperial Majesty's wish is that he should be protected in his rights against the machinations of his adversary (the Landgrave), who is moving heaven and earth to gain his point.

The Emperor was glad to hear of the taking of the Castle of Tranchin (Trenschin), and other successes against the Vayvod. Has not sent Pedro de Ascoytia until now, because he was desirous of acquainting His Highness with the result of the personal challenge sent him by the King of France. Borgoña has just returned [to that country] with the enclosed answer.* It would appear that on his arrival at Fuentarrabia, that herald applied to the governor of Bayonne for a safe-conduct, which was refused unless he first declared what was the substance of the Emperor's message. This Borgoña would not do, but was at last allowed to proceed on his errand. It is reported that the real cause of the delay was no other than the bad health of King Francis, who was then taking the "lignum vitæ" tree†. Pedro de Ascoytia now takes [to Spain] the details of the whole affair, as well as copies of all the papers written on the occasion. The Emperor would be glad that His Highness should himself espouse this cause as his own, and induce the Princes of the Empire to do the same.‡

Some bankers of this place have shown him (Salinas) letters advising drafts to the amount of 16,275 ducats, payable here at short dates. In that sum are included the 10,000 florins owing to the Duke of Jassa (Hesse), and other sums spent in

* Not in the Academy's volume, but published by Sandoval, *Historia de Carlos V.*, lib. xvi.

† "Que a la sazón estaba tomando el palo de Indias para su enfermedad." *Palo de Indias* or *Palo Santo* as it is otherwise called, is the same as the Guayacan. See Monardes, *Historia medicinal de las Indias Occidentales*. Sevilla, 1574, 4to., ff. 11-16.

‡ "Y aun agora olgaria que V. A. hiziese muestra este negocio tenerle por suyo, como que en efecto lo tiene, y aun, si fuesse possible, que los príncipes del Imperio hiziessen lo mismo."

1528.

the recruiting, &c. of the auxiliary bands lately sent to Italy. He (Salinas) will do his utmost to have the bills cashed by the Emperor's treasury, but fears there will be some difficulty unless full account be sent of the money laid out, when and for what purpose, similar in all to those forwarded on other occasions.

Rocandorf* has lately sent a servant of his with instructions of what he had to negotiate at this court. Among other things, he was to show him (Salinas) notes and papers to prove that certain parties in Flanders were trying to sow dissension between His Highness and the Emperor by stating that the Germans whom Monforte was sent to recruit might easily have gone [into Italy] had His Highness chosen. Knows very well that not even the Devil himself, if he attempted it, could sow dissension in the hearts of two such loving brothers; and yet His Highness ought to be on his guard against any mischief of this sort.

A natural son† of the late Emperor Maximilian, who resides in those parts, has lately written to His Imperial Majesty, complaining that he is treated no better than if he were a mere scullion (*moço de cocina*). Deems it necessary to mention the fact, not that the writer's letter has been in any way noticed, but in order to put His Highness on his guard respecting the said person's complaints. He might be promoted to a better office or else punished, as he deserves, for his insolence. On the whole Pedro de Ascoytia, who knows him well, will say that he is not likely to be better treated here than he is there [at Prague].

In order to procure money for his present wants the Emperor was in treaty with the King of Portugal for a large sum of money in exchange for a permission to trade with the Spice Islands. The negotiation, however, has been abandoned owing to the Portuguese not choosing to pay the price asked for the concession. His Highness will not be sorry to hear of it. The Emperor had already a strong fleet ready to sail for those seas; it may be now employed in another direction. Twelve more galleys are now ready to join those of Andrea Doria, unless the Emperor changes his present purpose, and crosses over to Italy himself, as most people here wish him to do.

The news of Naples and what has been accomplished there by sea and land His Highness will see in the enclosed letter of the Emperor.‡

The recommendation in favour of Count Palatine Frederic came too late, as His Imperial Majesty had already appointed the Prince of Orange to be Viceroy of Naples. The payment

* Elsewhere called *Rocandolfo*, *Roguendorf*, and *Rogendorff*, which last appears to have been his real name.

† Jorge de Austria.

‡ Not in the Academy's volume.

1528.

of his pensions must also be postponed until a more favourable opportunity.

A Jew has been allowed to preach in Portugal in favour of the religion of Moses, and against our Christian faith. He has also written letters to this kingdom [of Spain], in consequence of which many of his comrades desert their homes and fly to that country. The Emperor has written twice to the King on this subject, and the Inquisition is now proceeding against the guilty parties. Cannot tell how the affair will end, but fears that God will in the end chastise the King who tolerates such evil in his estates.

The Constable of Castille died about 10 days ago; a serious loss for His Imperial Majesty, since not one councillor and statesman, or very few remain capable of taking charge of the government of these kingdoms during the Emperor's absence.

Mons. de Laccio (La Chaulx) is writing in favour of a son of his for the archbishopric of Visançon (Besançon), and the Emperor would be glad if his petition were granted.

On the receipt of the last favourable news from Naples, the Archbishop of Toledo (Fonseca) and the Count of Miranda (D. Francisco de Zuñiga y Avellaneda) were elected to the Council of State.—Madrid, 10th October 1528.

Addressed : "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 9.

Oct. 13-16. **570.**

DON IÑIGO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

K. K. Haus-Hof-
Arch. Wien.
Rep. Fasc.

(*Cipher* :) After my letter of the 30th of September, Cardinal Campeggio arrived in London. Although great preparations had been made for his reception, he would not make his entrance in public, but remained in one of the suburbs, and on the ensuing morning went privately by the river-side to the house which had been prepared for him. He is not in good health, as he is suffering from gout, and so fatigued by his journey that since his arrival he has not quitted his bed. The Cardinal [of York] has visited him, but the King has not, and it is not yet known what his powers are. Some of his own household give out that his mission relates chiefly to the settlement of a general peace, but the truth is that he comes at this King's bidding for this matter of the divorce, the Queen's enemies confidently asserting that his charge is to declare the marriage null and void. On the other hand the Queen's friends cannot persuade themselves that he (Campeggio) has a mandate from the Pope to decide and give sentence on her case, but think that he only comes to institute a judicial inquiry, and then, with the result of the same, return to Rome. We shall shortly hear what he intends doing. Hitherto, neither the Queen nor those who are in her favour have been able to

1528.

ascertain what he [the new Legate] comes about. As soon as anything is known Your Imperial Majesty will be duly informed.

I have been told that the reason Cardinal Campeggio alleges for refusing to make a public entrance into this city is, that so long as the Church [in England] is not reinstated in all she has lost, it seems to him as if her cardinals should give no signs of joy or satisfaction. For this reason also he wears a very long and untrimmed beard in sign of mourning.

Perceiving that the lawyer (*letrado*) whom Your Majesty promised to send was not forthcoming, I wrote to the Queen inquiring whether it was her wish that Madame should at once send from Flanders one well versed in canon law, who might counsel and assist in her case. Her answer was that there were plenty here [in London] determined to defend her cause, and she imagined that if a foreigner were to be called in English lawyers would not work well together. Besides she had reasons to believe that the House of Parliament would not grant permission for foreigners to interfere.

Owing to the above reasons I have not written to Flanders, and the canonist shall not be sent for, unless the Queen changes her mind. But I cannot help thinking that the lawyer who is to come from Spain might do much service on this occasion, for when these people see that he comes as ambassador and to reside [in London] they will not suspect that he is sent purposely to advise the Queen on her case, especially if he is sent to replace me in this embassy. My opinion is, therefore, that if not yet departed the lawyer should be despatched forthwith, as he will arrive very opportunely for the exercise of his functions.

Should this new Legate (Campeggio) proceed with this divorce case as with any ordinary process, I believe the Queen intends to allege in her defence that she was a virgin when she married the present King, and that Prince Arthur had no access to her. This in my humble opinion ought by no means to be brought forward as an argument except in case the dispensation brief was proved to be defective (*viciosa*), as otherwise there is no necessity whatever for such an allegation; first, because virginity is a thing not easily proved, except by oath of the party herself; and, secondly, because the brief provides for that and other difficulties (*en la dispensa está todo salvado*). I am very much afraid that these lawyers whom the Queen trusts and consults are deceiving her, because, to tell Your Majesty the truth, wherever there is question of self-interest (*donde ay interesse*) these English people have little good faith, and less conscience. That is why I am so anxious that the promised lawyer should come from Spain; one who has made special study of canon law (*que fuese mero canonista*), and who is also a

1528.

good Latin scholar (*y hombre que fuese de buena lengua latina*).

The Queen wrote to me some days ago that the copy of the dispensation brief, which is to come from Spain, ought to be properly attested by a notary, so as to be available before a court of law. She has not written further on the subject, but my opinion is that it ought to be procured at Rome, and be sent to us as the Queen wishes and suggests, sufficiently authenticated and attested.

I have been told that the ambassadors* sent to Rome by this King to ask for the new Legate (Campeggio), on the Pope representing to them the gravity of the case, and the scandal that might follow, were the King's petition to be granted, answered deliberately that the Queen herself consented to the divorce, and that Your Majesty, who is so closely related to her, would not oppose it; that Parliament (*el Reyno*) was unanimous on the subject, and would see it with pleasure, and that there would be therefore no matter for scandal. The Pope replied that he knew nothing as to the light in which the Queen and Parliament looked upon this divorce, but as far as Your Majesty was concerned, he had heard, and believed, that it was quite the reverse. Cardinal Campeggio would come, and do all that was just and proper for the good of the Christian world. Your Majesty may hereby judge how desperate the case of these people must be, when they resort to such subterfuges and false representations to gain their purpose.

It would be very desirable for this particular business of the Queen that the Kings of Hungary and Portugal should send their ambassadors to the Pope at the same time as Your Majesty, to beg and entreat that in this divorce case the trial should be heard and sentence passed nowhere but at Rome. It would also be beneficial rather than otherwise to the Queen's cause if the two said Kings of Hungary and Portugal would send their agents here [to London] to try and bring this King to reason, if possible. At any rate, if unsuccessful in their application, the ambassadors might let these people know that Your Majesty, as well as his brothers of Hungary and Portugal, would be extremely hurt by the refusal. If no other advantage were gained by this step than showing to the English that Your Majesty and the Queen's relatives take up this cause as their own, much might be gained for the cause itself, as well as for other contingencies.

About the affairs of Gheldres Your Majesty has no doubt received information through the Lord High Steward. Last week I was told that there was some hope of the Duke's (Charles d'Egmont) coming to terms, and that a truce of 15 days had been signed between the belligerents. I fear that no reliance is to be placed in him, and that whatever agreement is now made

* Edw. Foxe and Stephen Gardyner.

1528.

will be very costly and of short duration. I suppose that the persons deputed to treat with the Duke are well aware of his fickleness, and that in treating with him they will take this into consideration and keep on the safe side, so as not to incur blame hereafter. I say this because I have reason to believe that all the Duke's overtures have solely for object to gain time on account of the damage his subjects of Gheldres are sustaining [from the Imperial arms], and from his hoping by that means to excite the jealousy of the French King and get better terms from him.

At Naples, as Your Majesty must already have been informed, things are, thanks to God, in a very prosperous state. Lombardy, however, must be well looked to, lest the enemy should strengthen himself there and again invade the kingdom. It is rumoured here that the subjects of France and Venice have thrown their last stake (*ponen el resto*) in order to serve their respective masters, and see if they can resume the offensive in Italy. It would be desirable that Your Majesty's subjects should also renew their efforts at this present juncture, for success [in Italy] would powerfully contribute to the defence of other Imperial possessions.—London, 13th October 1528.

(*Common writing* :) As I was writing the above, I received from the Count of Gavre [Jean d'Egmont] the copy of a letter which Madame [of the Low Countries] addressed to him at Gravelingas (Gravelines), where he was residing at the time. It would appear from its contents that [Charles] the Duke of Gheldres has actually left the French King's service and come over to Your Majesty. As the copy of the Count's letter to me is here enclosed,* and I know that Madame has already forwarded, or is about to forward, [to Spain] the particulars of the agreement entered into with the Duke, I need not give any more details.

Your Majesty will see by the duplicate of my letter [of the 13th], sent by express to certain merchant vessels at the Dunes (Downs), that a courier despatched by the English ambassadors [in Spain] had just arrived in London. I hope my letter reached in time. I have since ascertained that the courier did not come from Spain, but from the Court of France, where—I cannot say by which way or through whose means—certain letters of the said English ambassadors, sent more than a month ago by sea, had been received, the very same that the courier has now brought.

In Scotland, I am told, there has been dissension between the King's mother and the Count of Anguche (Earl of Angus), her husband, who held the government of the country in his hands. They say that most of the Scottish nobility have taken the Queen's part, and expelled Angus from Scotland. He is now at Varuich (Warwick) on the frontiers of that kingdom

* Not appended to Don Iñigo's despatch.

1528.

on the English side, and there is now [in London] a brother of the Earl negotiating his restoration to power as before.

The new Legate (Campeggio) has had so many visits since his arrival from the Cardinal of York (Wolsey), and held so many conferences with him, that I have been unable to see him, though I have called at various times. To-morrow, God willing, I shall make a new attempt, (*cipher*;) and if I can draw him out and ascertain what his present commission is respecting the divorce case, I shall not fail to apprise Your Majesty as soon as possible.—London, 16th October 1528.

Signed : "Don Yñygo de Mendoça."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 5.

19 Oct. **571.** QUEEN KATHARINE to the EMPEROR and EMPRESS.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 13.

Most high and most powerful Lord and Lady,—God knows the pain I suffer in so frequently distressing Your Highnesses with the recital of my continual troubles; but when I bear in mind that your virtue is such that you are always inclined to have pity on those who suffer, I cannot forbear applying for assistance and help in my present tribulation.

Since the letter which I addressed to Your Highness by Francysco Felype,* on my present position, it has come to pass that the King of England, my Lord, and the whole of his Privy Council have resolved that on the 15th of November next all the lawyers of this kingdom shall meet together and discuss whether I am, or am not, his lawful wife. Each of these lawyers is to give his own opinion in writing as his conscience and learning may dictate, and the opinions thus given are then to be forwarded to His Holiness at Rome, that he may decide upon them and pass sentence. If, therefore, Your Highness would confer so great a favour on me, since it is doing God's service, as to win over the Pope to our side (*con tiempo ganar al Papa*), I should be grateful for ever; for were this present Pope to undo what his predecessors have done, it must inevitably weigh on his honour and conscience, and lead ultimately to the discredit of the Apostolic See, which should stand firmly on its one foundation, Christ (*a de estar fyrme sobre la pyedra que es Cristo*). Were it to waver just now in this particular case, many might think that we were not in the right; and since Your Highness has entire justice on his side, I beg and entreat, as earnestly as I can, that some demonstration be made here and at Rome on my behalf. However undeserving, yet I humbly implore Your Highness' favour on this occasion, for besides being a great charity (*gran lymosna*) bestowed on one so closely allied to Your

* See No. 113. p. 277.

1528.

Highness by the ties of blood, this would also be a pious example to posterity and those who, after Your Highness shall have been called to God, may inherit his estates, &c.—Granuche (Greenwich), this the 19th of October.

Signed: "Your good aunt Katharina."

Addressed: "To the most high and most powerful Lord, the Emperor, our nephew."

Indorsed: "The Queen of England to the Emperor and Empress."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

19 Oct. 572. LOPE HURTADO to the EMPEROR.

S. E. Port. L. 368,
f. 11.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 298.

One of the caravels that went under Sebastian Cavocto (Caboto), piloto mayor of His Majesty, has arrived at this port. On board of her is an accountant and treasurer (*contador y tesorero*) of the said fleet, whom Sebastian now sends with the news of the wonderful discoveries made by him and his people. Indeed, if what the messenger states be true, His Imperial Majesty will no longer want either cinnamon or pepper, for he will have more gold and silver than he requires.—Lisbon, 19th October 1528.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

20 Oct. 573. PROTHONOTARY CARACCILOLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 237.

(*Cipher* :) Retained until this very morning the deputies of the old companies of German infantry, as they had expressed a wish to meet the aldermen of this city. At the appointed hour they were received in audience, he (Caracciolo) being present at the conference. One of them said that the Emperor owed them several months' pay. Many a time they had applied for it, but had been dismissed with promises which had never been fulfilled. Lately, at Lodi, they had been told that, immediately upon their return to Milan, they would be paid one half of their arrears. When the illustrious Mons. de Bourbon started on his Roman expedition this city of Milan was given to them in pledge; they now insisted upon being paid, and if not they would sack the place. A long consultation was held and an answer promised for to-morrow. As this, however, cannot be satisfactory, both Leyva and he (Caracciolo) are dreading the consequences.—Milan, 20th August 1528.

Signed: "Il Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Milan. Caracciolo. 20th October."

Italian. Original almost entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering between the lines. pp. 4.

1528.

24 Oct. 574.

S. Pat. Re. Bul.
Suct. L. 1, f. 131.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 299.

POPE CLEMENT VII. to FERDINAND, King of Bohemia.

Has received a letter from Albert, Cardinal of Meintz, and others, informing him of the great danger and ruin threatening the Church of Christ in the parts of Germany. Has ordered his Nuncio to confer with him on the subject and endeavour to find some remedy. Knows well that the Emperor, fearing lest at the Diet about to be held at Ratisbon in the month of March, "aliquid mali nasceretur," had sent the Provost of Valtkirch, "suum per Romanorum Imperium universalem oratorem et commissarium," with orders to revoke the said Diet. Hears now that another Diet is to be held this winter, in which "ne quid Ecclesiæ ac fidei Christianæ periculosum statuatur, ut suspicandum est, nonnullis esse in animo, est eiusdem Serenitatis, tuæ providere." He (the Emperor) must know how unequal are his forces and authority to cope with an evil of such magnitude without his co-operation and advice. Anxiously awaits the arrival of Cardinal Santa Croce, to hear from him what are his (the Emperor's) intentions on this point. Begs him to give his undivided attention to this affair, lest the evil growing in Germany should spread into other countries.

Begs credence for his Nuncio.—Rome, 24th October 1528.

Signed: "Blosius."

Addressed: "Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Carolo Hispaniarum, etc., Regi in Romanorum Imperatorem electo."

Latin. Original on vellum. p. 1.

28 Oct. 575.

ANDREA DORIA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,553,
f. 251.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 303.

Has not been able, owing to bad weather, to forward the above despatch. The time having arrived for the surrender of Savona, he has come and taken possession of the city and port in the name of Genoa. Before his departure, which took place yesterday, it was agreed that Signor Theodoro Tribultio (Triulzo) should surrender the castle within a term of eight days. He himself will return to Genoa, when most probably he will be able to announce the total expulsion of the enemy from these parts. (*Cipher:*) One thing, however, he is bound to say, namely, that on the arrival of the Spanish infantry, which, according to the news lately received, must soon touch at this coast, the whole of it, joined to the forces now in Naples, and to others, might be sent to Provence, where, according to information lately received, there are no military preparations of any sort. Such an invasion would have the effect of drawing the French from Lombardy and throwing them into great confusion.

(*Common writing:*) Letters from Genoese merchants in Flanders state that on the 10th of August last no less than 12 large ships left Bretagne, bound for this coast (*per venir in qua*). Though it is not very probable that they can arrive in

1528.

time, he (Doria) will try to attack them before they pass the Straits.

Begs for the settlement of an annual pension of 3,000 ducats on his cousin, the Reverend Miçer Hieronymo Doria.

Whilst about to sign and close this despatch, advices have come from the Court of France, dated Paris the 22nd inst. (*di questo*), stating that the ambassadors of the League had come to an agreement with King Francis to prosecute (*entratenere*) the war in the kingdom of Naples. To that end Signor Renzo da Ceri has been ordered to raise 10,000 Italians, 3,000 of whom are to be paid by the Florentines, and the remainder by the King and Venetians equally. The 60,000 ducats which the King has still at Florence, the Viscount of Turenne had received orders to spend in conjunction with Renzo *servatis servandis* for the expenses of the undertaking. Already the Venetians have in readiness eight galleys and other small craft (*et altri navilii*) for the purpose of taking him and the remainder of his infantry to Puglia, where they calculate that he will be able to arrest the Spaniards and prevent them from marching on Lombardy or against the Florentines.—Savona, 28th October 1528.

Signed : "Andrea Doria."

Addressed : "Most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Italian. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

29 Oct. 576. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 239.

Wrote last on the 19th and 25th of September by way of Genoa, and afterwards sent the duplicates by Domenico de' Fornariis. Will, therefore, report as briefly as possible on late events.

On the 2nd inst. Captain Rodrigo Davalos returned from Spain, and everyone here was delighted to hear of the Emperor's good health, and of the ample provision made for Italy. Naples, thank God, no longer requires assistance, but Milan does, and ought to have it as soon as possible, for the confederates have taken Pavia, and, it is added, are pressing rather hard on Leyva, who happens just now to be very unwell. For this reason the Marquis del Guasto goes now to Genoa, accompanied by Fabricio Marramao and about 1,500 Spaniards, and will thence proceed to Milan. The expedition to Puglia, which the Marquis was to undertake, has, therefore, been abandoned or suspended, though it is possible that the Prince of Orange may appoint the Marquis de la Tripalda or Count Burrello, for certainly the enemy is much dispirited and possesses only two places in that province, Barletta and Trani, which cannot hold out long if briskly attacked.

Has already informed His Imperial Majesty of the departure of the Germans for their respective quarters outside this city. Unfortunately, though paid to the last "carlino," they still

1528.

insist upon getting their food gratis (*comer á discreccion*), and commit all manner of excesses. Daily complaints arrive from the neighbouring villages.

This Sacred Council is now examining the rebels who have been taken prisoners, in order to have them punished or otherwise heavily fined. The Duke of Boyano (Arrigo Pandone), Don Fadrique (Federigo), eldest son of the Duke of Traietto, and other barons and counts have already been summoned to appear within a month before a court of law and present their discharges. At the expiration of this term sentence will be issued. Meantime the estates and property of the rebel barons are being sold, which resource, and the fines imposed in specie, are again slowly filling the coffers of the Treasury.

Orders have been sent to the Colonnese to abstain from hostilities in the estate of the Church, on account of Vespasiano's disputed inheritance, that being one of the reasons alleged by the Pope for delaying his return to Rome.

It has been resolved that Ascanio Colonna, formerly in the Abruzzo, shall go to Trani and Barletta with a few companies of infantry and a number of guns, whilst the Marquis del Guasto and Fabricio Marramao with about 3,000 foot repair to Genoa, for the purpose of defending that city, about to be attacked by St. Pol and the Duke of Urbino with his Venetians. The artillery and ammunition left on the 16th.

The Prince came back on the 15th, very much improved in health, though not yet quite well. He thinks of spending a few days at Pucol (Puzzuolo) to complete his recovery. Alarcon and Cardinal Colonna are about to do the same. Juan de Urbina is now at Torre del Greco recruiting his strength. It would be a great pity if anything should happen to him, for besides his eminent services, he is very much loved and respected by the Spaniards, who at this moment are rather discontented at the reforms just made in the infantry, in consequence of which no less than 34 captains have been dismissed. Of course this measure is neither popular nor convenient under present circumstances, for, as every captain has eight or ten men with him, the force is considerably diminished by their dismissal; but if this will ensure the Emperor's service being better done, nobody can complain. The Prince, however, does his utmost towards remunerating those who have fulfilled their duty on late occasions. He is now distributing pensions among them; to the captains of men-at-arms and field-masters (*maestres de campo*) he gives 800 ducats, and to each of their lieutenants 400; the captains of infantry get 200, 300, or 400. All these pensions will amount to 50,000 ducats annually, but such is the value of the rentals confiscated to the rebel barons that there will be no difficulty in defraying that and larger expenses, as they are calculated at 400,000 annually, besides their landed property, &c., which is being disposed of.

1528.

On the 4th inst. the general of the Order of St. Francis (Quiñones) was recognised at Rome and Viterbo as Cardinal Sancta Croce. He is anxiously expected here by the cardinals still retained as hostages, and who, hoping to be liberated on his arrival, have already sent their baggage by sea, and are also buying horses to go by land. It is even confidently asserted that Civittà Vecchia and Ostia will be soon restored to His Holiness.

On Tuesday, the 6th inst., the Pope re-entered the capital of his estates, escorted by 200 horse and 500 foot. He alighted at Belvedere, went first to St. Peter's to make his prayers, and thence to his own palace. A proclamation was issued forbidding all ecclesiastics to go about with long beards, and threatening death and confiscation of property to whomsoever should do harm to Spaniards or Germans. No sooner was the fact known at Naples than public rejoicings were held, and some of the artillery in the castles was removed and stored away, to show the confidence which His Imperial Majesty and his ministers have in the Pope, as his Nuncio now residing in this city cannot fail to testify.

On the 15th the Duchess of Montalto [in Calabria], mother-in-law of Ascanio Colonna, died; also Pero (Pirro) Colonna, from whom Ascanio inherits certain estates in this kingdom. Sarra (Sciarra Colonna) has seized Pagliano and its castle. When this Council sent deputies to take possession of the place in the Emperor's name the mischief was already done, and Sciarra was inside. Everywhere the Colonnese were attacking the Orsini. The Abbot of Farfa had been deprived by the Pope of all his ecclesiastical benefices; his abbacy had been made over to his brother.

Renzo da Ceri is in the Mark with about 5,000 men, ready to relieve Trani and Barletta. The Venetians are helping him with all their forces, but the Pope will not allow the said Renzo to embark at Ancona.

All the Imperial army is anxiously waiting for the arrival of Balançon. Some of its principal officers, however, are very much offended at seeing that after six months' siege His Majesty has not deigned to communicate directly with them, or otherwise thank them for their sufferings, beyond the message which Balançon is to bring. The Emperor must forgive him (Perez) for his boldness, but complaints of this kind are so frequent, and at the same time so public, that he considers it his duty to mention them.

Whilst writing the above, news has come that St. Pol having approached Genoa, and being about seven miles from it, has suddenly been obliged to retrace his steps for want of provisions, and also because the peasantry in the neighbourhood was exceedingly hostile to him. Indeed, had it not been that the Genoese did not want to exasperate the King of France, they would have cut St. Pol's army to pieces. The castle of Genoa had offered to capitulate, but Andrea Doria wanted them to surrender at discretion, and it is to be supposed

1528.

that it has been taken by this time. Savona will be reduced next. Owing to the arrival of this news, which is said to be official, the Prince, the Cardinal (Pompeo Colonna), and the rest of the Council have resolved not to send Guasto thither, as was at first intended, but despatch him against Trani and Barletta with as many men as can be spared and 10 heavy guns. Doria, however, has been asked whether he wants reinforcements and in what number, so that he may sail at once for that coast and help in the taking of Trani and Barletta. It is supposed that 1,000 men will be sufficient for this service.

St. Pol, it is said, is about to effect his junction with the Duke of Urbino, with a view to besieging Leyva in Milan; but the latter, who is fast recovering from his last illness, will no doubt make a stout resistance. If he should not be able to take the command, Guasto or another general will replace him.

The treasurer of the Germans, named Gaspar, is just dead. He was a good servant of the Emperor, and had great influence over his countrymen, whom he always tried to reduce to the Emperor's obedience.

At Rome the Pope is said to be rather dissatisfied on various accounts; firstly, because Cardinal Sancta Croce and Miger May, whose arrival had been announced, had not yet made their appearance; and, secondly, because the ambassadors of the League were incessantly reproaching him for his desertion and begging to join him again.

The Marquis of Saluzzo died on the 19th. He was the last of Francis' captains in these parts. Not one remains now to relate to the King of France the sad catastrophe which has befallen his arms.

News has come that the Lord of Piombino, his wife, and one of his sons have died suddenly, not without some suspicion of their having been poisoned. The Florentines were sending forces to possess themselves of his estate, but the Siennese, on the other hand, had applied for it, and written to the Prince to send them some companies of Spanish infantry. Cannot tell whether the petition of the latter will be granted.

It is rumoured that Milan is no longer in danger, for soon after his return to Asti St. Pol took the post to France, and the Venetians under Urbino were compelled to repass the frontier, owing to the scarcity of provisions in Lombardy.—Naples, 29th October 1528.

P.S.—This goes by Don Diego Sarmiento, whom the Prince is now despatching to Spain, to represent to the Emperor and his Council verbally the state of things.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528: Perez. Naples. 29th October."

Spanish. Original. pp. 7.

1528.

2 Nov. 577. CARDINAL DE GADDIS to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 253.

Lost all his property and that of his family at the sack of Rome. Hoped to get some compensation from this kingdom of Naples, but the French invasion so disturbed and destroyed the land, that what little was given him at the time was entirely worthless, and the property required money for repairs instead of yielding a revenue. Begs for some rich benefice to help him in his necessities. Thomas Clarectus (*sic*), his servant and familiar, will be the bearer of this. Begs credence for him.—Neapoli, ex Castro novo, 2nd November 1528.

Signed: "Cardis. de Gaddis."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

8 Nov. 578. FR. AMBROSIO DE LA SERNA to QUEEN KATHARINE'S Physician in London.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats.Arch.
Wien. Rep. P.C.
Fasc. 224, No. 4.

On the day of the 11,000 virgins (the 21st of October) a meeting was held here [at Paris] of the theologians appointed to give their opinion on the divorce case. The Bishop of Lys (Lisieux) and the first President of this Parliament [Jean de Selve] attended. The latter addressed the assembly, and said he had received a letter from the King [of England], complaining of the injuries (*agravios*) he had received from the Emperor, and so forth. He (the President) had shown no partiality or leaning towards any of the parties; that could be easily proved, as there had been a majority of votes for the conclusion adopted at the meeting, &c. The Bishop then rose and uttered certain complaints and threats, saying that the [Imperial?] ambassadors had been misinformed in this case, and had received letters telling many untruths about him and other members of the University, which false reports had also reached the ears of the King [of France].* He warmly protested against this, and said he intended having a judicial inquiry into his conduct, and bringing an action against those who had slandered him, especially against the Spaniards, Doctors Garay and Moscoso. The latter, hearing himself alluded to, replied that as far as he was concerned he cared not for the Bishop's threats. He had not written to anyone on the subject, though he had said quite enough in the assembly, irritated as he was, at the injustices which were committed every day. He would now do what he had long thought of doing, namely, use his own influence and that of other persons to obtain from the Emperor a letter to the King [of France]. With that letter he would apply for an audience, and lay before the King a statement of what had passed in the assembly, the passions and self-interest of some of its members, and the glaring

* "Que avian escrito á los embaxadores sobre este caso muchas cosas no devidas ni verdaderas contra él y contra otros, las quales los embaxadores hauian dicho al Rey."

1528.

injustice that presided over all acts there. He could satisfactorily prove to the King that the majority was in favour of the Queen, and that if the votes had been fairly counted, the preponderance would have been for her. "Thanks be to God," he added, "I am in a country where I think justice will be done unto me, and where I shall not be assassinated because I defend the truth."

Finally, after a good deal of wrangling and disputing, which I had better pass over in silence, the President ordered the scrutiny of the votes to be taken, and also that certain doctors whom he there and then named should be present at it. The Bishop then said, "I will be one of them," but Doctor Bartholomi* interposed and said, "I will not consent to the Bishop being one of the scrutinizers; if he is, I insist upon my being also named for that duty." Upon which the Bishop consented to withdraw his demand to be one of their number from fear of Bartholomi. Other members were then appointed, but the last-named doctor refused either to assist in the scrutiny or write down the number of voters. Next day, however, the President sent for Doctors Garay and Moscoso, and told them that the scrutiny of the votes had taken place as they desired, the majority being in favour of the King [of England]. Upon which Moscoso observed, "Let me and my colleague count the votes, and we shall easily come to quite a different conclusion. Besides His Holiness knows quite well that no theologian who has not put down his name before the commencement of the deliberations has a right to vote, since they cannot be advocates and judges at the same time.† The Dean, among others, has signed and taken his seat for both parties; how can he be judge and president (*juez y cabeza*) at once?"

Many of those present had come to the following conclusion: *Summus Pontifex non poterat dispensare nisi in rebus arduis*, and *cum sua licentia*; Pope Julius had only dispensed *mera liberalitate et pro pecuniis*. The votes of those who maintained the above proposition had been reckoned [by the President] as favourable to the King's cause, whereas he (Moscoso) could prove that they ought to be considered as having voted for the Queen, for the Pope could dispense *in rebus arduis*. Even if the adverse party were in a majority, as they pretended, it is prescribed by the statutes [of the University] that in similar cases no decision of the faculty of Theology can be valid or called a "conclusion," unless the two parties and more concur in the sentence.

Then Master Garay asked to see the register book (*el libro de las determinaciones*), as he said he knew the King had

* *Sic.* Bartholemi?

† "Que bien sabia Su Santidad que ninguno de los que deliberaren [no] haviendo antes firmado, que no podria ser admitida su deliberacion por que no podie ser juez y abogado en un mismo caso."

1528.

given orders to that effect, and also that the President had been informed of the Royal wish. The President objected, saying he could not, and would not show the register. Then Garay summoned him to give it up, and on his refusal had an act drawn in due form by a notary, in conformity with the advice and orders of the Imperial ambassador residing at the court of England, who wrote about this and other matters.

This last month a Dominican friar, a native of Brittany, once residing at the convent of Victoria (*que fue de la licencia de Vittoria*), and who is going to Rome on certain business for this King, arrived in Paris. As he had been my preceptor and superior (*preceptor y padre*), and I knew him to have much credit at Rome, I determined to have him spoken to. The prior of this convent where I am now residing, and another father, to whom he professes much good-will, first sounded him on this particular, and ascertained that he was entirely on our side and shared our opinion, which, after all, is the right one (*la opinion verdadera*). They asked him whether he would like to give me his opinion in writing, and if, when at Rome, we could make use of his influence and credit. The first demand he at once granted, giving us a declaration signed in his own hand; and as to the second, he promised to work as if he had no other mission. This, he said, he would do, not so much because friends whom he respected had spoken to him on the subject, but for conscience sake and love of truth. He had seen and heard at the court of the most Christian King of France Madame d'Alençon and other ladies and gentlemen greatly shocked and scandalized at what had taken place. That Princess had even said to him these very words, "If the Paris University had given no other proofs of partiality and violence than those shown in this present case, that would be sufficient for me to look upon its future conclusions as completely erroneous and false."

That this good friar may not forget his promise, or fall back from and retract what he said to us here,—of which, however, I do not think him capable,—I now enclose you, that you may place it in Her Majesty's hands, the very paper he signed whilst in Paris, and the letters which we now write to him. These might thence be forwarded to Rome to the care of the Imperial ambassador, who could thus see the friar and converse with him on the subject. The letters ought to leave by the first post, and if the friar has not reached Rome, which might very well be,—for he is not very active and likes to travel slowly,—let the ambassador keep them until his arrival, &c.

I must not omit to say that this good soul thinks he will be able, when at Rome, to lay his hands upon a Papal rescript, the words of which will oblige the parties to take one of these two courses, either to take the Pope's admonishment and *de consensu amborum*, live together in perpetual chastity, or



1528.

incur manifold Apostolic censures if they do not continue in true and lawful union, such as theirs is.

Addressed: "To the Queen's physician in London."

Indorsed: "Copy of what Fray Ambrosio de la Serna writes from Paris on the 8th of November."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

— Nov. 579. The EMPEROR to KING HENRY VIII.

S. E. C. d. C. L. 16,
f. 285.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 308.

Has always preferred the common weal to his own private interests. Has, therefore, neglected nothing to restore peace to Christendom whenever King Francis disturbed it. To oppose the latter he had first recourse to arms; God favoured his cause. The French were beaten over and over again, driven out of Italy, and at last their King fell a prisoner into his hands. When that event took place the Emperor showed the utmost clemency towards his prisoner, and set him at liberty. He thought that his enemy would feel grateful; he was mistaken. When his clemency failed, there remained no other way for the Emperor, if he wished to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, than to provoke a duel between himself and the King of France. A true Prince is not afraid to shed his blood for the welfare of his subjects, but the King of France preferred his own personal security to the interests of Christendom. He liked better to fight with words than with swords, to use strong language, and expose his subjects to the dangers of a war. The King has refused to accept the letters wherein he (the Emperor) designated a fit place and rendezvous where the duel might be fought. The Emperor assembled then all his councillors, grandees, knights, bishops, lawyers, and other persons, and demanded of them whether he had done enough for the satisfaction of his honour, to which all replied that it remained as bright and unsullied as before, and that he could not do more in the matter. It would be wrong for the King not to conform to the advice of his faithful servants and subjects.—Toledo, — November 1528.

Addressed:

Latin. Original draft. p. 7.

— Nov. 580. The EMPEROR to JAMES, KING OF SCOTLAND.

S. E. C. d. C. L. 16,
f. 284.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 309.

The same as the preceding.—Toledo, November 1528.

Latin. Original draft. pp. 7.

10 Nov. 581.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 256.

The LIEUTENANT of the SUMMARIA of NAPLES to SECRETARY PEDRO [GARCIA].

Congratulations upon the last victory at Naples. Has written several times to the Emperor, to his High Chancellor

1528.

(Gattinara), and to many members of the Imperial Council, both by Mons. Colle (Coll) and by the castellan of Castilnovo. Has received no answer. Wishes to know whether his letters have been received.

Has often applied for the office vacant by the death of the son of Hieronymo de Jennaro, and also for the "mastrodaticia" of Lucera, which Don Ugo promised him. In consequence, however, of the ruin and destruction of that city and territory by the bands of the son of Cardinal Farnese, and the number of people they slaughtered, it will be impossible to gather any taxes (*affiti*). As remuneration for his services, the Prince has been pleased to grant him the estate of Antonio de Sancto Felice. Begs for a confirmation of the grant.

Since the above was written two letters have been received by Gropen. Both are very old, and must have been several months on the road. In one of them allusion is made to previous ones that have never reached him. Is glad to have had proofs of the Emperor's munificence in the shape of a draft (*libranza*) on this treasury, which, however, will not be speedily cashed owing to the impoverishment of this kingdom; still it is very acceptable.—Neapoli, 10th November 1528.

Signed: "Hyeronimus de Frantjo or Frantço."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

11 Nov. 582.

B. Neg. d. Angl.
vol. i.
B. M. *Add.* 28,577,
f. 308.

The undersigned Gere,* a servant of Count Vismontet† in the island of Ireland, is commissioned to say in his master's name that he wishes to be the Emperor's ally, friend of his friends, and enemy of his enemies.

The Count begs the Emperor to send him two or three pieces of ordnance with their complement of shot and powder, wherewith to defend his estate, which is entirely without artillery; the whole to be at the cost of the said Count. The undersigned will give the names of certain Irishmen, vassals of the Count, now residing in those kingdoms [of Spain], who know the said Count, and who can give the necessary information respecting his qualities and fortune, and the means he has of serving the Emperor. The said Irishmen are now in the province of Guipuzcoa and county of Biscay [in Spain].

Begs the Emperor to send [to Ireland] one of his household, with whom the Count may conclude a treaty of defensive and offensive alliance, and give the required securities.

The undersigned further says that he is ready to take

* Thus in Bergenroth's copy. I have seen others in which his name is written Gere, Jere, and Xere, but how to make any of these names answer for the Galfridius or Galfrigidus of the signature is more than I can say. Dr. Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 2135, has *Pere* or *Percit*.

† Thomas Fitzgerald, twelfth Count of Desmond and Kildare.

1528.

his oath that the letter he has placed in the Emperor's hands is really written by the Count, and he can designate people now residing at San Sebastian who know the Count's signature and seal.

The Count wishes to know what things or objects in Ireland may be agreeable to the Emperor, because he will immediately present him with them.

He is likewise ready to give the names of people [now residing in Spain] who know him and knew his father, and will state what offices they have held, and still hold at the Count's court. He offers besides to give any security that may be asked, that upon the arrival in Ireland of the Emperor's envoy he shall be treated as befits the ambassador of so mighty a Prince.

Begs for a speedy answer that he may return to Ireland.—Toledo, 11th November 1528.

Signed: "Ego Galfridius* rogo."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

11 Nov. 583.

B. Neg. d'Ang.
vol. i.
B. M. *Add.* 28,577,
f. 310.

I, Gere, whose name in Latin is Galfridius (*sic*), hereby declare that my master, the Count of Vismonte, and Macart Mor (McCarthy Mor) are both of the same conformity and of the same league, have always been and will continue to be so, because Macart Mor pays tribute to the Count of Vismonte, my master, and can put in the field eight or nine thousand infantry and 200 horse; whilst my master, the Count of Vismonte, can at any time put under arms 16,000 foot and 2,000 horse. I take my oath that what I have stated is true, and that the forces under the two lords above named cannot be computed at less.—Toledo, *ut supra*.]

Signed: "Ego Galfrigidus (*sic*) rogo."

French. Original. pp. 3.

14 Nov. 584.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 259.

The LIEUTENANT of the SUMMARIA of NAPLES to SECRETARY PEDRO [GARCIA].

Has duly received his letter of the 22nd September, with the confirmation of the "mastroatia di terra di Otranto," for which, as well as for the acknowledgment of his services, he is much pleased.

The office of secretary to this "Camera" had been first promised, with a salary of 150 ducats a year, to Dr. Quadra, through the influence of Signor Marcon, and then given to a son of the late Secretary Seron. This last having died of the plague, His Imperial Majesty will see who is most deserving of it.

* Thus in all the copies I have seen, though lower down he calls himself *Galfrigidus* (Geoffrey?).

1528.

Thanks him for the appointment of his "consocro" to the government of the Capitanata and county of Molise; also for the pension on that bishopric for Secretary Urries.

Shortly after the victory, wrote to recommend a petition of his nephew, Antonio Valquarnera (Valgornera), Baron of Goderano.

Signed: "Hieronimus de Francesco."*

Addressed: "To the most magnificent Sir, Miçer Pero Garcia, Secretary and Councillor to His Majesty."

Indorsed: "From the Lieutenant of the Summaria. 14th November 1528. Answered."

Italian. Original. pp. 4.

14 Nov. 585. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 261.

Since sealing the letter that goes with this, the Prince [of Orange], seeing that he is not in a condition to undertake the expedition to Puglia, has decided to send thither the Marquis del Guasto with the Spanish and Italian infantry. It has been agreed between them that the Prince shall do his utmost to persuade the Germans also to leave Naples, that they may march altogether against Barletta and Trani, where the enemy is every day waxing stronger. It is generally asserted that the Prince of Melfi (Caracciolo) and Renço de Cherri (da Ceri) have already joined the French with part of their forces, and it appears also by letters from France, which Antonio de Leyva has intercepted, that the King's Council, after hearing of the defeat of their army before this city, and the retaking of Genoa, have decided to strengthen their army in Lombardy, and also send reinforcements to Aquila, Barletta, Trani, and other places, so as to keep our troops engaged, whilst they [the French] prosecute the war in Lombardy, and endeavour to get possession of Milan and other towns in the Duchy.

News has come likewise that Antonio de Leyva had shut himself up at Milan owing to his men having mutinied for want of pay, which was the chief cause of his being on the defensive. The Prince and the Council [of Naples] have decided to try all possible means to assist him with money. They have requested Tomasso de' Fornariis to deliver what remains in his hands of the former contract, and to accept and sign the second, giving as much as he can in advance. Meanwhile if any means can be found of sending him money from this place, it shall be done, so as to give time for remittances to come [from Spain]. Andrea Doria has been

* This name is written in a manner that makes it very doubtful whether the true reading be *Frantço*, *Frantjo*, or even *Francesco*, for it has at the end a sort of contraction which admits of various interpretations. I believe, however, that the last reading is the best.

1528.

written to to prepare for an attack on Barletta and Trani. Orders have also been sent to Sicily and Sardinia for as much corn as they can collect to be brought to this city, as wheat is becoming scarce; for if the war should continue, it would be very imprudent not to have a sufficient store of food in Naples.

There has been a talk of dismissing the Germans, if they persisted in their refusal to march against the enemy at Barletta and Trani. Some were of opinion that they should be sent home, but after a good deal of discussion the Prince [of Orange] and the majority of the Council thought that it would [be] very disadvantageous for the Imperial army thus to part with its auxiliaries in time of war, and that it would be far better, should they refuse to march against the French, to send them to winter quarters, and keep them there until the rest of the Imperial army is enabled to quit the kingdom of Naples. As it is, there can be no doubt that the moment they go back to Lombardy most of these Germans will desert and go home, considering the numbers who have died [of the plague?], and are still dying.

Lope de Soria sent him (Perez) the other day a copy of his letter to the Prince [of Orange]. Though there can be no doubt that the latter will duly inform His Imperial Majesty of its contents, he has deemed it advisable to enclose the same.*

Alonso Sanchez writes in date of the 23rd of October that he is at Bologna, improving in health; when completely recovered he will set out for Naples. He also writes that Antonio de Leyva was in great distress for want of money and provisions, and that, unless this Imperial army, or part of it, goes to Lombardy to his relief, the whole of the Duchy of Milan will be irretrievably lost, as His Highness the King of Hungary could send him neither money nor troops.

The news that has come here lately from Sienna, to the effect that the Lord of Pomblin (Piombino) and the whole of his family, wife and children, had been slain, has turned out to be a hoax; they are all alive and quite well. There will be no necessity then to send forces thither to take possession of their estate.

The Prince [of Orange], Alarcon, and Captain Juan de Urbina are still at Puzzuolo, whither the Cardinal and other members of the sacred Council went the other day in order to discuss certain matters relating to the war. One of the points under discussion, as far as he (Perez) can learn, was whether, in the present position of affairs, and considering the great want of money, it would not be advisable to commute some of the sentences already issued against rebels for pecuniary fines proportionate to their rank and wealth; and

* Not in the volume.

1528.

it was so resolved, considering that in reality very few [of the nobles] are free from guilt on this occasion.

Juan Antonio Muxetula, whom the Prince [of Orange] sent to the Pope, is still with him. He writes in date of the 30th of October that His Holiness, according to the Emperor's wishes, had refused to approve the resignation which the son of the Marquis of Denia proposed to make of the deanery of Jaen and other ecclesiastical benefices, and that the brief relating to Mallorca had been despatched in the very terms the Emperor wished.

According to advices from Sienna, sent to the ambassador of that Signory here, the son of the Duke of Ferrara had returned from France, bringing in his company his future wife [Madame Renée] to be married to her at Modena.* Great preparations were being made there for his reception and for the nuptials that were to take place. The Florentines were trying to make him accept the command of their forces, and offered to put under him 200 men-at-arms and 400 light horse, besides 1,000 foot. The allowance for his table (*para el plato*) was to be 9,000 ducats. There seemed, however, to be some difficulty as to who was to appoint the captains of the said forces, whether the Florentines themselves or the Duke's son. It was also reported that the Florentines had written to France to say that since the league [against the Emperor] was virtually dissolved, they had no other alternative left than to make their peace with His Imperial Majesty. Such was their wish, and they thought of asking the Siennese, with whom they were now in negotiation, to be the mediators with His Imperial Majesty.

The news from Milan of the 23rd Oct. is that Antonio de Leyva remains mostly inside the castle from fear of the Germans rising in mutiny. They (the Germans) were quite ungovernable; they had sacked some merchant shops, and were seizing provisions wherever they could find them (*comen á discrecion*). St. Pol was close to Alessandria [della Paglia] with 4,000 men, and had sent to France to ask for reinforcements; the Duke of Urbino [Francesco Maria della Rovere] at Pavia. There was also a rumour that His Imperial Majesty was aiming at a general peace between Christians, and that there was a good prospect of obtaining it.

One of the Emperor's servants, Pedro de Arevalo by name, arrived here [at Naples] on the 10th inst. He left Spain on the 25th of September, came through Rome, and saw at Puzzuolo the Prince [of Orange], to whom he gave the despatches he brought. Is sorry to hear that there were none for him, for he has not heard from Court since he (Perez) has been at Naples, though he has often written asking for instructions. Should His Imperial Majesty decide on his

* "Había traydo su esposa de Francia y que se venia á casar á Modena "

1528.

going back to Spain, which is his most ardent wish, he should be glad to know it before he quits Naples with the army, as he can embark for Spain more easily here than elsewhere.

The death of Secretary Seron, and his having sold his office to the Prince's Secretary, before he died, for a sum of 10,000 ducats, are events of which His Imperial Majesty must already have been informed through other correspondents.

Must not omit to say that, in addition to the advices from Sienna elsewhere mentioned, the report is that the King of France had written to the Duke Francesco Sforza to look out for himself, and have his eye on the Venetians, whence it may naturally be inferred that the King also mistrusts them, and suspects they are about to treat with His Imperial Majesty, as is generally reported.

It is very desirable that the Imperial troops should evacuate, as soon as possible, the kingdom of Naples, for otherwise it will be completely ruined and destroyed, and instead of vassals and servants His Imperial Majesty will only find enemies; such is the ill-treatment to which they are daily subjected by the German soldiers in particular.

Soria, the late Imperial ambassador at Genoa, has sent another copy of the letter he wrote to the Prince [of Orange] on the 30th of October, about Tomasso de' Fornariis and his contract. He was about to return to Genoa, where he thought he might be of more use [to the Emperor] than where he is now.

The Prince [of Orange] and the Marquis Alarcon returned to Naples four days ago, and began immediately to take their measures for Guasto's contemplated expedition to Puglia. The troops and the artillery have left already; the Marquis is to follow in a day or two. May he be successful and expel the French from the kingdom! though, considering the rigour of the season and the strong positions occupied by the enemy, it is to be feared that, notwithstanding the Marquis' experience of war, and the courage of the troops under him, this expulsion of the French will take some time.

Don Iñigo de Mendoza wrote some time ago for a copy of the bulls of dispensation for the marriage between the King of England and Her most Serene Highness Queen Katharine. He [Perez] applied immediately to Juan Antonio Muxetula, begging him to procure them [at Rome]. Muxetula writes now to the Prince [of Orange], saying that he had received similar orders from Alonso Sanchez, and was making inquiries; but if they were, as he thought, in Spain, authentic copies might thence be forwarded to Don Iñigo.

The said Muxetula wrote to the Prince, informing him that a French gentleman, called the bailiff of Bayus, had lately come post-haste to the Pope. His mission was to request His Holiness to persevere in the league, and not to make terms with the Emperor, pointing out to him the danger

1528.

of acting otherwise. The Pope's answer was that he is quite weary of war, and that he only seeks now to promote peace between the Christian Princes. The bailiff replied that his master will soon send 15,000 men to Italy,—10,000 for Naples, and the remaining 5,000 for Lombardy. May God be pleased that in the meantime all Frenchmen and Venetians may be expelled from this kingdom, and the Imperial army march into France. Indeed nothing would be easier if funds come from Spain, and the Germans were not dissatisfied, for the soldiers of that nation are not contented, like the Spaniards, with two or three months' pay; they will have all their arrears, or else they refuse to fight. The Prince [of Orange] is doing all he can to keep them contented: no easy matter without money.

A servant of Alberto del Carpio (di Carpi) has lately arrived in Rome, who says that his master is dissatisfied with the French, among other things, because, whilst conversing one day with one of the King's secretaries, he (Alberto) said that in this last affair [of Naples] no less than 4,000 French gentlemen had met with their death, and that the secretary had answered, "I can assure you that my master, the King, cares not for them more than if they were cattle (*pecoras*)," which observation, added to other reasons, had so disgusted Alberto that he openly complained of the want of regard of the King and his ministers.

Don Diego Sarmiento has seen and heard all that is going on here, and will no doubt on his arrival fully inform the Emperor thereupon.—Naples, 14th November 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "Sacrae, Cesareae, Catholicæ Majestati."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 7.

18 Nov. **586.** DON IÑIGO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof- u. Staats. Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 15.

Since his letter of the 16th Oct. the news he has to report is that the King and Queen [of England] came here [to London] from Granuche (Greenwich) to reside at their house of Briduel (Bridewell), whither the other day the new Legate, Campeggio, accompanied by the other who resides here (Wolsey), went to pay their respects to the King, who came out to the very foot of the staircase to receive them. Thence they went to a large room, where the King, the two cardinals, and all the ambassadors excepting himself [Don Iñigo]—who was not invited on the occasion—sat down according to their rank, as well as all the titled gentlemen (*hombres de titulo*) present, the prelates, &c. There an orator, whom this new Legate brings in his suite, delivered a peroration, the principal object of which was to magnify the damages which the Church has sustained in these latter times, the cruelties committed at Rome, and the sufferings of Italy; to describe the many heresies and sects daily springing up in Christendom,

1528.

urging and exhorting this King as a peaceful monarch and a "Defender of the Faith," to occupy himself, as he had hitherto done, with the settlement of peace between the Princes now at war with each other, to the great detriment and discredit of the Christian world at large; to seek at the same time to arrest the progress of the Lutheran sect, and prevent its further contamination of the Christian community, &c.

To the above speech another orator replied on the King's side, laying much more stress still on the damage done at Rome by the Imperial troops, and discoursing in even more exaggerated terms than the Legate's orator on the injury done to the Church of Christ. He went on to say how hard the King had worked to make peace between His Imperial Majesty and the King of France, and how, perceiving that neither mild words nor honourable means availed to bring them to an agreement, as he (the King) most ardently wished, he had resolved to try the other way, which was to join the League, and see whether he could not by so doing obtain the object of his wishes. To this end he had allied himself to the party which appeared to him to have most right on its side, in order the better to resist the encroachments and ambition of the tyrant.

This last word and sentence, independently of its being wholly false (*myntrosa*), was the most terrible accusation which the King could have brought against His Imperial Majesty. The orator went on to say how the King of England offered his services in all that might contribute to the peace and welfare of the Christian community, the fostering of the Faith, &c.

The audience at an end, the King and the two cardinals retired to a closet (*recamara*), where they stayed a long while. Then and there, as is generally believed, the Legate Campeggio delivered his secret credentials to the King, who, perceiving how much the Legate was suffering from gout (he had gone to the Palace in a Sedan chair), gave him leave to retire to his lodgings. Two days after the two Legates (Campeggio and Wolsey) and several other prelates came to visit the Queen, who received them in one of her apartments, and having asked whether he (Campeggio) wished to speak to her in private or publicly before the bystanders, the Cardinal Legate who resides here (Wolsey) replied that he thought it best that they should all retire to her closet (*recamara*), which they did. There Cardinal Campeggio gave her the Papal brief and letters of credence, in virtue of which he proceeded to say that His Holiness had been informed how in these kingdoms [of England] great doubts had been and were actually entertained about the validity of the King's marriage, many prelates, doctors, and jurists (*doctos hombres*) professing the opinion that there had been some irregular proceeding (*alguna surreption*), whence great harm might ensue to the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom. His Holiness, therefore, had

1528.

consulted upon this affair some learned theologians (*personas doctas*), who at once pronounced the case to be dubious and difficult of decision. That in order to do away with the scruples and other greater evils which the discord between her (the Queen) and her husband the King was likely to produce, were they to live together, and in order also to remove any difficulties as to the succession to the crown of England (*uviese menos inconvenientes*), he (the Pope) thought that the best expedient to be adopted was that she (the Queen) should profess in some religious community, and take vows of perpetual chastity. That since Her Highness had already reached the third and last period of natural life, and had spent the first two setting a good example [of virtue] to the world, she would thus put a seal to all the good actions of her life, and could besides prevent by such religious profession the many and incalculable evils likely to arise from such matrimonial discord.

The Queen at first showed a little irritation at these words, and spoke some angry words to the resident Legate (Wolsey), hinting that he was the cause of all her misfortunes; but after some time she grew calm, and said to Campeggio, with great composure, that she held her husband's conscience and honour in more esteem than anything else in this world; that she entertained no scruple at all about her marriage, but considered herself the true and legitimate wife of the King, her husband; that the proposal just made in the name of His Holiness was inadmissible. She knew for certain that if His Holiness, instead of listening to the arguments and suggestions of her enemies, had heard what she had to say in her defence, such a proposal would never have been made. She was, however, so dutiful a daughter of the Church that nothing would make her swerve from the path of obedience. She only begged not to be condemned before she was heard.

The Legate's reply was that the proposal he had made was only intended for her relief and to obviate most effectually greater evils, but that, since she declined to accept it, she might be confident that full justice should be done, not only as to Her Highness, whom the Pope had always considered as a most dutiful and obedient daughter of the Church, but as to any other person, and that she should be heard as a matter of right; with which the audience ended and the two Legates withdrew.

The day after, the King went in person to the residence of Legate Campeggio and conversed for awhile with him in the most private manner. An Italian who was in an adjoining room, and overheard part of the conversation, says that the King seemed very eager (*dava gran prisa*), and pressed the Legate to take some decision in this affair, and that whenever the latter offered any objections or gave evasive answers, the King's voice grew loud and excited (*levantaba altas vozes*). From the Legate's rooms the King went to a chamber, where

1528.

Campeggio's secretary was, and there again he spoke with great vehemence, urging a prompt decision in the case. He (Don Iñigo) has been assured that on that occasion the King was by no means pleased with his visit, and that he left the Legate's apartments very much disappointed.

Two days after this the King spoke to the Queen and told her that she was not his wife, and that all the jurists (*letrados*) of England had subscribed a declaration to that effect with their own names. The Pope had condemned her at Rome, and the Legate (Campeggio) had come for the sole purpose of having the sentence executed. Upon which the Queen inquired, "How can the Pope condemn me without a hearing?" The King replied, "The Emperor has answered for you, and consequently the Pope has decided against you." Many other equally groundless statements (*burlerias*) did the King make, and ended by advising her to make a religious profession, as the Legate had recommended; otherwise, he said, she would be compelled to do so. The Queen, with tears in her eyes, answered, "May God forbid my being the cause of that being done which is so much against my soul, my conscience, and my honour! I know very well that if the judges are impartial, and I am granted a hearing, my cause is gained, for no judge will be found unjust enough to condemn me;" and she ended by begging that she might be allowed to plead her own cause. The King then said, "I am quite willing that it should be so; a council shall be appointed for your defence, and moreover you may send to Flanders for a jurist (*letrado*); but," added he, "this must be done forthwith, for the affair admits of no delay."

The day after the Archbishop of Canterbury (Warham) and the Bishops of London (Tunstall), of Ruychestre (Rochester),* and another, besides three more theologians of inferior rank and learning, were appointed members of the Queen's council. The Queen then wrote to the Lady Margaret [of the Low Countries], informing her of the necessity in which she stood of two good Flemish lawyers, who should take up her case and plead in her defence. No answer has yet been received, but it is hoped that the Lady Margaret will soon comply with her wishes.

After this the Queen asked the King's permission to hold a conference with the new Legate (Campeggio), which being granted, she went in person to his house, and said to him that she came to open her conscience to him, knowing him to be a priest and consecrated bishop. She talked to him for upwards of an hour, and said that she considered herself a true Christian, and, though a sinner, not so bad a one but that she would have applied to the Holy See had she ever felt the least scruple about her marriage. She was, and had been for a great many years, as unconscious of guilt

* John Fisher.

1528.

in connection with her marriage as if she had never before been married. She had always held the Pope's dispensation to be valid, and her conscience was as tranquil as it would have been troubled had she suspected that the King was doing for her sake a thing so much against his conscience and honour. He (the Legate) must know for certain that all attempts to make her take the veil in a convent would prove vain, as she would defend to the last the soul and the honour of her husband and herself. He (the Legate) might write to the Pope that such was her determination. The Legate received this declaration of the Queen under confession, and promised to write to Rome about it. I have reasons to believe, though the Queen herself has not said so to me, that she told the Legate that she was a virgin when she married this her second husband, and that the first (Prince Arthur) had never consummated matrimony. This last declaration, however, will not, as far as I know, be adduced as a proof before the judges, lest it should appear as if some doubt was entertained respecting the validity of the dispensation. Only in the case of a flaw in the brief being discovered, which I believe there is not, shall the Queen's declaration concerning her former marriage be brought forward as an argument in her favour.

Since the above conference (*platica*) some of the prelates of this kingdom have met, and made fresh instances with the Queen to induce her to consent to the King's wishes, and take the veil as the surest means of obviating the present difficulty, offering her in the King's name better treatment than she has met with hitherto, as likewise greater authority and power than she had before, the title of Queen, and a larger provision for herself and her household. The Queen, however, remains firm, and has answered their overtures in the very same terms as those made by the Legate (Campeggio), giving them to understand that all efforts made to move her from her purpose will be in vain. She has of late been so beset with arguments (*combatida*) thereupon, and so annoyed by the urgent solicitations of the said prelates, that it moves one to compassion.

I spoke some time ago to the Legate (Campeggio), and after congratulating him upon his coming [to England], told him how pleased Your Imperial Majesty was at his appointment, knowing that a prelate of his parts and learning could never have accepted such a commission as this unless he were sure of doing some good in the affair, and promoting the welfare of Christendom at large. I further informed him that in all matters concerning the peace and union between Christian Princes, so that they might all together turn their arms against the Infidel, he would always find me disposed, as a faithful servant and agent of Your Imperial Majesty, to help to the utmost of my power. He thanked me for the offer, and began to recount most minutely the causes of his coming, and

1528.

ended by expressing his opinion that the best way to avoid the embarrassments (*inconvenientes*) that might arise would be for the Queen of her own free will to take the veil [in a convent] before her case was submitted for trial. All those who felt an interest for her, or had the management of her affairs [in London], ought to advise her in that sense, &c. My reply was that I never thought that his commission in coming to England as Papal Legate could be to propose such a settlement of the question pending between the Queen and her husband, especially in such troubled times as these, when it seemed to me that old quarrels and dissensions between Christian Princes ought to be appeased instead of being stirred up. The Queen's case, moreover, so nearly touched His Imperial Majesty, as well as his brothers the Kings of Hungary and Portugal, that the Emperor could never allow her to be unjustly treated, and therefore it would be far better for the good of Christianity at large to quell and put down such dissensions than give cause for new ones. The Legate's reply was that he was aware how much Your Imperial Majesty took this affair to heart, as appeared from the written answer given [in Spain] to this King's herald, but if the Queen persisted in her refusal and would not take the Pope's advice, he (Campeggio) could do no more in the matter than follow his instructions, which were not to deny justice to either side. I replied that the Queen wished for nothing more than her right [to be heard]; only that her case being one of such importance she naturally wished to have it decided at Rome, and had accordingly placed herself under the Pope's jurisdiction, trusting in his conscience and good faith to give her a just hearing there.

Upon which the Legate assured me that the whole kingdom of England together would not make him swerve from the right path. He was so far advanced in age that it befitted him rather to prepare to appear before God with a pure conscience than try to court the favour of any Prince in this world. He would proceed in the affair with such justice and impartiality that nobody would have occasion to raise any complaint against him. He would not move a step in the affair without fresh instructions from Rome, and should he receive any would not fail to apprise me of them. "This, however," he added, "must be a secret between Your Reverence and me. I have just despatched a trusty messenger to the Pope to inform him how the affair stands, and what the Queen has said to me, and also to inquire what are His Holiness' real intentions and wishes (*intima voluntad*) respecting this case. Until an answer comes from Rome I shall not move a step in the affair." After which, having thanked the Legate, and told him that we all trusted in him, I took leave and came away.

Five or six days after this conversation with the Legate the Archbishop of Canterbury (William Warham), the Bishop of

1528.

London (Cuthbert Tunstall), and two more personages of distinction (*personas principales*) waited upon the Queen and interrogated her upon two points, which they said had been put forward by the adverse party (*parte contraria*), namely, whether it was true that she had attempted the King's life, in order to have herself and her daughter the Princess married at her will, and why she (the Queen) had not exhibited before the copy of the brief of dispensation on her marriage which she had that very day placed in the Legate's hands, and how she had come by it. Her answer was, as to the first question, that she could not imagine that such an abominable accusation could come from the King, her lord, for he knew well that she prized his life more than her own, and that, therefore, there was no need for her to answer such a question as that; and, respecting the copy of the brief of dispensation, she had not exhibited it before because she had never imagined that it would be required. As to who had given it to her, she stated that I, Don Iñigo de Mendoza, had sent it to her six months ago.

The said prelates then asked her whether she had received any letters from Your Imperial Majesty at the same time, and the Queen answered that she had not, with which the interrogatory ceased, and they went away.

The Queen has since sent me a message to say that she believes I am about to be interrogated respecting the said copy. If so, I shall so shape my answer that it may not disagree with the Queen's declaration, nor make it appear as if she had stated an untruth.

The King has resided here in London for 20 days. It is very seldom that he makes so long a stay. Whilst passing from their Royal residence to the Dominicans through a gallery communicating with that convent, the Queen was so warmly greeted by immense crowds of people, who publicly wished her victory over her enemies, so that this kingdom may be saved from utter ruin, that the King ordered that nobody should be again admitted to the place. Perceiving, moreover, that his subjects are discontented with what he is aiming at, he resolved to send for the mayor and aldermen of this city, and told them in public that the French King had asked his daughter, the Princess Mary, in marriage for his son, the Duke of Orleans, but wished to know, before the marriage took place, whether she was legitimate or not. For this reason, and also because most of the prelates and other theologians (*doctos hombres*) of his kingdom had assured him that he had sinned mortally in his marriage with the Queen, he was desirous of ascertaining the truth of the case, that his conscience might be quieted, and this kingdom have a legitimate heir when his days should be over. He trusted in God that the arrival of this new Legate (Cardinal Campeggio) from Rome would be the means of having the question settled, so that all his subjects might live in a state of greater peace and happiness than they had ever enjoyed before.

1528.

I am told that some councillors have told the King that if he will continue to give the reins to his passion (*siguiendo su apetito*) it is far better for him not to live in London, because he will then be less open to slander, &c. This advice he has lately followed, and the other day departed [from London], and went to a house five miles from the residence of Anna Bolain (Anne Boleyn), and ordered the Queen to go back to Granuche (Greenwich). The King, they say, went away with the intention of never returning to London again, and yet, after speaking to that lady, he was so pressed by her to settle this affair of the divorce that he determined to come back to London, as he has actually done, having made his entrance last Saturday, and sending a message [to Greenwich] for the Queen to return here. He is so blindly in love with that lady that he cannot see his way clearly; and though the connection is so abominable that it may lead to the worst consequences, he is so determined upon this divorce that all his subjects are greatly afraid of his ultimately carrying his plans into execution.

With regard to the Legate (Campeggio), who is to be judge in this affair, this must be said of him, that although he is generally held in good estimation, people are still afraid, and not without cause, that this King may have gained him over to his side by means of some gift or promise, for otherwise it is not to be supposed that he would have sent for him. Indeed, I have been told—though I do not vouch for the truth—that the Legate has already received from this King upwards of 20,000 cr. in various presents, and Your Imperial Majesty may be sure that if bribery is required, and the Legate is to be corrupted, no money will be wanting; for though this King is generally very careful of his money, such is his passionate love for the lady (Anne) that he will spare nothing to see his wishes accomplished, and will put all his fortune at stake. On the other hand the kingdom is in such a state, and the people in general are so discontented, that if there was a man to take the lead the elements for a rebellion would not be wanting; only, as I said before, there is no head, and so all will end in smoke.

Campeggio told me at our last interview that he had heard that this King was trying, through his ambassadors in Spain, to make peace with Your Imperial Majesty. It would not surprise me, as he may think that, by so doing at the present juncture, he will perhaps bind Your Imperial Majesty not to take part with the Queen against him.

The King has despatched two messengers since Legate Campeggio came; and now I am told he is about to send a third, a bishop. The Queen would have wished that Your Majesty had sent to Rome to warn the Pope against the false information which has been forwarded from this place; and although she herself has not written to me, or in any way intimated her displeasure, I have reason to believe that she

1528.

is somewhat hurt at what she calls Your Majesty's forgetfulness on this occasion. I have told her that, far from this being the case, the principal object which Your Majesty has in view is her comfort and happiness; and this is indeed so, since besides the meritorious work of defending the oppressed, and herself in particular, Your Imperial Majesty must also see to the preservation of the friendship and alliance with these people. Your Majesty must needs take such measures both at Rome and here [in London] that all the world may know that the Emperor takes up this affair earnestly, and considers it as his own. The mine is set, and if a countermine is not quickly applied, the King's impatience will prevent the remedy from arriving in time.

Enclosed is a copy* of the mandate sent by the Pope to these cardinals (Campeggio and Wolsey). I have had the greatest difficulty to procure it, because until the answer, which they expect every day, from Rome comes, they (the cardinals) have persistently kept and still keep it a secret. Your Majesty will see that the Pope remits the case to their decision. One of the two Legates, the one who resides here (Wolsey), is trying to persuade the King that he can serve his cause more effectually as his advocate than as a judge, and has actually exempted himself from this charge. Indeed, I am told that it has been agreed between him and the King that the new Legate (Campeggio) shall be the only one to hear and give sentence in the case. There is no knowing whether, in the end, he (Cardinal Wolsey) will use his commission; but at present he is trying, as I say, to back out of it; for, although he is the person who most pressingly solicits (*aprieta*) the Queen to do as she is recommended, there can be no doubt that in secret, and where he is not heard, he talks differently, and this he does out of fear of losing his place and the King's favour, should the other lady triumph. Many, however, suspect that some sort of understanding exists between him, the lady, and her father; but such is the Cardinal's ambition and his lust of power that he is not likely to trust to them or to anyone; more probably, as he sees the King so determined to do his pleasure, he will fall in with his views rather than run the risk of entirely losing his favour.

In short, up to this day nothing has been done in this affair, save trying to persuade the Queen to retire to a convent of her own free will; but as she most obstinately refuses to do this, and they know her resolute temper in such matters, they are anxiously awaiting an answer from Rome, in order to commence proceedings and institute the demand of divorce, to forward which it is generally believed that this King will use all possible diligence, since the matter is now too public and manifest for him to recede. In the opinion of those who wish well to the Queen, it would be advisable to send here for this especial object from Spain or Flanders a personage of

* Not in the packet.

1528.

high rank and authority, that all might see how much Your Imperial Majesty takes this business of the Queen to heart ; also to persuade the Kings of Hungary and Portugal to do the same, for although their interference might prove of no avail, they could by their presence give countenance to these Englishmen (*estos Ingleses*) and encourage them in the Queen's defence, seeing that Your Imperial Majesty does not desert her. An ambassador might also be sent to Rome to request His Holiness to make over (*avocar*) the cause to him, to be seen in Consistory with his cardinals. I am, however, very much afraid, unless the King's present humour changes, that the string will snap at the weakest point (*que la cuerda no quiebre por lo mas delgado*).

The reason why they interrogated the Queen as to whether it was true that she had attempted the King's life, that she and her daughter, the Princess, might afterwards marry whomsoever they pleased, was solely from the King's impatience to have the separation hastily pronounced by Legate Campeggio before the proceedings had even commenced. Most likely the Queen's enemies could not think of a more gratuitous or false accusation to serve their purpose than to make this King believe that he could not live with her except at the risk of his life. So great, however, are the avarice of the English people and the King's violence, that I am very much afraid witnesses will in the end be found to testify to anything whatsoever. Your Imperial Majesty may judge how difficult the Queen's position is when accused of the very crime which has perhaps been attempted against her, and that in the name of the King, her husband, who must know her innocence.

The Queen has been advised by some who take an interest in her affairs not to show in any way that she hopes or expects to be assisted in her troubles by Your Imperial Majesty. That, they say, would not help her cause in the least, but, on the contrary, prejudice it, as it might irritate the King. If he is to desist from his demand, it must be by convincing him that he can continue in his present matrimony without sin, not by any other considerations, much less that of fear of Your Imperial Majesty. That is the reason why the Queen, after secretly communicating to me all the details of this affair, has lately written to request me not to act as if the information came from her, but merely as in the exercise of my duties as ambassador, or by instructions from home, since everyone here knows that Your Majesty considers her case his own.

I must further observe that when the King gave her permission to bring foreign lawyers to plead her case he stipulated that they should be Flemish, not Spaniards, as the latter were too far off, and would be too long in coming. The lawyer whom Your Majesty appointed some time ago, if a good jurist, and already on his way,* would arrive very

* Probably Miçer Miguel Mai, whose instructions, dated the 1st of October, are at p. 805.

1528.

seasonably, for they could not suspect here that he had been sent at the Queen's request, and he might remain [in England] afterwards as resident ambassador.

The peace of Gheldres was solemnly sworn to by the Duke in the presence of Your Imperial Majesty's Audiencier. The particulars of the treaty I do not know, only that it has been signed and proclaimed.

Two days ago a rumour was afloat that a truce of five months had been concluded between Your Majesty and the King of France. If so, I fancy that some people will be sorry to hear of it. It has also been reported that the new Cardinal de los Angeles (Quiñones) had been empowered to conclude a general peace.

The Queen has not yet returned from Greenwich, and it is generally believed that she will remain there for the present. The King is to meet her to-morrow, but will come backwards and forwards to urge the Legate Campeggio to proceed in the affair of his divorce. Such is his eager desire to see the issue of the process that he will omit no expense nor fatigue in its accomplishment. The Legate, I am told, is very sorry that he ever came with such a mandate.—London, 18th November 1528.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

Addressed: "To the Emperor, King of Spain, &c."

Spanish. Entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 20.

19 Nov. 587. The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof- u. StaatsArch.
Wien. Rep. P.C.
Fasc. 224.

A duplicate of the above, also in cipher, with the addition of the following paragraph:—

The above is only the duplicate of my letter of the 18th, forwarded by Sancho Martinez de Leyva. I have this morning received a letter from the Queen, informing me that the King's lawyers have raised new objections against the dispensation brief, alleging that it was not entered on the register at the time, and that even if it was, there is reason to believe that the present is not a faithful copy of the original. The Queen's advocates, therefore, are afraid that this ambassador now being sent by the King to Rome, in great haste and with plenty of money, may bribe the Datary (Giberto) and purloin the register, so that it may not be forthcoming, or otherwise so change and falsify the brief of dispensation that it may have no force.

The Queen has sent me a message to this effect, requesting that I would communicate the intelligence to the Imperial ambassador at Rome. I have complied with her wishes, and written to him (Muxetula), not by especial messenger, owing to the roads in Italy being, as I am told, intercepted by the Venetians, but through a merchant of this place. May my letter reach in safety, that the Imperial agents near the Pope may be

1528.

warned against the designs of these people, who, after accusing the poor Queen of attempting the life of her husband, will not certainly scruple to falsify the draft of the dispensation brief, or cause the original register to be conveyed where it will never be found again. As I have said over and over again, had the attested copy arrived [from Spain], or were it to come soon, much mischief might be avoided, but such is the King's impatience, and the pressure he puts upon those who are conducting this affair, that I am very much afraid, unless at the moment I write the document is already on its way, it will come too late. The fewer the people to whom the present measure, and indeed everything else relating to the Queen, is communicated, the better the chance of success; its being detrimental to one of the parties makes it more beneficial to the cause, and surer for the party who gives me the information.—London, 19th November 1528.

Signed: "Don Yñigo."

Addressed: "To the Emperor and King."

Spanish. Entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. pp. 2.

20 Nov. 588. ASCANIO COLONNA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 264.

Humbly kisses the Emperor's feet for having deigned to write to him. In Andrea Doria's withdrawal (*retirada*) from French service His Imperial Majesty may be sure of two things: first, that he (Ascanio) will serve as faithfully as he has done hitherto, without regard to his own person and interest; secondly, that he will obey implicitly the Prince's orders.

The Emperor's well-known munificence and his own services embolden him to beg for three things. Firstly, that when the time arrives for remunerating the services of his faithful servants, no Italian be preferred before him. Secondly, not to let Fundi, and other estates obtained at the cost of the blood of his own father (Prospero), pass into other hands. Thirdly, that the Prince of Orange take under his special protection the whole of his property in the dominions of the Church, for it would not be just that, now that the Pope has by force become the Emperor's friend, he (Ascanio) should be visited with his vengeance. To ensure this it would be needful that in future he should hold his landed property directly from the Emperor.—La Auquila (Auquila), 20th November 1528.*

Signed: "Ascanio Colonna."

Italian. Copy. p. 1.

* This is followed in the Academy's volume by the copies of two letters, one from the same Ascanio (to the Emperor?), dated Rome, 13th October 1522; the other from the Duchess of Francavilla, supposed to be of the year 1529. This last bears the following title: *Memorial de la Duquesa de Francavilla al Cesar. Parece se dió el año de 1529, aunque no se puede leer bien la fecha.* The former is in credence of one of Ascanio's servants going to Spain; the latter refers to the

1528.

21 Nov. 589. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 266.

Wrote last on the 1st of October. Since the 20th of February has not heard from Spain.

Had often received letters from the Prince, from Leyva, and from Juan Antonio Muxetula, urging him to go over to Genoa. (*Cipher* :) Had always declined on the plea that he had no positive orders about it, that his presence in that city would be disagreeable to Doria under present circumstances, owing to the many friends he (Soria) has there, and, above all, to his own experience of men and things; (*common writing* :) but having heard from the Prince that such was the Emperor's wish, he hesitated no longer and started on his journey. On the road, however, to that place he sent one of his secretaries on with a letter to Andrea Doria, begging him to consult the Dux and governors about his coming. Two days after, Doria sent a message by Miçer Vicenzio Palavecino informing him that it had been resolved not to accept him. The only reason given was that he (Soria) had resided there as ambassador in the time of the Adorni. But the truth is (*cipher* :) that Doria is complete master of that city; nothing is done without his consent, and he does not wish him to be at Genoa for fear he should detect his plans. Is therefore returning to Milan, and will wait there for the Emperor's orders.

Passing through Reggio on the 8th inst., met there the Duke of Ferrara, who had come for the express purpose of receiving his son (Ercole) and his wife. They arrived on the 11th. On this occasion the Duke informed him (Soria) that he had had Jeronimo Pio, the brother of Marco, his ambassador in Spain, beheaded, because he found him in devising treachery against his person and estate. For this reason he had also recalled his ambassador in Spain, but was determined to send another, because his intention was, and is, to remain faithful to the Emperor. He went further; he complained that his agent at Naples near the Prince of Orange had been so ill-treated and insulted of late that he scarcely dared leave his lodgings. (*Common writing* :) He (Soria) expressed his astonishment, and promised to write to Naples to demand redress.

purchase made by Miçer Antonio de Santa Feliz (*sic*) of a castle belonging to her nephew, the Marquis de Pescara, in 4,000 ducats; though the Duchess had frequently applied to the said Santa Feliz for a rescission of the said sale, offering to indemnify him abundantly for the expenses he had incurred, she could never obtain this, and, therefore, now that the property of that individual, a notorious rebel, has been confiscated, she begs to be preferred to any other in the purchase of what has so long belonged to her family. During the wars of Naples in the days of Ferdinand the Catholic she spent large sums in the service of Spain, part of which she borrowed from Paulo de Tolosa, to whom she was obliged to mortgage her own family estate at Montescagliuso (*sic*). Begs for a letter of recommendation that these sums, and about 10,000 more ducats owing to her for other services, be paid to her out of the personal property (*cosas movyles*) confiscated to the rebels, that she may redeem the said mortgage.

1528.

(*Cipher* :) The Duke further said that the confederates had offered him the command in chief of their forces, if he would only declare openly against the Emperor, and that the rebel barons of Naples had also offered to help him to the conquest of that kingdom and proclaim him King thereof, he being a descendant of the house of Aragon. He had, however, obstinately refused on account of ill health, but in reality out of regard for the Emperor, whose friend he had always been, and still was.

These asseverations of the Duke may be true, but the fact is that at the present moment his son Ercole is said to be in treaty with the Florentines, who wish him to take the command of their army.

A servant of Alberto di Carpi, who came on the 1st of October to visit the Pope on behalf of the French King, promised him to have Ravenna and Cervia instantly restored to him if he would again declare for the League. Also that Modena and Reggio should be given back the very moment that he (the Pope) should befriend the French cause. The Pope, however, is said to have answered in the negative, and everyone in Italy is persuaded of his wishing earnestly for peace, and keeping up a friendly correspondence with the Prince and Leyva.

Ypolito de' Medici, the Pope's nephew, has gone to Rome post-haste to be married, as it is rumoured, to the daughter of Vespasiano Colonna.

(*Cipher* :) St. Pol and Theodoro Triulcis (Triulzio) are inside Alessandria. Their forces are not considerable, but they give out that they expect reinforcements from France. Leyva is ill at Milan, but thinking of sending part of his men to Genoa for the purpose of joining the forces in that city, and afterwards attacking Alessandria. This plan of Leyva, which seemed excellent, must, however, be postponed or modified, for there is a report that the Genoese, unwilling to bear such an expense, and presuming that the confederates will not attempt to attack Genoa during this winter, have licensed the whole of their army, keeping only about 2,000 men to protect Savona and Gavi, which they have already reduced. His Imperial Majesty may believe him (Soria) when he asserts that the Genoese are now doing all they can to be on friendly terms with the French, and that if Doria's galleys were to go out of the port, the enemy would not have great difficulty in again taking possession of the city.

(*Common writing* :) Thomasso de' Fornaris refuses to accept the bills of exchange for the last 200,000 ducats on the plea that he has no orders to that effect from Spain. As to the Grimaldi, they likewise refuse giving what remains in their hands of the old exchanges, which they retain, they say, as balance of certain accounts with Leyva, of which he (Soria) knows nothing. That has placed him at fault with the heirs

1528.

of Jorge Fransperch (Fruntspereg), with whom he would avoid, if possible, any altercation.

Will still remain at this place (Montogio), waiting for Cardinal Campeggio and Miçer May, who are said to be on their way to Rome.—Montogio, 21st November 1528.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. Soria. Montogio."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (fol. 270). pp. 8.

23 Nov. 590. COUNT MATHALUN to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 272.

Has to-day received the Emperor's letter in answer to his despatches of the 5th of July. Hopes that the duplicate of that of the 1st of September,* announcing the signal victory obtained against the French [at Naples], has likewise reached Spain. Has been unable to write since, owing to a dangerous fever caught on the Garigliano, and which has confined him to his bed from the 10th of July to the 4th of September. Three captains who served under him were struck by fever about the same time, and have died since. Don Pedro de Acuña, though still alive, is dangerously ill.

As the Viceroy (Prince of Orange), Pompeo Colonna, and the Council cannot fail to report on the state of affairs in this kingdom, he has nothing to add, except that he is always ready to sacrifice his life and property for the Imperial service.—Datum Majdoloni (*sic*), 23rd November 1528.

Signed: "Lo Comte de Mathaluni."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

23 Nov. 591. PROTHONOTARY CARACCILO to the EMPEROR.

f. 274.

Has begged the Reverend Prior of Barletta (Martinengo), now released from captivity, and about to start for Spain, to be the bearer of this despatch, and inform the Emperor of what has happened since his last of the 20th of October. As the Prior is a man of great military talents and experience, well acquainted with the position and defences of Barletta, and likewise with the state of affairs in Lombardy, his report cannot fail to be useful under present circumstances. He will inform His Imperial Majesty that Leyva is still in bad health, and unable to bear the fatigues of a campaign; and how the men under his orders are in a state of mutiny, and the enemy almost at the gates of this city. This is the time for the Emperor to consider whether peace is to be made, or war to be prosecuted with vigour. In either case the Emperor must decide soon, and above all send money to pay these troops.

* Not in the volume

1528.

A person of ability and military reputation ought also to be appointed to serve under Leyva, and in case of anything happening to him,—which, considering his old age and infirmities, is not improbable,—replace him in the command. The Prior of Barletta would be acceptable.—Milan, 23rd November 1528.

Signed: "Il Prothonotario Caracciolo."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ, Cesareæ, et Catholicæ Majestati."

Indorsed: "1528. Caracciolo. Milan."

Italian. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering between the lines and on separate sheet (fol. 276). pp. 2.

23 Nov. 592. DON IÑIGO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. StaatsArch.
Wien. Rep. P.C.
Fasc. 224, No. 16.

To-day, the 23rd of November, I went to Greenwich to see the Queen, as I had received a message from her saying that she wished to speak to me, and that I was to go thither in disguise, and with the greatest possible secrecy. I did this, and had a long conversation with her, in the course of which she told me many things which I have no time to relate at present, as the vessel by which this letter goes is already getting up sail.

There is, however, one piece of intelligence which I cannot pass in silence, as it is of some importance, namely, that this King is thinking of sending some one to Spain to ascertain whether it is true or not that Your Majesty has in his possession the original brief of dispensation. If so, the individual who is to be appointed will try by fair words to get that document into his hands, and, if successful, place it where it cannot be found again. So the King himself has told to people who have reported his words to the Queen. I told her that there was no necessity for my noticing this circumstance in my next letter, or warning Your Majesty of the plot prepared by this King, as in the event of an English ambassador going to Spain on that special mission, strict orders should be given not to give or show him the original document. The Queen, however, has insisted upon my communicating this intelligence to Court, and warning Your Majesty's ministers of the danger of the brief falling into the hands of her enemies, as she says that all the strength of her case now lies in that document. For fear Your Majesty should imagine that the mere exhibition of a brief which of itself condemns the King might turn to her (the Queen's) advantage, and should thereby be induced to have it shown to the person or persons whom the King, her husband, is about to send, she begs me most particularly to warn Your Majesty against any such design of her enemies, and not let them get hold of the brief, knowing, as she does, that they will spare no trouble to obtain possession of it,

1528.

inasmuch as it is generally believed that, the dispensation having been issued in the form of a brief, the registration at Rome was omitted, and therefore that no other record is in existence, save the original which Your Majesty says is kept in Spain.

In case of this King deciding to send the treasurer of his household upon the aforesaid errand, as he seemed determined to do last week, a special messenger, I hear, is to be despatched by the Queen with orders to make all possible haste by land, so as to reach Spain before him; but as the King is of so versatile a temper he may possibly change his mind ere long.—London, 23rd November 1528.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2.

24 Nov. 593. QUEEN KATHARINE to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P.C.
Fasc. 224.

I beg Your Highness to pardon me for being thus importunate, but the truth and justice of my case, and the great injury done unto me by delaying a judgment that must needs turn out in my favour, compel me again to trouble Your Highness upon a point which you must have at heart as much as myself; but knowing, as I do, that, after God, no one but Your Majesty can remedy my troubles, I must needs use with Your Highness the office of the Samaritan with Jesus Christ.

The ambassador of Your Majesty residing at this Court has worked and is working as much as he can in this business, so much so that I shall be grateful to him for life. I beg Your Majesty to keep him in memory and bestow your favours on him, for certainly his devotion and good-will towards Your Highness' service are well worthy of reward.

As Don Yñigo is now writing to Your Majesty showing the necessity there is that justice be soon done [in my case], and a certain inhibition laid before this Parliament, in case of any proceedings being attempted there; and as I myself have written to His Holiness to that effect, I shall not say more on this subject, except observing that the inhibition ought if possible to be presented by the Papal Nuncio, here residing, because then all the [English] Parliament would be glad not to discuss such matters, and this will also be the cause that in future all things relating to the Apostolic See will be treated with the respect they deserve.*—Antoncurt

* "Y tan byen para que se ponga toda dyligencia en que se aga cyerta ynybycion para este Parlamento sy algo cerca desta causa se yntentase. Yo lo mismo suplyco por my carta á la Santidad; asy no alargo mas syno que me parece que sy tal cosa se yntentase serya byen que la tal ynybycion la yntimase el Nuncio de sa Santidad que aquy está, porque dello olgará todo el Parlamento por no hablar en esta materya, y será causa que en lo porvenyr las cosas que tocan á la Sede Apostolyca se traten con el acatamyento devydo."

1528.

(Hampton Court), 24th November. Humble aunt of Your Majesty, Catherina.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

28 Nov. 594. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 281.

Encloses duplicate of his despatches of the 29th of October and 19th inst., which Don Diego Sarmiento took to Spain. Since then the Marquis del Guasto has left for his expedition to Puglia. He is now at Benevento, passing muster of his troops. All are in excellent spirits, and anxious to take Barletta and Trani, which the enemy is said to have provisioned and fortified with great care, though they lost the other day two of their galleys and one brigantine destined to that service. Owing to this it is said that the garrisons of those cities are in want of some articles of food, and that the plague has broken out in them.

In consequence of the death of the warder of Manfredonia, the lieutenancy of its castle has been given to Count Miniano, the brother of Cesaro Ferramosca.

Of the grants made by the Prince to various captains of this Imperial army His Majesty is no doubt officially informed. Ten thousand ducats a year have been bestowed on the Marquis del Guasto, besides the marquisate of Monte Sarchio, at which some of the Neapolitan barons, who have served with fidelity, are rather discontented, seeing that their services are not equally remunerated.

The cases of the Duke of Boyano, Count Marcon, and Don Fadrique (Federigo), the son of the Duke of Traietto, are being tried. When their guilt is proved, and sentence issued, it will be for the Emperor to decide on their fate.

Negotiations with Ansaldo Grimaldo, the banker.

Cardinal Sancta Croce is anxiously expected at Rome; but there are no tidings of him yet, except that he was at Rosas, in Catalonia, and that some of Doria's galleys were to escort him.

The Prince of Orange and Alarcon have completely recovered, and Captain Juan de Urbina is also much better. The latter came from Puzzuolo to a country house near Pusilico (Posilipo), half a league from this city, where he now is.

A deputation of gentlemen from this city is now going [to Spain] for the purpose of remonstrating against the conduct of the soldiers, who are wasting the land and robbing the people. Unless the army evacuates Naples immediately the whole kingdom will be completely destroyed.

Leonardo Grimaldo has been sent to Sicily for the purpose of collecting all the corn and barley that can be spared, for owing to the land remaining untilled, and not having been sown, the harvest of next year will be very scanty, and a famine is apprehended. It is to be hoped that the Viceroys of Sicily and Sardinia will not oppose the measure.

The Abruzzi are infested by robbers and "fuorisciti" of all nations, who plunder (*desbalijan*) all travellers. The other

1528.

day a captain of light horse, accompanied by some of his men, was stopped on the road and robbed. When inferior in number, the "banditti" take refuge in the Roman estates. Muxetula has been written to, that he may lay a remonstrance before the Pope about it.

News has come that two Venetian galleys, laden with artillery and provisions for Barletta and Trani, have gone on shore close to Jovenazzo and Malfeto, on the coast of Puglia. One of the Venetian proveditors was drowned on the occasion. The light horse of Hernando Gonzaga and of Count Burrello were making forays to the very gates of Trani and Barletta, taking numbers of prisoners, &c.

Since the above was written an important piece of news has been received. As the son of Renzo da Ceri was trying to introduce a reinforcement of 100 men into Barletta, the galley on board of which he was went aground close to Guasto's camp, when he and the rest were made prisoners.

Three Spaniards came here yesterday from the camp, to say, in the name of their comrades, that unless they received ten monthly pays—five now, and five more at the end of next January—they would not move from where they are. The Prince and Council immediately met to deliberate and it was found that in order to give the Germans the eight monthly pays promised, issue also a proportionate sum to the men-at-arms and light horse, and something more to the Italians, at least 400,000 ducats would be required. The Spanish deputation was dismissed with the following proposition: Eight months' pay instead of ten; three to be issued at once, after the muster, provided each does not exceed the sum of 20,000 ducats; the fourth at the end of January; two more at the end of February, and the two last on the 26th of the same month. It is doubtful whether these conditions will be accepted by the Spanish infantry. If they are, all is right; if not, the situation is very critical, for there will be no money left in the treasury; and even to pay that sum, we count upon that which Balançon is to bring from Spain, as advised, and upon 58,000 which Ansaldo [Grimaldo] has also promised to give, besides other small sums from other quarters.—Naples, 28th November 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Perez. Naples."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

29 Nov. 595.

HIERONIMO DE FRANTSO to PERO GARCIA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 287.

Has received his letter of the 22nd Sept. The crimes imputed to Miçer Antonio di Sancto Felice are too manifest to require further proof. His desertion to Lautrech's camp, where he acted as "Regente del Regno et Presidente di questa Regia

1528.

Camera," inciting his colleagues and other functionaries of this kingdom to take up arms for the League, and throw off their allegiance to the Emperor, is really unpardonable. He did more: after the victory gained over the French, the said Sancto Felice went to Venice, and persuaded the Signory to send reinforcements to Trani and Barletta.

The Secretary (Pero Garcia) has done well in accepting the charge of secretary to the Summaria, and the "moestrodadia di terra d'Otranto," which produce 350 ducats every year. Thanks him for the appointment of governor to St. Camillo Cayetano, his "consogro."

Joan Ferrandez della Cuesta, equerry to Cardinal Colonna, has brought him the letters and papers, &c.

Signed: "Hieronymo de Francesco."

Addressed: "Al muy magnifico Señor Pero Garcia, Secretario et del Consejo de su Cesarea Mta."

Indorsed: "From the Lieutenant of the Summaria. Answered."

Italian. Original. pp. 6½.

30 Nov. 596. LEYVA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 291.

In favour and commendation of Captain Loys de Gonzaga, whose long services are well known.—Milan, 30th November 1528.

Signed: "Antonio de Leyva."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

1 Dec. 597. The PRINCE OF ORANGE to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 295.

In favour and credence of the deputies of the nobility and gentry of Naples now going to Spain.—De Neapoli, primo Decembris 1528.

Signed: "Philibert de Chalon."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, &c."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From the Prince of Orange."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

1 Dec. 598. ALONSO SANCHEZ to LOPE DE SORIA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 305.

Has been told the Venetians, Florentines, and the Duke of Ferrara are about to enter, or have already done so, into a new and secret league with France. The Papal Nuncio, who resided once at Francis' Court, has passed through here (Bologna) to notify to him that the Emperor will not come to terms, and refers entirely to the despatches and instructions given to Cardinal Sancta Croce.

1528.

The Duke of Somma was at Corfú, but was shortly expected in Venice. The King of Hungary was at Vienna for the purpose of holding a Diet there, and getting a subsidy in money against the Turk and the Vayvod, who were about to invade his dominions.

Spanish. Copy. pp. 2.

2 Dec. 599. ANDREA DORIA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,553,
f. 264.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 310.

Wrote fully on the 30th ulto. Has since received letters from the Imperial ambassador at Rome, announcing the loss of certain Venetian galleys that were conveying troops to Puglia, and also that the affairs of Naples were going on prosperously. God be praised for it, and may the Emperor's arms be victorious everywhere, thus showing the justice of our cause. Hears that Venice has now given orders to most of her army in Lombardy to attend solely to the war in Naples. (*Cipher*;) Provence being, as he (Doria) has had occasion to state, almost defenceless, and without provisions of any kind, this would be a good opportunity to strike a decisive blow at Marseilles, or other points of the coast. If the Spanish infantry has already arrived in Sicily, as is reported, and remittances in money have also come, matters will soon materially improve everywhere.

Begs respectfully to inform the Emperor that from the King of France as well as from Mons. de St. Pol great offers have been indirectly made to him (Doria) if he could persuade his countrymen in Genoa to join the League, or else to remain neutral during the present contest. In either case King Francis promises to forgive all the injuries received from the Genoese, and leave the Republic in its present condition. Needs not say that he has replied to these and similar overtures in a manner consistent with his honour and reputation, rejecting all the King's offers.

The galleys, as he said in his last, sailed yesterday from this port for the coast of Provence, to escort that which is to take Mons. de Balançon* and Mons. de Vaury [to Spain]. Hears that the French galleys are now about Niça and Villafranca, and as they have other armed vessels (*altri vascelli de armata*) in their company, he (Doria) cannot say whether the operation will not be somewhat delayed through it. It is needful, therefore, that this Republic arm at once, at her own expense, certain vessels, which, going in convoy of the galleys,

* "Le galer 'si partirono di qua per ritornar' a la volta di Provenza, a far scorta a quella galera qual porta Mons. de Bilançon (*sic*) et Mons. de Vaury. Pero intendo che le galere francese sianno verso Niça al Villafranca et per hauer 'altri vascelli de armata en lor' compagnia no 'so se forsi farann ritardar un' poco el detto effetto." The original has *Bilançon*, but I have not hesitated in writing Balançon, the name of a small town in Flanders, of which Gerard de Rye was lord or seigneur.

1528.

will be sufficient to make short work of the enemy.—Genoa, 2nd December 1528.

Signed: "Andrea Doria."

Addressed: "Cesa. Catca. Mta."

Italian. Original. pp. 3.

2 Dec. 600. DON IÑIGO to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u.StaatsArch.
Wien. Rep. P.C.
Fasc. 224.

On the 23rd and 29th of November last I wrote to Your Majesty that I had waited upon the Queen at her own request, incognito (*en el habito mas disimulado que pude*), and what was the substance of our conference. I could not at the time, as the vessel which took my letter was under weigh, enter into more details, but I shall be more explicit now.

After relating all her troubles to me, the Queen proceeded to explain how matters stood respecting her case. The King not being aware that the original dispensation brief was in Your Majesty's possession, was taken by surprise and exceedingly displeased when the transcript was shown to him. There was then a question of immediately sending [to Spain] this King's treasurer to try whether he could not by fair words and show of friendship get possession of the aforesaid document, which, the Queen says, Your Majesty keeps, and of which some people imagine there is no entry in the Roman registers, because they say, whenever a dispensation of this sort is granted in the form of a brief, as that of the Queen's marriage undoubtedly was, no record of the original remains, and no entry is made on the books.

Such is the opinion of many people at this Court; but I think nevertheless that the brief must have been entered somehow on the registers. However this may be, the Queen requested me to write to Your Majesty about it, and say that, should this King send his treasurer or some other trusty person [to Spain] for the purpose of ascertaining whether Your Majesty has or has not in his possession the original dispensation brief, no answer should be given, and the messenger treated as he deserves. This plan, however, seems to have cooled down, for during the last eight days there has been no more talk about it. Perhaps they have considered how fruitless such a mission would be, and have therefore changed their purpose.

But as it might happen, as I do really believe, that the brief was entered upon the registers at Rome, it would be advisable to write to the Imperial ambassador at that Court, to have this matter looked into, and personally to ascertain whether the brief is there, and, if so, procure an attested copy of it. Thus, even in the event of the contrary party getting hold of the original, or trying to have it altered and falsified, there would remain a legalised transcript of the same to produce before the judges. Such is the character of the people

1528.

mixed up in this affair, and such the fury with which they proceed, that there is no baseness of which they are not capable to gain their object. I have written to Rome by all possible routes and ways, but feel no security that my letters have reached their destination, as all the roads and passes are occupied by the enemy.

The Queen told me likewise that the King had informed her that he would henceforward avoid as much as possible living under the same roof with her. Many people had advised him not to do so as long as this matter of the divorce remained *sub judice*, for, although he had nothing to fear from her, he was not quite so sure of her servants, both English and Spanish, and especially of the latter. He had, therefore, determined not to see her as often as before, though he would occasionally visit her. This notwithstanding, it must be said that the King has not hitherto carried his threat into execution, for whenever he comes to Greenwich, where the Queen is at present residing, he very seldom fails to visit her, and they dine and sleep together (*comen y duermen juntos*). This is owing, no doubt, to some of his legal advisers having counselled him not to make any variation in his matrimonial life until the case is fairly tried, and judgment given, for fear his opponents should allege that he is acting in defiance of the Queen's conjugal rights.*

The Queen further told me of the oath she had taken before the Legate, namely, that she was a virgin when she married this King, and that her former husband (Prince Arthur) had never consummated matrimony; from which I conclude that, even if the dispensation were null and void, the Queen could nowise be condemned.

This King is now trying to get as many signatures as he can from among the principal men of his kingdom to an attested paper drawn up for the purpose of showing that the abrogation of this marriage is much desired by the people of England. The King's idea is to send the document forthwith to Rome, but hitherto he has been unable to find people to sign it, except two or three, *i.e.* the father and brother of the lady whom he wishes to marry, and the Duke of Norfolk, who is her uncle. How many more may be induced to append their signatures to the aforesaid attestation I cannot say, but it is generally believed that as the attempt has hitherto proved unsuccessful it will be dropped altogether.

Since the arrival of the new Legate (Campeggio) the affair in question has not advanced one step. All the efforts of the contrary party have been limited to trying to persuade the Queen either by threats or promises to take the veil and

* "Lo que debe de ser porque sus letrados le han aconsejado que no haga novedad ninguna en el matrimonio hasta que sea declarado por sentencia porque [no] parezca que de hecho violentamente hace algo en perjuicio de la possession en que la Reyna está."

1528.

retire to a nunnery of her own free will. Some people think that when this King perceives his inability to convince the Queen, and considers what the Legate (Campeggio) has told him about it, he may perhaps desist from the endeavour, especially as he is not sure of success. However this may be, at present both he and the new Legate (Campeggio) are expecting an answer from Rome, and they give out that immediately after its arrival the judicial proceedings are to commence, and that the trial will be carried on as quickly as possible.

The agent (*commissario*) whom Cardinal Wolsey had there [in Spain] has forwarded his despatches from Bayonne, as he himself could not bring them on account of illness, but was obliged to stop at that place. Immediately after the receipt of the letters the Cardinal announced [to the courtiers] that some of Your Majesty's privy councillors had said that, if this case of the Queen were proceeded with, war would be instantly declared against this King with the help and assistance of his own subjects (*con los propios de su Reyno*). The King on hearing of this became furious, but I can assure Your Imperial Majesty that, however great his fury, his fear is still greater.* The Cardinal, on the other hand, has been making grand speeches (*grandes sermones*) to the people of England on this particular point, exhorting them to abandon the cause of Your Imperial Majesty, which he knows they favour. This he does, not only out of fear of the Flemings, who are here in considerable numbers, but because he knows that the English artisans would be very glad to have them expelled from this city. He has lately procured an order [from the King] forbidding the said Flemings to reside within the territory of London; but in my opinion this has been intended more to please the English artisans, who generally hate foreigners, than as a measure against the people of Flanders. As it is, Englishmen in general are by no means disposed to listen to or believe anything the Cardinal may say against Your Imperial Majesty.

The King is about to send to the Pope at Rome two new ambassadors about this affair of the Queen, well provided, of course, with false representations (*informaciones*) and all manner of tempting offers, owing to which the Queen is somewhat alarmed, and has ordered me to write to the Imperial ambassador there, to frustrate any attempts this King may make to influence His Holiness against her. I have done so, and assured the Queen that Your Majesty has already taken measures that the English ambassadors do not make on the Pope the impression which they intend.

The business, however, is of such importance that it may be necessary to send frequent couriers either to Rome or to Spain, and therefore it would be advisable that the person who is to

* "Con lo qual este Rey se ha puesto muy bravo; pero crea V. Md. que mayor es el temor que tiene quel enojo, aunque lo muestra muy grande."

1528.

come and replace me should bring good letters of credit, and money to meet those expenses and others that may arise.

The King is now at Greenwich staying with the Queen. On St. Andrew's day he went out with his robes and "toison d'or" in his usual way, without making the least change. He is to return to London this week, as they say; in fact he will most likely continue coming backwards and forwards as long as this new Legate stays in England, for he is very anxious to commence proceedings; and Campeggio, I know, will make all possible haste to return to Rome.—London, 2nd December 1528.

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 5.

3 Dec. **601.** LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 298.

Wrote last on the 21st of November. The Prior of Barletta, who was to be the bearer, not having sailed yet from Genoa, hopes that this despatch will be in time.

Commends to the Emperor's favour and attention the person of the Prior as one of the most able and experienced captains in the Imperial service.—Montogio, 3rd December 1528.

P.S.—Forgot to mention that the Prior's services at Genoa and elsewhere are too manifest to require more proofs. When, in 1527, he attacked the enemy at Portofino it was at the Doge's request; he (Soria) accompanied him one league out of Genoa. Again, when he attacked Cesare Campo Fragoso it was at the express desire of Adorno and his party.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. From Soria."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

12 Dec. **602.** The EMPEROR to DON IÑIGO.

Rep. P.C.
Fasc. 224, No. 11.

Though you must have received, through Her Serene Highness the Lady Margaret [of the Low Countries], the letters with particulars of the public challenge made to us by the Kings of France and England, We now send you the duplicate account of the whole transaction, that you may, if required, reply to any objections, and maintain our honour and reputation as you have done hitherto.

You will do us great service by informing us as fully and quickly as you can of everything that has passed in the affairs of our most beloved aunt, the Queen of England, since you wrote last, for the better direction of which we have hitherto done all that was required of us, and shall do in future everything in our power, as we consider her cause our

1528.

own. You will tell our aunt the Queen this for her consolation.—Toledo, 12th December 1528.*

P.S.—You will find here enclosed attested copies of all the briefs of dispensation on the marriage, which you say are required for the Queen's case. We have no doubt that you will make proper and advantageous use of them, and hope that you will have received or will soon receive the despatch and instructions We have lately addressed to you on this subject.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 2.

13 Dec. **603.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING OF BOHEMIA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71 f. 205.

Wrote from Madrid on the 10th of October by Pedro de Ascoytia, whom Monforte was to have accompanied with a holograph letter of the Emperor, had not business of the most pressing nature, and his own departure for this city (Toledo), prevented his writing; besides which the letter was ready for the Emperor's signature, and Monforte about to start, when Secretary Gabriel Sanchez arrived with despatches.

Placed in the Emperor's hands the account of the expenditure of the 50,000 ducats.

Bills to the amount of 1,200 ducats, drawn by the mercantile house of the Estretes (Street), have been lately presented to the Imperial treasury for payment, together with His Highness' letter of advice. Hears that there is some difficulty about the payment, and that they will not be honoured unless the expenditure of the funds is satisfactorily proved.

Upon the receipt of His Highness' letter dated Vienna the 7th of October, both he (Salinas) and Secretary Gabriel Sanchez, who was about to return to Germany, waited upon the Emperor and explained to him His Highness' wishes. If the answer, which Sanchez now takes, is not so favourable and categorical as might be desired, the reason is that time changes counsel (*tiempo muda consejo*), as they say. It is so long since His Imperial Majesty had cognizance of the affairs mentioned in the letter, that he has changed his mind respecting them. Such is the insecurity of the roads through France, or by sea, that merchants will not take charge of official correspondence or private letters. The Emperor, himself, sends few couriers to Flanders, and although he (Salinas)

* According to Charles' Itinerary, published by Bradford—a very valuable document had more attention been paid to the reading and spelling of proper names, which are most singularly and, I may add, most ludicrously transcribed—the Emperor left Madrid for Toledo on the first day of November. How long he stayed in that city, and when he returned to Madrid, it is not stated, but we are told that on the 8th of March he went from Madrid to *Aranjuez*. Now as he could not possibly have gone from Toledo to Madrid without passing through Aranjuez, I am inclined to think that the text of the manuscript consulted by Mr. Ormayr, and to which Mr. Bradford refers, must be vitiated, and that the true reading is that he went from Aranjuez to Madrid, and thence started for Alcalá, Cidraque, Sigüenza, &c., for Zaragoza, where he arrived on the 24th of the same month of March, is on the road to Barcelona.

1528.

seldom fails to write by them, his reports must naturally reach at considerable intervals. This is the reason why His Highness has not been better served on this occasion.

Don Pedro de Cordoba has been detained here much longer than was absolutely necessary, owing to private business of his own. He was about to return [to Vienna] when His Imperial Majesty was pleased to grant him the hand of one of the Empress' maids of honour with a considerable marriage portion. He is, moreover, to be rewarded with a high office in the Imperial household, which will prevent him from doing service near His Highness' person, which he exceedingly regrets.

News has come of the ships lately sent to discover the West Indian continent. The commander has sent a report of what he found there. It is now being copied, and when ready shall be duly forwarded.

To-day, the 13th of December, Secretary Lallemand has incurred the Emperor's displeasure, as Sanchez will report verbally. He (Salinas) has always found him a zealous servant of His Imperial Majesty, and always ready to promote His Highness' interests at this court, for which reason he hopes that if there be any means of helping him in his present difficulties, and saying a word in his favour, the opportunity will not be allowed to pass.—Toledo, 13th December 1528.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

16 Dec. 604. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 303.

Encloses duplicates of his two despatches sent by Diomedes Carrafa (Caraffa), one of the deputies from this kingdom, who sailed for Spain on the 29th ulto.

On the first inst. the Duke of Boyano, Don Fadrique, son of the Duke of Traietto, and four more rebels were publicly beheaded in the square in front of Castilnovo. Count Marcon,* who deserved a like fate, was treated with greater clemency owing to certain political considerations. In Puglia three more rebels have been executed.

An agreement has at last been made with the Spanish infantry. Ten months' pay shall be handed over to them,—five now, and five more at the end of February; on condition, however, that they relinquish all other claims; that from the beginning of March they will be paid punctually every month; and that they will no longer live on the inhabitants, but pay for everything they consume. The Marquis is still at Benevento; the moment he receives the money he will go to Puglia, most probably before Nativity day, as it is said that the Pope is about to remit him 40,000 ducats.

* The same nobleman mentioned at p. 856, but whose name is here written *Morion* or *Morcon*.

1528.

So far the claims of the Spaniards are definitively settled. The Germans' are not, but it is confidently expected that they will subscribe to the same terms, *i.e.*, eight months' pay for all claims. These latter are still in the Abruzzi.

The people of Trani and Barletta make a stout defence, owing, no doubt, to the assistance the Venetians give them by sea. They have lately taken a city called Vesta* in the neighbourhood.

Cardinal Sancta Croce and Mons. de Valançon (Balançon) are anxiously expected.

The Pope has applied through his Nuncio here for restitution to the daughter of Vespasiano Colonna of her father's estate [in Naples]. He complains bitterly of Ascanio, who, he says, is only claiming the Emperor's protection for the purpose of taking possession of her estate in the lands of the Church. It has been settled, however, that Cardinal Pompeo shall retain in the Emperor's name whatever she has in Naples; but as to her possessions in the lands of the Church, the Cardinal refuses to interfere, for he says Ascanio has undoubtedly a right to them.

News has arrived that the King of Hungary is shortly coming to Inspruck, and that the Duke of Gueldres [Charles] has tendered his submission. Andrea del Burgo is going to Rome as ambassador.

Letters have been intercepted from the Venetian proveditor in sight of Trani and Barletta, written to another proveditor at Corfu, implying that peace was about to be concluded, at which he was delighted, because he said he was greatly in want of provisions.

Advices from France have been received here that Mons. de Montmorency and the Bishop of Barca (*sic*) are to treat of the peace with the Emperor's ministers. Encloses paragraphs of a letter from Sanchez.—Naples, 16th December 1528.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Soria."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

17 Dec. 605. ANDREA DORIA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,553,
f. 272.
B. M. Add. 28,577,
f. 314.

A medal with the bust of the Grand Turk [Soliman] has come into his possession. Sends it to the Emperor, "adcio che quando li scorrara vederlo vivo, com' io tengo ferma speranza, possa conoscerlo con piu facilitate."—Genoa, 17th December 1528.

Signed: "Andrea Doria."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

* Vieste in the Capitanata, Naples.

1528.

20 Dec. 606. The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 1,553,

f. 273.

B. M. Add. 28,577,

f. 315.

As the Prior of Barletta (Martinengo) has not yet taken his departure, owing to stress of weather and contrary winds, he (Doria) will write further of what has passed since his last. The enemy at Alessandria, finding that most of the forces of this Republic had gone to the defence of Gavi (*al presidio de Gavio*), thought that leaving that fortress behind them, and coming suddenly here, they might take us unawares, and plunder this city. Accordingly, yesterday, the 19th inst., about the hour of noon, 2,000 infantry and 200 horse made their appearance, and came close to the gates with their usual impetuosity (*con la solita furia francese*). Seeing, however, that we were on the alert, and prepared to receive them, they retreated in haste, leaving behind some of their men, who were slain by the country people. On their march upon this city the enemy did all the harm they could, principally to his (Doria's) palace, which they plundered and set on fire.* Very providentially, a proof indeed that God is supporting the Emperor's cause, the very same day that this unsuccessful attack was made upon Genoa, one of the Emperor's barks (*barchio*), with Spanish infantry on board, entered this port, and to-day another has arrived, besides one carack, with the rest of the infantry. Is about to send an express to Leyva, informing him of this occurrence, and consulting him as to the best means of serving the Emperor in these parts. (*Cipher* :) Has no doubt that before next spring he will be able to eject the enemy from Alessandria, for Leyva having, as he has, considerable forces under his command, and hardly one enemy to fight with in Lombardy, cannot fail to send him any forces he may require for that undertaking. (*Common writing* :) Again insists upon the expediency of making an attempt upon the coast of Provence. Two thousand infantry, or money enough to raise them, besides the ordinary provision for his own galleys, would be more than sufficient for the undertaking.

Has made overtures to Venice (*incaminato la practica de Venecia*) with the tact and moderation announced in his last despatch. As soon as an answer is made to his overtures, will not fail to communicate with the Prince of Orange.—Genoa, 20th December 1528.

Signed : "Andrea Doria."

Addressed : "Sac., Ces., Cath. Mti."

Italian. Original partly in cipher. pp. 4.

25 Dec. 607. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 309.

On the 13th inst. Cardinal Sancta Croce arrived at Genoa. The news was received with great pleasure here and at Rome, for he is supposed to bring such conditions that His Holiness cannot but declare openly against the Italian League.

* Guicciardini, lib. xix., has a long account of this affair, in which Doria was surprised and almost taken prisoner. The confederates were commanded by Montegiano and Vallecercia. See Guerrazzi, *Vita di Andrea Doria*, p. 243.

1528.

On the 20th the Spaniards under Guasto passed muster at Benevento, and next day began marching on Puglia, as certain intelligence had reached them that the 40,000 ducats had actually left Rome.

Trani and Barletta still held out. Though not regularly besieged for want of proper artillery, the French inside were very much annoyed by the Imperialists. After the taking of Vesta (Vieste) the enemy took possession of certain villages in the mountains, in which they found no less than 20,000 sheep and some other cattle. They were coming back to Barletta with their booty when some of Gonzaga's horse obliged them to leave their prey, most of the marauders being slain or taken prisoners by the Imperialists.

The Prince of Orange is still at Salerno.

The Pope insists upon the towns and castles which Vespa-siano left in the territory of the Church being first adjudicated to his daughter, and the suit tried afterwards. The councillors here are of opinion that Pagliano and other places cannot be restored, because in Pope Martin's will it is clearly declared that Ascanio has a right to those estates. As to other towns and villages in the territory of the Church, Ascanio's right is not so manifest, and he ought perhaps to relinquish his claim on them, as they were evidently bought by Prospero Colonna. It is not likely that he will give them up.

News has come that the Germans have passed muster at Boyano; but it is not known yet whether they will agree to receive the eight months' pay that has been offered to them.

No news yet of Cardinal Sancta Croce's arrival at Rome.—
Naples, 25th December 1528.

Signed: "Perez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1528. Perez."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

28 Dec. **608.** DON PEDRO GONZALEZ DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 43,
f. 314.

Though he has often written home reporting on the state of affairs in Calabria, yet as letters are often intercepted or lost, will now repeat the substance of some of his former despatches.

Was governor of Calabria at the time of the French invasion. Having no foreign troops he enlisted about 500 or 600 peasants, "mal en orden y de peyor voluntad," and together with the Dukes of Bisignano and Castro Vyllar (Villani?), who had under them 300 men, went to the frontiers of that province. Thought at first that he might be able to stay the enemy's fury, but finding him too strong, retreated to Catanzaro in the very heart of Calabria. Was there besieged by the enemy, who laid the country waste, but could not take the city.

Must observe that out of the 600 recruits who constituted his original force only 100 remained under his banner, all the

1528.

rest having passed over to the enemy ; among them the Prince of Bysyñano (Bisignano), once governor of Taranto ; the Duke of Castro Vyllar ; the Count of Symery with two of his uncles ; Fernando Lisbal, and the Baron of Calepçats. Seeing the enemy advance, he sent out Fernando de Bysbal, an excellent officer who has served very well throughout this campaign, that he might procure a number of Spaniards in Sicily. This he did, bringing back with him the Marschal of Zamora with his company of hackbutiers, with whose assistance he was enabled to repulse the enemy. Then came Count Burrello with his Sicilians and Spaniards, whom Captain Symon* went to meet with a large body of armed peasants, but Burrello's men, though in smaller number, were better disciplined, and made short work of the enemy. Symon was defeated with great slaughter. Hearing this the besiegers raised their camp and retreated to the frontiers of Calabria, hotly pursued by the Count and by him (Mendoza), who succeeded in capturing part of their artillery and baggage.

After this the Count went to Puglia in obedience to the Prince's orders, and he (Mendoza) returned to the government of his province. There was a castle (*tierra*) and estate called Las Canillas, the strongest place in the province, which had not yet raised its standard for the Emperor. Besieged it for two consecutive months, until it was reduced to the Imperial rule. The whole of the kingdom is now under submission, with the sole exception of Trani and Barletta, now besieged by the Imperialists, and which, it is to be hoped, will soon share the same fate. Though he has no doubt that His Imperial Majesty must have been informed of these particulars by the Prince of Orange and Marquis Alarcon, his father-in-law,† yet he has considered it his duty to repeat the substance of former despatches.—Turpya, 28th December 1528.

Signed : "Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza."

Addressed : "To the most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed : "To His Majesty. From Don Pedro Gonçalez de Mendoza, governor of Calabria. 28th December."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

1529.

1 Jan. **609.** The EMPEROR to the VICEROY OF ARAGON and others.

S. E. L. 1,555,

f. 3.

B. M. Add. 28,578,

f. 1.

Mandate to have certain witnesses examined respecting the dealings (*tratos*) of Jean Lallemand.—Toledo, 1st January 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

* Simon Tebaldi Roano (Romano?), about whom see *Hechos del Señor de Alarcon*, p. 364, and Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. xix.

† Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza married Doña Isabel, eldest daughter of Hernando de Alarcon, marquis of La Val Siciliana.

1529.

1 Jan. 610. ALONSO SANCHEZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 44,
f. 6.

Has not written for many a day, owing to his long and perilous illness. Ever since October last, when he left La Mirandola to come here [Bologna], he has been ailing, so much so that his life was at one time despaired of. He is now fast recovering, and intends starting shortly for Lucca, there to embark for Naples.

Has, however, done as much service as he could, either by informing the Prince of Orange at Naples, and Antonio de Leyva at Milan, of every occurrence in these parts, or by keeping up a correspondence with Don Iñigo [de Mendoza] in England. That ambassador having applied to him for a transcript of the dispensation brief for Queen Catharine's marriage, he (Sanchez) wrote immediately to Micer Juan Antonio Muxettola at Rome, begging him to procure an attested copy; and, moreover, when that Imperial agent gave his opinion in writing as to the best means of effectually stopping Cardinal Campeggio's proceedings in the divorce case, he (Sanchez) failed not to despatch a special messenger to apprise Don Iñigo thereof.

(*Cipher* :) Is upon friendly terms with Prothonotary Gambaron (Uberto di Gambarà), now Bishop of Tortona, and Papal Vice-Legate, who some time ago was residing at Venice as Papal Nuncio. Has always considered him as very much attached to the Imperial service. Happening once to converse with him respecting the Pope's and the Emperor's mutual affairs, he (Gambara) said, "Provided His Holiness is mildly treated (*con dulzura*), I have no doubt that His Imperial Majesty will get anything he wants from him." Though most likely the Prothonotary is no less attached to the Pope than he seems to be to the Emperor, yet he (Sanchez) has not failed to acquaint Cardinal Santa Croce (Quiñones), who, thank God, has already arrived in Naples, and the Prince of Orange of these sentiments of the Pope, that they may shape their negotiations accordingly. The Vice-Legate, moreover, says he knows for certain that this year the Venetians intend bringing the Turk upon Sicily. Has written to Naples and to the Viceroy of that island (Pignatello) about it.—Boloña (Bologna), 1st of January 1529.

Signed: "Alonso Sanchez."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (fol. 8). pp. 2.

7 Jan. 611. ANTONIO DE LEYVA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,172,
f. 14.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 2.

The Emperor's letters in credence of Captain Rivadeneyra have been duly received, as well as the instructions whereof he was the bearer. Will attend to the Imperial commands in everything, and obey also the orders of the Prince [of Orange].

1529.

Respecting the grants and confirmations, they shall be made with the due moderation which the Emperor recommends. Those appertaining to the Fiscal Chamber, made by Bourbon, have been revoked, and none others will be made.

Has advised by the Prior of Barletta of every occurrence till the day of his departure, but as he [Leyva] is not sure of his having reached his destination, will transcribe here part of his despatch [of the 15th of December], and relate besides what has happened since. The bearer of this will be Varahona (*sic*).

Has paid to the Germans of the old bands (*de la banda vieja*) 25,000 ducats, on account of the 140,000 owing to them. The Spaniards, to whom three years of pay were due, will be satisfied with 15,000. As to the men-at-arms and the light cavalry there is no means of paying them for the present.

Varahona will inform His Imperial Majesty of the relative positions of the enemy, their number, strength, &c. ; of what the Venetians and the Duke [Francesco Sforza] are about ; of the intrigues of the Duke of Ferrara [Alfonso d'Este] and of his son [Hercole] ; of the Marquis of Mantua [Federigo Gonzaga] ; of the Marquises of Monferrato and Saluzzo, the son of the latter,* and the Grisons ; and of the news of France and Rome.

With regard to Agostino Grimaldo, the lord of Monaco, and the Emperor's message to him, brought by Rivadeneyra, there can be no doubt that his friendship must be secured at all risks, and his city (Monaco) delivered into the Emperor's hands in exchange for other estates in Spain or Naples. Three are the reasons which make the acquisition of that city and port most important for the Emperor. 1st. It is commodious for the passage to and from Spain. 2nd. It is a dangerous enemy to Marseilles and Provence. 3rd. It may cause the ruin of the Duke of Savoy [Carlo], because of its being situated in the very heart of his estate. The salt which the latter brings from Iviza the Emperor may send to Monaco, which is nearer and more easily reached, and, if so, the Duke will lose the revenue derived from that article. Besides that, should Genoa be lost, which God forbid, it might prove to be of great assistance as an opening (*escala*) into Italy and France.—Milan, 7th January 1529.

Spanish. Original. pp. 8.

10 Jan. 612. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 44,
f. 11.

His last was dated the 22nd of November, from Montegio, close to Genoa, whither he (Soria) was going by order of the Prince [of Orange], but the Genoese having refused him admittance on the plea that, as he (Soria) has been so long the friend of the Adorni, he might now be suspected of aiming at the restoration of some member of their family, he

* After the death of the Marquis de Saluzzo (Michael Antonio), who died without posterity, the elder of his brothers (Giovanni Lodovico) succeeded him. He was, however, soon replaced by Francesco, another brother of Michael Antonio.

1529.

(Soria) was obliged to retrace his steps and come to Piacenza, where he now is. The above, however, is not, in his opinion, the real cause for his non-admittance; others there are, to which he has alluded in former despatches, which the Prior of Barletta (Gabriele di Martinengo) took to Spain. This being the case, he (Soria) need not make any further allusion to the said cause, save to say that Genoa is of paramount importance for the Imperial service, and therefore that every effort should be made to please its present governors, and principally Andrea Doria, who happens just now to be at the head of affairs. (*Cipher* :) It must, however, be said that not all the citizens are satisfied with that captain's rule; they openly complain of his administration, and keep up a correspondence with the French, inviting them to resume possession of the city. The feuds of the Genoese are of such long standing, and they themselves so changeable by nature, that they cannot remain long under one form of government, however advantageous it may prove for the community at large, and beneficial to all parties. For this reason it would be advisable that His Imperial Majesty kept at all times a sea force superior to that of Doria's, especially if the galleys of the latter are to sail in conjunction with the Imperial fleet. In this manner the bonds between Genoese and Spaniards might be more closely knit, and they might assist each other more effectually, though it must be owned that at the present moment the Genoese seem well disposed towards the Imperial service, for they have recalled their ambassadors at the court of France, and are actually raising troops for the purpose of joining Leyva's forces [in the Milanese] and attacking the French. Has opportunely advised Leyva of this fact, that he may take his measures, and facilitate their junction, by which means the Genoese will be obliged to declare more openly for the Emperor, and perhaps too contribute with men and money to the present war.

(*Common writing* :) Considers it, nevertheless, highly important that an ambassador should be sent as before, to represent the Emperor at Genoa, not only to report any changes in the government of that city, but also to receive and forward all official correspondence, its port being almost the only one in Italy whence vessels can at present sail for the Emperor's Spanish dominions.

Has received no letters for a whole year; the last is dated the 18th February. Neither has Ribadeneyra and the rest, who came last, brought any; perhaps the Emperor has no orders to give him. Has purposely delayed his journey to Milan, but as no instructions have come will start as soon as possible for Leyva's camp.

Begs for leave of absence to visit Spain, and make a pilgrimage to our Lady of Moncayo, in Aragon, in fulfilment of a vow made last autumn, when he (Soria) was taken ill.

Has received from Tomas de Fornariis 54,000 cr. of the Sun, and 14,000 more on account of Stefano Centurione. Out of

1529.

this money he has handed over to the Duke [Henry] of Brunswick 33,000 cr. and 19,000 to Leyva for the pay of their respective forces. The Marquis del Guasto and Ascanio Colonna have received 12,000 cr. towards the acquittal of their ransom. The remaining 1,700 have been paid to officers and gentlemen (*particulares gentileshombres*), couriers, messengers, &c., so that no money remains in his hands.

Has heard of the remittances in specie lately made to the Prince [of Orange]. That is no doubt the most advantageous way of supplying the wants of the Imperial armies. Bills of exchange will not do, as bankers generally take an enormous discount.

(*Cipher* :) Although the bearer of this despatch, Luis Varaona (Barahona), now sent by Leyva, will no doubt inform the Emperor of the state of affairs in Lombardy, yet he (Soria) considers it his duty to remark that Leyva is old, and in bad health, and cannot, therefore, do the work he did years ago; nor has he under him officers of sufficient experience and authority to help him in his duties, or take the command, should he come to die. Has written to the Prince of Orange, informing him of this, as well as of the fact that the Germans under him are fast deserting their banners and going home. By the last accounts only 2,000 of them remained at Milan; the Spaniards in the Duchy did not exceed 800; the rest were Italians, and there was hardly any cavalry. The city and the whole of the estate was entirely destroyed; not one fourth of the whole land was under cultivation, a general famine was apprehended, and it was thought that whichever of the belligerent parties could obtain food would be the conqueror. The enemy is well aware of this, and preparing to take the offensive, especially Mons. de St. Pol, who, they say, is only waiting at Alessandria for some new German bands, which the King of France has promised to send him. On the other hand, Venice and Sforza are making fresh levies. The Signory has appointed Count Gayaco to the command of its infantry, and given the Duke of Urbino twenty days' leave of absence to visit his patrimonial estates. Everywhere the enemy is on the alert, and preparing, as they say, to attack Genoa and Milan. At present all their efforts seem to be directed towards preventing the Spanish infantry, just arrived at Genoa, from joining Leyva. As they (the Spaniards) will have to cross the Pò, where the enemy is sure to be in force, some anxiety is felt about them, unless Madame de Monferrara* gives them passage through her estate, which it is presumed she will, as she seems just now to be much attached to the Imperial cause.

The Duke of Ferrara is about to send an ambassador to Spain in the room of Marco Pio, who has been recalled in consequence of his brother Hieronimo [Pio] having been

* Anne d'Alençon, daughter of Henry d'Alençon and of Marguerite de Lorraine. She was the widow of Guglielmo VI., Marquis of Monferrato, who died in 1518.

1529.

beheaded. He still professes to be the Emperor's friend, and ready to do service wherever he can. Though his son [Ercole d' Este] has married Madame Renée [of France], the Duke maintains that he will lose no opportunity of showing his high regard for the Emperor. He (Soria) believes that the Duke wishes for peace at home, and to be on good terms with His Imperial Majesty and with the confederates at the same time. He is mightily afraid of the Emperor, and for this reason will do some service, not openly, but secretly, so as not to raise the suspicions of the French. He is not likely to declare openly in our favour unless matters take a favourable turn. At heart he is more of a Frenchman than an Imperialist, and there is every reason to suppose that the man he is presently sending to Spain will rather act the part of a spy than that of an ambassador. The Duke, however, must be managed with great tact, flattered and cajoled, for fear of his openly declaring for the League. Count della Mirandola writes to say he is afraid of his estates being invaded by the Duke, inasmuch as the League has made them over to him, and the Duke knows very well that from the contiguity of La Mirandola to his own estate he may be one of these days successfully attacked on that side. For this reason the Count is fortifying himself as much as he can. His fears, however, must be unfounded, for hitherto the Duke has made no movement that way, nor is it likely that he would send an embassy to Spain if he were meditating such a grievous offence as attacking a fief of the Empire, as La Mirandola actually is.*

(Common writing :) Miçer Andrea del Burgo is still at Ostia (*sic*), a place belonging to the Marquis of Mantua. He writes in date of the 2nd inst. that he is only waiting for the return of a messenger he sent to the King of Hungary to undertake his journey to Rome. The King was to be on the day of the Epiphany at Innsbruch, there to hold a diet for the settlement of the affairs of Italy, of the Turk, and of the Vayvod, the last of whom had again invaded Hungary, assisted by some nobles of his party.

The Princes of the Suabian League were holding another diet at Augsburg for the purpose of helping the King against the Turk. The Switzers are up in arms, and on the point of attacking the Lutheran cantons. The best thing to be done is to leave them alone to break each other's heads (*dexarlos que se rompiesen bien las cabezas*).

Rumours are afloat that the King of France is about to send an army this spring, and that the English are to help him with 30,000 ducats every month. On New Year's day Mosieur de Brian [Tuke] and Secretary Pedro Vano (Peter Vannes) passed through this city en route for Rome. They were riding post, accompanied by twelve servants on horse-back. What their mission may be he (Soria) has been unable to ascertain.

* "Sabiendo lo ofensa que le haria tomando La Mirandola por ser de V. Mag."

1529.

(*Cipher* :) No news yet of the arrival at Rome of Cardinal Santacruz, nor of Miger Mai. The Pope is anxiously expecting them, and has taken his measures for the payment at Naples of 100,000 ducats, on account of the sum promised when he went out of prison. Everyone is persuaded that he is now sincerely attached to His Imperial Majesty.

(*Common writing* :) The Duke Francesco [Sforza] is at Lodi with a respectable force. He has lately imposed such taxes (*gabelas y tallones*) on his subjects that in reality what little of his estate now remains in his hands brings him in a good deal more than when he possessed Milan and the rest.

The Marquis of Mantua [Federigo Gonzaga] makes no stir or demonstration of any kind.

After the loss of the fleet which the Venetians sent to Trani and Barletta for the purpose of revictualling those fortresses, another one was despatched, though there is no news yet of its arrival on that coast. The object of this armament seems to be to keep up the war [in Naples], so as to prevent the Imperial army from coming to Lombardy. Their designs, however, are likely to be frustrated, for we hear that the Marquis del Guasto, who since the Prince's departure has remained in command at Naples, had left that city at the head of considerable forces, and it was expected that he would soon recover all the towns which the Venetians hold on that coast, inasmuch as they are reported to be sadly in want of money, having lately imposed exorbitant taxes on their clergy, much against the will of the people, who showed their discontent in every possible way. With all this, they still brag of their determination to defend their conquests to the utmost, and, fit out, for next spring a number of galleys, (*cipher* :) though it must be said that they have been so disappointed and worried of late by the French, and by the Duke Francesco, that they would gladly listen to any overtures on the part of the Imperialists.

Again inquires what he (Soria) is to do with the Duke of Bourbon's jewels.

Should the Emperor come over to Italy this spring, and the army from Naples go to Lombardy, it would be advisable to secure a good provision of wheat from Sicily, as there will be surely great scarcity of that article all over Italy. The surplus not wanted for the Imperial forces might be sold to great advantage.

Bernaldino della Barba, the bishop, is now here as commissary from the Pope. He humbly kisses the Emperor's hands and feet, and begs to be remembered. He has always shown much good-will, and is a good servant of the Empire.

The Spaniards under Diego Sarmiento and other captains arrived yesterday at a place called Barze (*sic*), not far from Boguera (Voghera). Thence they will go to Case,* where Captain Cervellon is waiting for them, that they may all

* Casale di Santevasio in the Vogherese.

1529.

cross the Pò together. Is very much afraid that St. Pol, who is in the neighbourhood of that river, may oppose their passage. Has accordingly despatched a messenger to warn them. Once on this side of the river, there is no danger, for they will enter the Lomelina, where Count Filippo Torniello and other Imperial captains, at the head of considerable forces, are successfully holding their ground.—Piacenza, 10th January 1529.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (fol. 17). pp. 8½.

11 Jan. 613. RIBADENEYRA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 44,
f. 19.

Has given the Emperor's message to the Lord of Monaco (Agostino Grimaldo), who is very thankful for the grant of a pension in the estate of Milan, as well as for the permission to draw out a certain quantity of wheat from Sicily. Respecting his quarrel with Andrea Doria, Grimaldo says that he cannot decently put up with the insult. Had it arisen from differences in point of money, he certainly would have sacrificed everything for the Emperor's cause, but it was a matter affecting his honour, and there has been already some blood spilt on both sides.

With regard to the town and castle of Monaco he (Grimaldo) is willing to exchange them for another estate, on condition that the value of the revenue and buildings be paid up in Spain, and that of the artillery, ammunition, and provisions in Naples. Leyva is of opinion that on no account should this opportunity of acquiring the castle be allowed to pass, for it is most important for the Imperial service, being, as it were, between France, Savoy, and Genoa, and close upon the Milanese frontier. He (Rivadeneira) thinks that, once the master of Monaco, the Emperor can do anything he pleases at Genoa, as well as in Savoy, whose Duke [Carlo] holds Niça. Now it is a well-known fact that the Duke draws most of his revenue from this last place, as the Salt that comes [from Spain] is sent to Savoy, Piedmont and other parts of Italy; and it stands to reason that if that and other commodities find their way to Monaco, instead of going to Niça and Villafranca, the Duke will be deprived of his principal resources, whilst the Emperor will increase his considerably.

His (Rivadeneira's) opinion is that on no account should this opportunity be allowed to pass. Grimaldo has often been solicited by France, Savoy, and Genoa, but has never consented to the sale of his estate.—[Monaco], 11th January 1529.

Signed: "Rivadeneira."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

1529.

16 Jan. 614. DON IÑIGO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. *Div. Desp.*
No. 1,553, f. 291,
B. M. *Add.* 28,578,
f. 6.

As no vessel has sailed for a month he (Don Iñigo) has been unable to report on the divorce case.

The King and the members of his Council are so disappointed at hearing that His Imperial Majesty has in his possession the original brief of dispensation [granted by Pope Julius], that they are trying all they can to get hold of it. The King, therefore, made the Queen swear that she would try and persuade the Emperor to send it on. To this end they made her sign a letter and protest (*le ordenaron una letra y protestacion*), which the Emperor must have already received. This the Queen has done out of fear of offending the King, and because she could not really help herself. It was, moreover, agreed that one of her own household servants should be the bearer of the letter. His name is Montoya, and he has actually sailed for Spain. He (Don Iñigo) has instructed him as to what he is to report on the Queen's case and other business. Dared not write, not even in cipher, for fear of the messenger being stopped on his passage through French territory. As he (Mendoza) has already written to say that on no account should the brief be shown [to the English ambassadors], no more warning is necessary on this head. He now thinks that it would be important to have a transcript made, if possible, in the very presence of the ambassadors, and of some prelates, for the greater confusion of these people,* who have hitherto taken no notice of the general pleading in favour of the Queen, but are now sadly disappointed at the discovery of the brief. For this reason, though one or more copies be made, it is important that the original should be most carefully kept.

The Imperial ambassador at Rome [Muxetula] has sent him notice of the supplication and protest made to the Pope on behalf of the Queen. Three days ago, one servant of the Pope, and another of the English ambassador, arrived here. He (Mendoza) cannot tell what their mission may be, but has heard that His Holiness is unwilling to issue a mandate for the case being tried here [in London]. Has been told that the King is beginning to inculcate the Cardinal, who, he says, does not fulfil his promises. All that has been done hitherto in this affair is reduced to this, namely, that the Pope and this King have been trying to intimidate the Queen (*ponerle miedos*), that she may of her own free will retire to a convent, though he secretly ordered his Legate (Campeggio), in case of the Queen resisting, not to proceed in any way, until further orders, of the commission be publicly brought to this country.†

The same ambassador (Muxetula) writes that had the Queen sent her powers in time, to show to the Pope that the request

* "Por mas confusion destos los quales de la defensa principal han hecho poco caso, y del breve muy grande."

† "Y con la ynstancia que por parte de V. Mt. se hará, luego tengo por cierto que el Papa mandará volver á Campeggio, y [mandará] á las partes que en su corte prosiguan (*sic*) su derecho."

1529.

and supplication made in the Emperor's name was in conformity with her own wishes, the case would already have been called to the Papal Court. That is the reason why he (Mendoza) has always insisted upon the Queen secretly sending her powers to Rome. This, however, the Queen cannot and dares not do for the present, but will, he thinks, write in her own hand to His Holiness, telling him her wishes in this particular. If so, he is almost certain that what with the Queen's letter, and the instances that the Emperor is sure to make, the Pope will decide to recall Campeggio, and bid the parties plead the case at his court.

With regard to the prorogation of the truce, the King of France is pressing hard on this Cardinal (Wolsey), and the Cardinal retorts upon him. Has informed Madame [of the Low Countries] of it. The rumour is that the King of France is preparing to go to Italy, and therefore wishes to be defended in the rear. Madame will probably not decide without consulting the Emperor first, for which purpose she has now sent to Spain two gentlemen of her own household.

The Emperor's projected journey to Italy is positively announced from all parts. May it be so; for certainly, if provisions and money are ensured, no better opportunity than the present one could offer itself, to which may be added that the enemies of the Empire, who dread this journey most intensely, give it out as certain.

Cardinal Wolsey is not at all pleased at the King's ambassadors being kept away from the Imperial Court. The more the Cardinal feels it, the better the measure for the Emperor's interests. Had they been sent altogether out of the kingdom they would not report, as they are doing almost daily, upon occurrences in Spain, for scarcely one month passes without their forwarding despatches by land.

The Collector* who came last from Spain has been heard to say that persons of authority at the Imperial Court had assured him that, should the war go on, His Imperial Majesty could very easily, with the assistance of the English themselves, have this King dethroned. Such was the general consternation caused by this report of the Collector that the Cardinal has since been trying to incite the people of this country against the Emperor. In order to gain the good-will of the Commons, he has lately granted them that for which they had so long been pining, which is that foreign tradesmen be not allowed to be householders,† or reside in the English dominions; they must be English born, or quit the kingdom. It is believed that, in consequence of this new law, most of the Flemish will quit England. Many have already left, and more will go unless the law is repealed.

Genoa, &c.

* Silvester Dario.

† No puedan tener de nengun officio casa por si."

1529.

In the Queen's business at present there is nothing to be done except applying to the Pope for the revocation of the Legatine powers, and prosecution of the suit at Rome, on the plea that neither the Queen nor her judges have liberty enough in this kingdom, the latter to judge, or the former to defend herself.—London, 16th January 1528 [old style].

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

18 Jan. 615. ANTONIO DE LEYVA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,172,
f. 15.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 9.

Wrote by Baraona* of events up to the 7th inst. ; since then has despatched Rivadeneyra to treat (*platicar*) with Andrea Doria and the Genoese. Offered them 1,000 of his own infantry, besides cavalry, and everything required to oppose Mons. de St. Pol. Rivadeneyra has returned, saying that Genoa is willing to raise 2,000 foot for her own defence, but wants him (Leyva) to prepare 4,000 more, with whom, and those enlisted by that Signory, they wish Novi to be attacked, a fortress, of all others, which they mostly desire to recover. He (Leyva) would immediately have acceded to the wishes of the Genoese, and placed himself at the head of those troops, the better to train them for war with the French, but the fact is that he has no money to pay his men. Has despatched Rivadeneyra to Naples to acquaint the Prince [of Orange] with these facts.

Since Rivadeneyra's departure the Genoese have sent word that they want the 1,000 men and cavalry originally promised. The Marquis of Saluzzo is making demonstrations in favour of the Emperor, and asks for money to defend himself against St. Pol, and a younger brother of his, who, with the assistance of France, aims at depriving him of his estates. As, moreover, the King of the French is doing all he can in support of the latter, it is very important for us to grant the request of the Marquis.

At the same time, Count Della Mirandola has also sent for help against the Duke of Ferrara, who, he says, is about to attack him in consequence of the League having given him that estate.

Has answered the Genoese and the Count in good words, giving them hopes of succour, besides sending a small body of men to the Marquis.

Since then the Genoese have sent in new proposals, which he (Leyva) cannot well reject. They offer to lend him 30,000 ducats to pay the infantry lately arrived from Spain, and 2,000 Italians more to be raised in their land and elsewhere, on condition that, with these forces and those they (the Genoese) will raise hereafter, he (Leyva) will undertake the enterprise of Lodi, succour the Marquis [of Saluzzo], and inflict other injuries upon the French. Has not hesitated to accede to their demands.

* The same individual called elsewhere Varahona and Barahona.

1529.

Venice and the League in general are increasing their forces as much as they can, for the purpose of again invading Lombardy. The reason is that the King of France has lately written a letter to the Signory, a copy of which he (Leyva) has seen, informing them that the Emperor's journey is decided upon, and that the utmost efforts should be made on both sides to prevent him, at his landing, from finding a place where he can put his foot upon. Lombardy, therefore, was to be invaded with a powerful army, so as to drive us out of Milan, and the King was ready to help the undertaking with all his power, and cross the Alps in person.

Owing to the above reasons and others, which can hardly escape the Emperor's penetration, he (Leyva) has accepted the proposals of the Genoese, and if the money offered is forthcoming, intends marching against Novi. Has sent Count Lodovico Belgioioso to Genoa to hasten the conclusion of this affair, and immediately upon his return will take the field with part of his Spaniards. Should the Duchy in the meantime be invaded by the enemy, he can easily return. Will also send some troops to the Count [della Mirandola], and do anything else to annoy the enemy. Has advised the Prince of all this.

Hears that information of the Emperor's journey being positively settled, and the day for his departure fixed, has come to the King of France through the Duke of Savoy. His Imperial Majesty must beware whom he trusts [in such matters].—Milan, 18th January 1529.

Signed: "Antonio de Leyva."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

19 Jan. 616. LOPE HURTADO DE MENDOZA.

E. Port. L. 368,
f. 199.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 12.

The King of France has sent a herald to his brother of Portugal (João III.) respecting the French vessels seized in his dominions.

It is rumoured that this King wishes to be at peace with France.—[Almeyrim ?] 19th January 1529.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

25 Jan. 617. QUEEN KATHARINE to MUXETULA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 44,
f. 24.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 13.

Ambassador,—Your letter enclosing papers (*escripturas*) has come to hand. I thank you very much for the diligence and care you display in my affairs, without my having directly applied to you. Be sure that you will always find a true friend in me to do you any favour within my power. I beg you to continue in future as hitherto, and follow up this cause as it has begun. Let me know what answer His Holiness makes to your representations and petitions on my behalf. I shall feel grateful for this and any other service you may render me, and will not fail to apprise the Emperor, your master, of any

1529.

further steps taken in my defence. In all other matters you shall give full credence to Don Iñigo de Mendoza, the Emperor's ambassador at this court, to whom I am as much indebted as I am to yourself, for the trouble and pains you have taken in my affairs. His letters will inform you of the proceedings.

Anton Curt (Hampton Court), this 25th of January 1529.

Signed: "Katherina."

Indorsed: "Copia delle littere de la Sra. Regina de Anglia y del Señor Don Indigo (*sic*) de Mendoza, embaxador Cesareo en Inglaterra al Sr. Joanne Antonio Muxetola."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

25 Jan. 618.
M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 44,
f. 25.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 13 v°.

DON IÑIGO DE MENDOZA, Imperial Ambassador in England, to MUXETULA.

Most noble and magnificent Sir,—Three of your letters have come to hand, the last being dated the 13th ulto. With the two former came the enclosures, and among them the protest entered before His Holiness respecting the case of Her most Serene Highness the Queen [of England]. There can be no doubt that you have hitherto taken every measure requisite to uphold the authority of His Imperial Majesty. This Lady Queen (*esta Señora Reyna*) is very grateful for your services, and besides the enclosed letter, wherein she fully acknowledges her obligation, she has commanded me to thank you in her name.

Everything Your Worship says has been done up to the present time, and could not have been better advised (*guiado*). Your opinion (*parecer*) that the Queen should send a person to petition (*hazer instantia*) for the cause to be referred to the Papal court is very wise; so much so, that the Queen would have done it long ago, had it been possible; but Your Worship must know that Her Highness (the Queen) can do nothing in this affair without the King's permission, and therefore before God and man her silence is excused. Moreover, as the Queen, as long as she remains in England, cannot possibly defend herself, the Pope must not consent, for the sake of his own authority, and for the honour of the Church (*y honra de la Iglesia*), to the case being tried anywhere than before his own court. Hitherto the Pope has acted conscientiously (*lo que debe*) in the business, and written to his Legate that which Your Worship mentions in his letter, namely, that if the Queen cannot be persuaded to go into a convent, the legal proceedings should be suspended until further orders. It is considered certain that the Queen refusing, as she has done hitherto, to enter any other orders but those of matrimony,* the Pope will have the trial ad-

* "Tienese por cierto que visto que [con] esta Serenissima Reyna no se ha podido acabar de tomar otra orden sinon la del matrimonio, &c."

1529.

judicated to his own court, where it can be conducted with more equity and justice.

Although, owing to the above reasons, it has been quite impossible for the Queen to send the powers required, we have so managed matters that, though at great trouble and personal inconvenience, the Queen has written to His Holiness a holograph letter, telling him her wishes. I hope it will be of use, and that the Pope, on the receipt of the letter, will decide to have the case referred to his own jurisdiction. As Your Worship wrote that your stay [at Rome] would not be of long duration, the letter will go under cover to Cardinal Santacroce, to whom, in case of Your Worship having already left Rome, full instructions shall be sent of the present cipher. It will be advisable, therefore, that the deciphering key, which is in Your Worship's possession, should be left with the person who may remain at Rome in charge of the embassy, that we may communicate mutually on all matters concerning the Imperial service.

For the Queen's marriage two different dispensations were granted by Pope Julius [the Second]. Of the first and principal, His most Serene Highness the King [of England] has an attested copy, as has also the Emperor [in Spain], similar in all respects to the copy Your Worship sent me. Of the second, which, as it is believed, was registered in the Papal chamber, there is no authentic transcript in this kingdom, but the Emperor has the original in his possession, that being the reason why the greatest efforts are now being made here to get hold of it. It is to be hoped that His Imperial Majesty will keep it very carefully, as the whole right of the Queen is based upon its contents. Were it possible to find at Rome the original draft, or at least the register book in which it was entered, it would be well to have another attested copy of it, or at least to have it carefully examined and inspected (*visitarle*), for fear of any difficulty arising hereafter.

The Queen is so in her husband's power, that the other day he made her take a most solemn oath that she would try all possible means to obtain from her nephew, the Emperor, the original brief above alluded to, and accordingly they have now compelled her to write a letter to him, asking for the brief, as if her own life depended upon it. But the Emperor has been warned beforehand that everything the Queen has written, or may write hereafter, is extorted from her. That accounts for the King of England, believing the brief not to have been duly registered [at Rome], and the original draft to have been lost, doing what he does to get hold of it, in order that he may have it put out of the way. I say all this, that the most Reverend Cardinal Santacroce, or Your Worship, if still at Rome, may duly inform the Pope of the little freedom of action the Queen has in these matters.

Your Worship is requested to inform the Cardinal, or the Imperial ambassador who may remain in charge of the

1529.

embassy after his departure, that I (Don Iñigo) happen to know from a good source that the Kings of France and England, together with Cardinal (Wolsey), are pressing the Pope to go to Avignon, whither they themselves offer to go and meet him, to devise means for preventing the Emperor's journey to Italy.—London, 25th January 1529.

Signed: "Don Indigo (*sic*) di Mendoza."

Indorsed: "De la Sma. Sa. Regina de Anglio (*sic*) y del embaxador, Don Yñigo al Sr. Joan Antonio Muscetula."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

2 Feb. 619. The EMPEROR to the CONSTABLE OF CASTILLE [DON PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE VELASCO].*

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 44,
f. 26.

Constable, our cousin, &c.,—Your letter of the 28th ulto. has been duly received. Secretary Cobos gave us an account of what you had done respecting the French Princes. We approve of all the measures proposed, with the single exception of that which concerns the household of the Princes, for although We wish them to be as well served and entertained as possible at our own expense, yet We object to their having so many titled officers (*oficiales con titulo*) about their person as come daily from France for the purpose of attending on them. Three or four gentlemen to serve at table and minister to their wants are a sufficient household for them.—Burgos, 2nd February 1529.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

2 Feb. 620. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 44,
f. 26 vº.

In addition to our letter of yesterday respecting the household of the Princes, We command you to attend to the following directions:—

You shall not allow anyone, of whatever class or condition he may be, even if he were a Grandee of Spain, or Knight of the Orders, to approach and speak to the Princes, for although We have no reason to distrust the visitors who are in the habit of going thither, or to doubt your fidelity, yet We do not wish the Princes to fancy that We consider them to be of such extreme importance (*que se haze de ellos tanta cuenta*).—Burgos, 3rd February 1529.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Addressed: "To Don Pedro de Velasco, Constable of Castille, and to his brother, the Marquis de Berlanga."†

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

* Don Iñigo having died some time before, his son, Don Pedro, succeeded in the office of Constable of Castille.

† Don Juan de Tovar, Marquis de Berlanga, and brother of the Constable, Don Pedro Fernandez de Velasco.

1529.

4 Feb.

621.

DON YÑIGO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. Div. Desp.
L 1,553, f. 304.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 16.

Up to this day, the 29th of January, the *zabra** has not entered this port, where, as well as in Flanders, she is anxiously expected, owing to the despatches that are said to be coming by her. Really believes that had she been at Pasages (*en el passage*), as she is at Vermeo (Bermeo), she might have sailed, for all those acquainted with sea matters say that the same winds that take vessels out of Bordeaux would have enabled her to come. Several have arrived here since the Nativity, and, therefore, the non-appearance of the "*zabra*" is both disappointing and suspicious. To avoid delay in these times, vessels might be stationed at La Coruña, whence they may reach this English coast with almost all winds.

Has now written by almost every [Spanish] vessel that has left England, and as he knows that all his despatches have been received, will only refer slightly to the substance of them. Announced in his last of the 16th January that the Queen was about to send one of her own servants, and the King, her husband, another, to ask conjointly for the Papal brief which the Emperor has in his possession. The Queen's servant was to be the bearer of a letter to the Emperor, begging him to comply with her wishes. All this, however, the Queen had done under compulsion, the King having previously made her swear a most solemn oath that she would do his pleasure in this matter. He (Mendoza) had entrusted the Queen's servant with a verbal message for the Emperor. Dared not give the messenger a ciphered letter from fear of his being closely watched and searched (*estrechamente catado*) on the road, the more so that before his departure he (the messenger) had been particularly warned not to take letters from the Queen, and had promised obedience. To obviate this difficulty, and that the Emperor might be properly acquainted with the King's intentions, he (Mendoza) had made the messenger learn by heart all that was required. He was to tell the Emperor confidentially that neither the Queen's own letter, nor the protest to be entered in her name, were to be relied upon, as they were not free acts of her will. The Queen's servant, Francisco Philipppo,† had to come back to London, having fallen ill on the road. Owing to this circumstance, and unwilling to deliver the message to the King's own servant, in whom she placed no trust, the Queen appointed a Spaniard of the name of Montoya, who might also retain by heart the above message, which it was calculated would release her from her oath.

* *Zabra* was a sort of light vessel, much used then on the coast of Biscay.

† The protest was entered at Viterbo by Giovanni Antonio Muxetulla, "*Patritius Neapolitanus*," and ambassador of Charles, on the 20th of July 1528. A copy of it is preserved in the Imperial Archives at Vienna (*Rep. P. Fasc. C. 224*, No. 21), thus docketed, "*Copie de l'acte de protestation faicte de la part de l'Empereur par devant le Pape à Viterbo contre tout ce que se faisait en Angleterre en la cause du divorce.*"

1529.

Though it might be inferred from the Emperor's wisdom and usual prudence in these matters that the messengers would return [to England] without the brief in question, yet to make sure of it a verbal message was given to Montoya to learn by heart, besides which his (Mendoza's) last despatch [of the 16th] contains the same warning. Of this brief in His Majesty's possession these people think much more than of the dispensation bull itself, and that is the reason why they are trying all they can to get hold of it, and put it out of the way, having, as he (Mendoza) believes, received information from Rome that, owing to some oversight of the clerks, it was not properly entered on the registers at the time. If so, the original in the Emperor's hands must be kept most carefully; though authentic copies of it, made in the presence of the English ambassadors, might be offered to those who have now gone for it. This would be rather advantageous than otherwise for the Queen's case.

A copy of the protest entered by the Imperial ambassador (Muxetula) reached him (Mendoza) in due course. He had already made every possible effort to have the suit referred to the Roman court, but the opposite party alleged that the Queen herself had not asked for this arrangement, but was, on the contrary, glad that her case should be tried here [in London]. It was important (wrote the Imperial ambassador in Rome) that the Queen should send powers to decline this privilege (*foro*) in her name, or at least write a letter in her own hand, acquainting His Holiness with her wishes.

The powers of attorney could not be granted, for the Queen is surrounded by so many spies, even within her own apartments, that it would have been impossible to grant them without the King hearing of it. The letter, however, the Queen did contrive to write, though with great difficulty, and the Pope knows by this time what little liberty of action the Queen has, and also that she and the Emperor approve and sanction all that the Imperial ambassador at Rome has asked in her name. Believes that this letter of the Queen will be sufficient to impose silence on these judges, and refer the cause to the Pope's consistory. Hitherto Cardinal Campeggio, notwithstanding the commission given to him, has persisted in his opinion that the case ought by no means to be tried here [in London] without a new and express mandate from His Holiness. This the King knows well, and he has, therefore, despatched to Rome a gentleman of his chamber, and a Doctor [in Theology],* to press the Pope for an order to begin the trial here. Is confident, however, that the justice of the Queen's cause will ultimately prevail.

The lady who is the cause of this King's misconduct (*desorden*), perceiving that her marriage, which she considered as certain, is being put off, begins to suspect that the Cardinal of England is preventing it as much as he can, from fear of

* Dr. Stephen Gardiner.

1529.

losing his power the moment she becomes Queen [of England]. This suspicion [of the lady] has been the cause of her forming an alliance with her father [Viscount Rochford], and with the two Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, to try and see whether they can conjointly ruin (*desbaratar*) the Cardinal. Hitherto they seem to have made no impression on the King, save that the Cardinal is no longer received at Court as graciously as before, and that now and then King Henry has uttered certain angry words respecting him. It is not likely, however, considering the King's condition and temper, that his displeasure will take any other form for the present.

A person of great authority informs him (Mendoza) that the King of France, as well as this King and his Cardinal, are actually urging the Pope to go to Avignon in France, where they may all meet and concoct measures to prevent the Emperor's journey to Italy. Has not been able to ascertain what the Pope has answered to such overtures, but has written in cipher to the Imperial ambassador (Muxetula), begging him to ascertain the truth of the report, and if the news be correct, to inform the Emperor immediately.

Every day the Queen's case presents a new aspect, which would render it necessary for her to despatch couriers to Rome; and yet with the little liberty she has, and her great awe of the King, she dares not send a messenger or take a step in the matter. For this reason, whenever she can write a letter she sends it to him (Mendoza) to forward; and as he, himself, has no other means of transmitting them to Rome or Spain except through Mons. de Hoochstraten [in Belgium], this minister ought to be written to to use great caution about his correspondence and have his letters forwarded to their destination. Is certain, however, that when the Queen's application reaches Rome the Pope will have the case brought before his own court, and recall his Legate (Campeggio), who, they say, is very sorry that he ever came [to this country].

With regard to the prorogation of the truce, the Cardinal is making every effort to induce him (Mendoza) to sign it at once; so is the King of France as regards the Cardinal, and the French ambassadors are doing their utmost to bring it about anyhow.

Firmly believes that the answer from Court will arrive at the same time as his *congé* to go home. Should it not be so, he (Mendoza) will not move a step in this affair except by the Emperor's express orders. It is said that the principal object of the French King in procuring the prorogation of the truce is to secure safety in his rear (*espaldas*), in case he should decide, as it is generally believed he will, to cross over to Italy, and prevent His Imperial Majesty's journey thither.

The Spanish vessels which, as announced in a former despatch, the French attacked and captured within one of the ports of this kingdom, and which were officially detained until it should be ascertained who had been the aggressors, have been released at last, and proceedings are now being

1529.

instituted to have the stolen property restored to the owners. Has been assured that everything belonging to Spaniards shall be given back to the owners, but is much afraid that very little, if any, of it will make its appearance, divided as it has been, and hidden in many places.

Has already informed His Imperial Majesty how in consequence of the report drawn up by the Collector,* who came last from Spain, the Cardinal had announced publicly that it was the Emperor's intention to inflict all possible injury on this kingdom. His Imperial Majesty is reported to have said in the presence of many of his courtiers that the very English would help him in dethroning their King (*hechar á este rey fuera deste reyno*), by which threat the assembly was so terrified that they could not well disguise their fears. The Cardinal then, to gain the good-will of the people, gave orders that no foreign artizan or merchant should be allowed to open a shop here on the plea that English-born operatives and workmen were thrown out of employment by the great numbers of foreigners resident here. The truth is that, finding the Flemings so numerous in London and in other parts of the kingdom, and wishing to become popular with the people, the Cardinal has thought of this expedient to get rid of them. Hitherto very few have left, but has been told that if the Cardinal's orders are strictly carried out, no less than 20,000 or 30,000 of those called Flemings will leave this country. Up to this day the order has been enforced only with one craft; cannot say whether the rest will be dealt with similarly.

Whilst writing the above, he (Mendoza) has heard that the King has pressed so hard upon (*apretado tan estrechamente*) these two Legates to have the Queen's case tried in London, that they have determined upon sending to Rome their two secretaries, and have held out hopes that His Holiness will grant his application. Although it is not to be supposed that the Pope will ever grant so unreasonable a request, yet this King is so blind with passion that there is nothing he will not do or promise to attain his object. Should he get what he wants, and have the case tried here, the Emperor may at once give up the Queen as condemned. In his (Mendoza's) opinion no more reliance is to be placed on the new Legate (Campeggio) than on the old one (Wolsey), and, therefore, it is for the Emperor to do his utmost at Rome to have the cause adjudicated there. This is the only way to ensure success, as until now there has been no "*lite contestada*," the only steps taken by Cardinal Campeggio having been limited to try and persuade the Queen to enter a convent, the answer having been such that he must know by this time how fruitless his attempts, and those of the King, are likely to be in this respect.

* Sylvester Dario.

1529.

Hears from the ambassador at Rome (Muxetula) that a protest and petition (*suplicacion*) have been entered by him on this affair of the Queen's. Three days ago one of the Pope's chamberlains, and a servant of the English ambassador at Rome (Casale), arrived in London. What their mission may be is not stated. He (Mendoza) conjectures that the Pope is unwilling to allow his Legates to try the case and pronounce sentence here. Owing to which the King is beginning to complain of the Cardinal, who, he says, has not fulfilled the promises he made thereupon.

Hitherto the proceedings against the Queen have been limited to obtaining, if possible, her voluntary seclusion in a nunnery; the Pope likewise joining in the attempt, though he is known to have secretly ordered his Legate (Campeggio) not to make use of the commission he brought to this country, in case the Queen refused, as she has done.

The [Imperial] ambassador writes also, that had the Queen sent her powers to some one in Rome, explained what she wants His Imperial Majesty to do for her, and what her real wishes are, the case would already have been called before the Papal Court. This, however, the Queen will not and dares not do. That is the reason why he (Mendoza) no longer insists upon her sending her powers to Rome, though she consents to let the Pope know her will by a letter in her own hand. That being done, and His Imperial Majesty helping, he (Mendoza) has no doubt that His Holiness will recall his Legate (Campeggio), for both parties to plead at his court. Has also mentioned in his former despatch the great displeasure which this Cardinal showed at hearing that the English ambassadors [in Spain] did not follow the Imperial Court, and that he would be glad to hear of their being again invited to it. He (Mendoza) thinks that in this, as well as in other things, the Emperor has done what was most suitable to his authority and reputation. The fact is that the said ambassadors from Valladolid, where they reside, do nothing else but report to the Cardinal by land and sea on Spanish affairs.*—London, 4th February 1529.

P.S.—The above was written seven days ago. The reason is that the ship (*navio*) has not sailed as early as it was thought.

On the 3rd two couriers arrived from France, one after the other, with despatches for this King. Though he (Mendoza) has been unable to ascertain their contents, he has been told that they announce the Pope's death. If true, His Majesty must know it already. It is to be presumed that the news will be unpalatable to these people; firstly, on account

* The paragraph stands thus: "Pero en esto paresce que V. Mt. ha guardado su auctoridad como en todas las otras cosas: De alli, de Valladolid, sé que los dichos embaxadores no entienden en otra cosa sino en avisar á este Cardenal, assi por mar como por tierra, de todo lo que allá passa."

1529.

of the contemplated marriage,* and the negotiations that were being carried on about it; and, secondly, because they were greatly in need of the Pope for the divorce case, though it is not probable that he would have ever consented to it. They had already, on this foundation, come to some agreement, and incurred some expense, the whole of which will be utterly lost if the Pope [Clement VII.] is really dead. This consideration, and their belief that the future Pope, whoever he may be, cannot be favourable to their views, must be the cause of the sorrow and disappointment at the news. It is generally feared that this King, together with that of France, will try to prevent any election that is not decidedly in their favour, and that a schism may spring up, for certainly so strong are the passions and envy of those two Kings that anything may be apprehended from them.

The above news of the Pope's death he has learned through the Queen herself, who has sent him a secret message thereupon. Should it not turn out true it will be the fault of the French, who are always in the habit of spreading false rumours, whenever it suits their purpose, though in the present case the circumstance of the King of France having written to this one, and of its not having been made public, makes the thing more probable.—London, *ut supra*.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

Indorsed: "Copy of a deciphered letter from Don Iñigo to the Emperor. 4th February 1528."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

6 Feb. 622. The EMPEROR to DON IÑIGO.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 44,
f. 28.¹

Your despatches of the 17th and 19th November, and 2nd of December, have been received by way of Bilbao, but those which you mention as having been sent by Sancho Martinez de Leyva have not yet come to hand. We answer them briefly and hastily, as the present messenger is to start this very night for Bilbao, where Monforte and Moqueron are already waiting for his arrival.

By the letters which the said messengers will put into your hands you will be made fully acquainted with the measures that have been taken, both here and at Rome, in behalf of Her most Serene Highness the Queen of England, our aunt. We have letters of our ambassadors† at Rome, advising the receipt of our instructions, and their having already applied to the Pope, in our name, for a revocation of former commissions, as well as the calling of the case to his Papal Court.

* "Bien creo que aqui les ha pesado a causa deste matrimonio que pensaban con los tratos que con él trayan, y con la necesidad que del Papa tenían de acabar con él lo que quisieren, aunque no es de creer de Su St. que lo hiziesse." It is to be supposed that the marriage here alluded to is that of Princess Mary to King Francis, for which a special dispensation must have been required.

† Quiñones, the General of the Franciscans, and Muxetula.



1529.

They (the ambassadors) by the last accounts entertained hopes of success. The Pope had answered, that should the Queen, our aunt, allege fear or suspicion of any sort, and ask for the suit to be tried at Rome, her petition would be granted.

Since this we have heard that the Pope has been attacked by so severe an illness that his life is despaired of. However this may be, We think that you ought still to insist upon the case being referred to Rome, as contained in your instructions, informing us, as often as possible, of all the incidents of the affair, as well as of all other matters concerning our political relations with that country.

The enclosed letter is not in cipher, in order that you may, if you consider it proper, show it to the people about Court. By so doing, the people of England, both nobles and plebeians, will be informed of our determination to take up the Queen's cause as if it were our own. A Latin translation of the same is annexed, that you may likewise use it for that purpose.—Toledo, 6th February 1529.

Spanish. Original minute in cipher. pp. 2.

6 Feb. 623. The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.

Salazar, A. 44,

f. 27.

B. M. Add. 28,578,

f. 21.

Most Reverend Father in Christ, Bishop of Burgos, of our Council, and our ambassador in England,—Through various ways we have been informed of the great and urgent endeavours (*instancias*) which in many and strange ways His most Serene Highness the King of England is making to dissolve the legitimate marriage between him and the Queen, his wife, our most beloved aunt. We are sadly grieved at an affair so scandalous for Christendom at the present time,* so nearly affecting the honour and conscience of His most Serene Highness the King [of England], and one from which so many evils might spring up in that kingdom [of England], the matter being so injurious to the honour of the said Queen, our aunt, and of the illustrious Princess, her legitimate daughter, and our most beloved cousin.

We firmly believe this conduct to emanate not from the King's own free will, but solely from the sinister persuasions and intrigues of some persons who, for the sake of their own private interests and wicked purposes (*dañados fines*), and from their lust of power (*codicia y ambicion*), have deceived him. We are sure that all the good people of that kingdom, prelates as well as knights, and indeed the nation in general, who respect our Mother, the Holy Church [of Christ], and her authority, will share our pain and grief in this matter, knowing, as they do, that this marriage has been most solemnly made, and celebrated with the authority and express permission of the Holy Apostolic See, and that it has been maintained and continued for many years without

* "De la qual nos ha pesado mucho, especialmente en este tiempo en la republica Christiana muy escandaloso."

1529.

scruple of any sort, and with great love and harmony between the parties; knowing also the kindness, honesty, and virtues of the said Queen, and prudently weighing in their minds the inconveniences and evils which might result if the divorce were to be accomplished.

The above reasons, as well as our respect for the authority of the Holy Apostolic See and the welfare of Christendom at large, our close relationship with our aforesaid aunt and cousin, besides the good-will, affection, and friendship which we profess to the King and his subjects, the English, oblige and compel us (*estamos obligados y aun forçados*) to hinder the said divorce, and strenuously to uphold and maintain the rights of the Queen. To this end our ambassadors have in our name requested and besought our most Holy Father, the Pope, to have the cause summoned (*avocada*), tried, and sentenced at Rome in his own consistory and Holy Apostolic See, not elsewhere, in order to avoid hostile influences and corruption (*por evitar favores*), and that the case may be proceeded with juridically, without fear, as common right requires, as it is one which so nearly concerns the Apostolic See, and is so important of itself that it could not well be tried in those parts, considering that the King has shown so violent a desire for this divorce, and his ministers made use of such devices, passions, and wicked intrigues, and the Queen herself been treated in so strange a manner.

We hereby then charge and expressly command you to ask and demand in our own name and in that of the Queen conjointly—though she herself may declare through intimidation, or force, persuasion, fear, and other like intrigues that she is opposed to the measure—that the trial be immediately referred for judgment to the Apostolic See. This you will propose and request in the presence of any persons whomsoever, of whatever rank and authority in that kingdom [of England], who shall take part themselves or interfere in the said trial. And you are moreover to request and summon the said persons to desist therefrom, and have the case referred to the Holy Apostolic See; protesting, of course, of the nullity of the action, and appealing to Rome,* and if necessary to the next General Council, citing and summoning each and every one of them individually and by their own names to appear at the court of Rome, or before the said General Council, as it may be. You will besides employ, for the better prosecution of this object, all other means and remedies pointed out in our former letter,† and generally use all diligence and discretion (*buen recaudo*) in a matter which We take so much to heart, determined as We are to uphold and defend to the utmost of our power the rights of the Queen, our

* "Protestando de nullidad y apelacion para la dicha Sede Apostolica, y syno fuere, para el futuro Concilio, y de emplazarlos á ellos y á cada uno dellos en su proprio y particular nombre."

† See above, No. 622.

1529.

aunt, as We have no doubt the rest of her relations will do also. In this manner We hope for the sake of Christendom at large so scandalous a divorce as the one proposed by the King [of England] shall not take place; one of such weight to his conscience, so shameful and injurious to the parties concerned, and out of which so many evils might result to that kingdom of England, with which, owing to the old and inviolable friendship maintained by our predecessors and by ourselves, and owing also to the circumstance of our said aunt and cousin being the King's wife, We are as closely bound and connected as with our own.—Toledo, 6th February 1529.

Indorsed: "The Emperor to the Bishop of Burgos."

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 4.

7 Feb. 624. ANDREA DORIA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,362,
f. 103.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578,
f. 23.

Encloses a despatch from Leyva, and also copies of two letters from France, which have been intercepted in the Duchy of Milan. Has no news to report either from Naples or Rome.

From the contents of the latter* the Emperor will be able to judge of the plans of the confederates. They are actually terrified at the idea of His Imperial Majesty coming over, because they know very well that, when once the Emperor has set his foot in Italy, every chance is irretrievably lost for them. In his (Doria's) opinion, if the threatened invasion of Navarre and other points of the Spanish frontier by the French is not a mere bravado, it shows how hopeless they consider their cause elsewhere.—Genoa, 7th February 1529.

Signed: "Andrea Doria."

Italian. Original. pp. 1½.

15 Feb. 625. CARDINAL SANTACROCE to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848,
f. 114.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578,
f. 24.

Has written two letters since his arrival at Rome. Doubts whether they have reached their destination. This, which is the third, goes by the same route.

And first will write about the Pope's illness. He has been 24 days in bed, and although somewhat better now, is not yet considered out of danger. Some say that he pretends to be worse than he really is, that he may, if the wind changes, sail in another direction (*por esperar lo que hará el tiempo para girar la vela*). He seems still very determined, should God give him health, to undertake the journey to Spain, for the sake, as he asserts, of the peace of Christendom. Such, indeed, was his declaration before the whole College of Cardinals when he thought he was going to die.

* The copies of Leyva's despatch and of the intercepted letters are not to be found at Simancas.

1529.

His projected journey to Spain some attribute to mundane and secular motives rather than to a desire for the increase of the Papal dignity (*mas á humanidad que a la dignidad*). He (Santacroce) thinks that both motives have been at work. However this may be, the Pope wishes for the journey because he says it cannot but result in God's glory and the Emperor's. The project has been communicated to the King of France, who, they say, highly disapproved of it at first, though lately he has somewhat relented [*a amaynado*].

Respecting the English business, positive orders have been sent to Campeggio not to deliver sentence, but bring the case to Rome to be tried by the Sacred College of Cardinals; but this is a great secret. It was a pity that the Queen never appealed [to Rome] or sent anyone to do it in her name. Whoever advised her committed a great mistake. The English are still stirring the fire, and this very day a new ambassador* has arrived from London.

As the Pope fell ill two days after his (Santacroce's) arrival at Rome, not much has been done. Yet both [Juan] Antonio Muxetula and he have managed since, though with the greatest difficulty, to obtain an audience for the purpose of reminding him of his promise about the Crusade (*para la egecucion de la cruzada y quarta*). Everything was immediately granted in the same form and manner applied for, but the expedition of the "quarta," as it had to be made fresh, could not be ready so soon owing to the Pope's illness. The bulls for the crusade, however, having been drawn before his (Santacroce's) departure, an order was given for their delivery, though they will not be considered valid until after the fortresses are restituted, &c.

Meanwhile the liberation of the cardinals kept as hostages at Naples, and the explanation which he (Santacroce) gave respecting the fortresses, are looked upon as a great testimony of His Imperial Majesty's Catholic intentions in this affair, as the Pope saw that we gave him facts, not words. We might indeed have had the glory of it, had not the soldiers taken away all merit from the thing, by not being satisfied with having their arrears paid, but insisting upon other gains.† It is, however, no fault of theirs, but of those who instigate them, saying there is delay in the fulfilment of the conditions. Indeed, had he (Santacroce) done what the Prince of Orange recommended, when the Pope was in danger of death, a schism would have immediately sprung up in the Church, for which His Majesty the Emperor would have been made responsible, because out of 15 cardinals then at Rome, eight wanted to go out of the city and elect a Pope on the plea that they had no liberty for the election,

* Gardiner?

† "Pero esta vanagloria nos quitan los soldados que no contentos con pagarles lo que se les debe piden otras ganancias."

1529.

as the fortresses were not in the possession of the Church. The cause seemed very bad, and the effect still worse.*

Many of the Emperor's servants at Rome were disgusted with the manner of conducting affairs at Naples, where the rigour is such that three fourths of the nobles will be declared *fuorusciti*, and emigrate to escape punishment. The officials who govern that kingdom seem intent upon following the example of the Samnites in the times of Rome; but this ought not to be tolerated, for the whole of the kingdom will be destroyed without profit to the Emperor. The confiscated estates are now given to soldiers, who will sell them the next day, and as they have begun to do this eagerly (*á cobar en esto*) it naturally follows that most frequently the just pay for the unjust.

Here in Italy it would seem as if His Imperial Majesty had three capital enemies, namely, 1st. Lack of money. This, however, is a common evil which at this moment afflicts all parties. 2nd. Incautiousness in sending or receiving advices; and 3rd. License and insubordination among the soldiers. The Emperor's journey is here given out as certain. The King of France was the first to announce it to the Venetians, telling them that he himself contemplated coming [to Italy] in person, upon which the Signory speak of arming 60 large galleys. Recollects having told the Emperor, when the journey was first thought of, that its announcement would be detrimental rather than otherwise; but since the affair has become public he (Santacroce) explains the journey in a different way, saying that the Emperor does not come to Italy [to subdue it], for the whole country may be considered as being already in his power, but only on his way to a more distant destination. Cardinal Sanctiquatuor showed him the other day a memorandum in three sheets, the substance of which was to relate many abominations which, the writer says, are committed in those kingdoms [of Spain], not only against the freedom and privileges of the Church, but in the manner of preaching the Crusade. As the paper came when the Pope was ill, more attention was paid to its contents than at any other season. It had the effect of somewhat disturbing the concession, though in the end the Pope granted it as aforesaid. Cannot conceive who was the author of the paper. It was written in Spanish and in Spain, and it was forwarded by the Bishop of Pistoya.—Rome, 15th February 1529.

Signed : "Fr. Card. Sancta."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

16 Feb. 626. The EMPEROR to MUXETULA.

S. E. L. 1,554,
f. 633.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 52.

Your despatches dated the 21st of August, 25th and 27th of October, 22nd and 28th November [of last year], and 13th of January have come to hand. We are aware of your good

*"La causa me parecia muy mala y el efecto aun peor."

1529.

services at that Court, not only in persuading His Holiness to return to Rome, but also in wisely conducting other affairs and negotiations entrusted to your care.

What you tell us about the rebellious barons of Naples is very praiseworthy, and a good proof of your zeal in your service. As soon as the French are totally expelled from that kingdom We shall take care that justice is done, and the traitors punished as they deserve.

With regard to the business of our aunt, the most Serene Highness the Queen of England, We fancy that you are not sufficiently well informed, because We know for certain that Cardinal Campeggio took to England express orders from the Pope to proceed at once with the trial, as you will see by the enclosed copy of his instructions.* We know also that the said Cardinal [Campeggio], who was the bearer of a Papal brief in his credence addressed to the Queen, advised her at the time to go into a convent, which step, he said, was greatly recommended by His Holiness to prevent greater scandal and trouble. The Queen, however, looking to her own honour and reputation, refused, and though she did not dare remonstrate at the time, and state whom she suspected of this suggestion (*alegar el lugar sospechoso*), and not having by her either documents or advocates and solicitors to defend herself properly,—especially as the case was of such a nature, and the King himself the promoter of the suit,—yet there is no reason whatever for having a case of this sort and of so much importance tried [in England], the place not being secure for the Queen, nor one to which We can safely forward the original brief of dispensation which is in our possession. We consider that our own request—being, as we are, so closely allied to the Queen, and so much interested in maintaining the validity of the dispensation, as well as in upholding the power, authority, and pre-eminence of the Holy See to grant such privileges—is sufficient, and that it is our duty, though the Queen, desirous of avoiding scandal, had not applied for it, to claim in this instance the protection and favour of the Holy See, and to request that the case be tried before his sacred consistory, and the commission given to Cardinal Campeggio revoked. We, therefore, command you to beg His Holiness in our name to have the cause brought before his Court, notwithstanding any contrary steps taken by the new English ambassadors to prevent a thing so just and reasonable.

Respecting the commission which Don Iñigo de Mendoça, our ambassador in England, has given you to search in the registers [of the Dataria] for the draft of the brief of dispensation above alluded to, do this by all means; but even if the register should be missing, this would be no impediment to the establishment of the Queen's right and justice, for We have already sent her an authentic copy of it, informing her

* Not in the Archives.

1529.

at the same time that the original brief was, and is, in our possession.

Your last despatch of the 13th January mentions the Pope's dangerous illness, at which We are very much affected, considering the troubles into which Christianity might be plunged by his death, and the schisms likely to arise in the Church. Should His Holiness be alive, as We have no doubt he will be on the receipt of this letter, since he was better on the 16th of December, We command you to wait on him, conjointly with Cardinal Santacroce and Doctor Miger Mai, who must already have declared our intentions and proposed the means for him to carry out his.* Should God our Lord have ordered otherwise concerning him, We wish you to know that our intention and will is to have no party Pope elected, but one who may be a common father and shepherd of the Christian flock. Say then and declare to all [the cardinals], that on no account, either from fear of our armies,—for which the Prince [of Orange] will give all the securities demanded,—or from any other scruple whatsoever, is the college to break up and quit Rome, but, on the contrary, it is to proceed to the election of a new Pope in a free and canonical manner, not yielding to passion or private affection, but looking solely to God's service and the good of Christianity.

Bishop of Utrecht, &c.

Though Miger Mai may have arrived, We wish you still to remain some little time at Rome instructing him about the affairs of that embassy, and not to quit without first consulting the Prince of Orange.—Toledo, 16th February 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

16 Feb. 627. The EMPEROR to CARDINAL SANTACROCE.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 44,
f. 33.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 55.

Your despatches of the 10th and 13th ulto. have been duly received. We are glad to hear that Your Reverence has reached Rome in safety, but We grieve at His Holiness' sudden and dangerous illness, as advised by Your Reverence. His loss at the present time, when he seemed better disposed towards us, would be indeed a great misfortune, not only for us, but for the whole of Christendom, should the bad passions and intrigues of certain parties succeed† in creating some schism [in the Church]. Yet as We have not since heard from Rome, We trust that the danger has passed away, and that the Pope is well again.

We are glad to hear that Your Reverence has found an opportunity of assuring the assembled cardinals that it is not our intention, in case of His Holiness' demise, which may

* "Los quales havran ya declarado á Su Santidad nuestra intencion y dado medio como él pueda executar la suya."

† "Por los muchos y graves inconvenientes que de su muerte en toda la Christiandad se podrian recrescer, especialmente si por las malas artes de algunos que entendemos començar ya en alguna manera á tramarlo, se nos levantasse algun scisma."

1529.

God forbid, to promote or help in any way the election of a party Pope, but only that of one who may be the common Father of the Faithful. You may assure them in our name that, should a new election take place, they need not for fear of our arms quit Rome, and select some other spot for their meetings, for We now write to the Prince of Orange [Philibert de Chalon] to give all possible securities that the College of Cardinals shall not be disturbed in its election. And as Your Reverence says that the Prince has hitherto been found very ready and disposed to fulfil our orders and instructions respecting the delivery of the hostages and fortresses, We have no doubt that you will find him equally so to follow your advice and that of other experienced ministers in these matters, for We repeat our only wish is that, should the present Pope die, the election be made at Rome independently, and without pressure from any of the belligerent powers. Even if he (the Prince) should delay the delivery of the fortresses until the declaration of the new election, there will be no harm done, as no inconvenience could thereby arise that could not be immediately remedied by fulfilling towards the new Pope the terms promised to his predecessor.*

Your Reverence's oration to the Pope and to the Sacred College of Cardinals, and the declaration which the former made in consequence, have met with our entire approbation. May His Holiness live to fulfil his holy intentions! Your Reverence did right in bidding Juan Antonio Muxetula to remain at his post until the arrival of Miçer Mai. We now command him expressly not to quit Rome without permission from the Prince of Orange.—Toledo, 16th February 1529.

Since the above was written another letter has been received, dated the 16th ulto., wherein Your Reverence announces His Holiness' gradual recovery from his past illness. We rejoice at it, as you may imagine. May God restore his health completely, and grant him as long a life as We wish him, and as is required for the welfare of Christendom!

The Pope's holy determination to undertake so toilsome a journey as this of Spain in order to visit us, and ensure the establishment of a good and lasting peace between the Christian Princes, is one that We cannot sufficiently applaud and commend. We thank His Holiness most sincerely for it, but let him come as soon as possible, as We are presently going to Barcelona to meet him, and such is our desire to see him, and such our anxiety to procure the blessings of peace, that We might perhaps be obliged to go on, and thus spare him the trouble of coming to us.

* "Y aunque diffriesse la restitution de las fortalezas hasta la declaracion de la nueva eleccion no será tanto el inconveniente que no se pueda luego reparar, cumpliendo con el sucesor lo que se habia de cumplir con el defuncto."

1529.

We are sorry to hear that Rome and its neighbourhood are suffering from want of wheat.

As Master Davalos must have arrived [in Rome] by this time and delivered our message, We need not add that Your Reverence's private business is in our hands, and what We intend doing in it for the present. We shall never forget the promises we made you before parting.

The Siennese have no reason to complain of and be displeased with us, for in reality We have neither granted nor refused their demands. The real truth is that our time has been so much taken up by more important affairs that We have had no leisure to think about them.

The Papal Nuncio (Baldassar Castiglione) at this our court died the other day. We have felt his death much, for he was a very fit person to maintain friendship between His Holiness and us. We beg you to see that the heirs of the said Nuncio, and principally his nephew, Miçer Ludovico, now at our court, and of whose good qualities and virtues We have been informed, be treated [at Rome] with due consideration, and held as persons possessing our esteem and confidence, and fit to obtain ecclesiastical benefices from the Apostolic Chamber.

Respecting the business of our aunt, Her most Serene Highness the Queen of England, We can only repeat here the substance* of what We write to Miçer Mai, &c.—Toledo, — February 1529.

16 Feb. 628. The EMPEROR to ANTONIO DE LEYVA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 44,
f. 37.

B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 28.

Spectabilis et Magnifice vir, capitaneus et Status Mediolani gubernator, fidelis noster et dilecte, &c.,—Your letters of the 25th and 29th November 1528 by the Prior of Barletta, and those of the 7th of January by Barahona, present bearer, have been duly received. We thank you very earnestly for the care you take of our affairs, and for your promptness in informing us of whatever you deem important for our service. Your advice respecting our journey to Italy has so far met with our approbation that We are actually preparing for it, and purpose leaving this town (Toledo) for Barcelona on the 1st of March. Already most active steps are being taken at Cartagena for the embarkation of a large force of infantry and cavalry that is to accompany us, as well as of a large quantity of wheat (*pan*) for the support of those forces, in case Italy should be, as is apprehended, in want of that article. The government of these our kingdoms during our absence is to remain in the hands of our beloved wife the Empress [Isabella], who is also to take care of our son Philip and of the Infanta [Doña Maria]. Without stopping on the road We purpose spending the Holy Week at Monserrate, and thence going to Barcelona to hasten the embarkation. The

* See the instructions to Muxetula, No. 626, p. 894.

1529.

transport ships from Cartagena, the Sicilian and Neapolitan squadrons, as well as the galleys of Andrea Doria, are to meet us at Rosas [in Catalonia], whence We hope to sail on the 1st of May. Respecting our landing in Italy, although Genoa seems to us for many reasons a fit place for it, as you point out in one of your last despatches, We have not yet made up our mind where it will be, as counsel changes with time (*tiempo muda consejo*), and between this and the day of our embarkation things might happen to modify our opinion ; but We shall take care to inform you and the Prince of Orange of our movements. Meanwhile We keep constantly writing to the Prince to organise his army, so that after leaving part of his forces before Barletta and Trani he may march with the remainder to Lombardy, where he may, in conjunction with you, inflict all possible harm on the enemy. Should, however, our arrival [in Italy] take place before the signature of the peace, which is now being negotiated, you and the Prince will take particular care to take up such positions with the forces under your command that the enemy cannot intercept our march towards you. In the event, moreover, of the war continuing, our brother of Hungary has been instructed by us to enlist 10,000 German infantry and 2,000 Burgundian horse, with 1,000 draft horses for the light artillery. As our orders were peremptory and the money duly remitted, We hope that this force will be by this time either descending into Italy, or so far on its way as to enter it at our landing. Should there be any difficulty about this, We fully authorise you to write in our name to the King of Hungary, and ask him to hasten the departure of the reinforcements, or if you consider that any portion of them is required in Lombardy, to ask for them at once. Your prevision and care in securing the friendship of the Grisons, that they may not oppose the passage of these troops over their territory, is highly commendable, as well as all other military precautions adopted by you, for certainly in our opinion the best way to obtain peace is to be fully prepared for war.

With regard to the Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) We partake of your opinion that his present neutrality must be encouraged, so as to make him declare openly in our favour. Certainly an ambassador of his is now at our court as a mediator of peace between us and the King of France ; but this must be said of him, that hitherto he has done or said nothing to prove his master's good intentions, though at the first audience he (the ambassador) asked for some military post for the Marquis that might enable him, as he said, to wage war on the Venetians, and take some important town from them ; yet in the note which he afterwards presented to our Council he only mentioned vaguely some military command wherewith he might employ himself in our service ;

1529.

after which, in conversation with one of our councillors, he hinted that the post of commander-in-chief of our forces in Lombardy would be acceptable. Nor were his overtures about the peace of a more definite nature, for he only brought us a memorandum in French, given to him in France, and containing only part of the offers rejected at the conferences of Palencia and Burgos. After this, the ambassador having suggested that, if required, he was ready to return to Italy by sea, not through France, We decided that he should take the sea route and embark with us at Barcelona, the more so that We were afraid of his reporting to the Marquis—as these foreign ambassadors are in the habit of doing—on what he has seen here in Spain, and the military preparations for our Italian expedition. All of a sudden, however, the Mantuan ambassador changed his mind, declaring that he would not go by sea, but through France. Were he to do so, he said, “his master, the Marquis, would be suspected; the confederates were still in force in Italy; they might fall upon and destroy him.” This refusal of the Mantuan ambassador is likely to be the cause—as he has already been told by one of our councillors—of his master’s application not being responded to as well or as quickly as he at first imagined. In short, as We cannot forcibly retain him at our court, should he insist upon taking the route of France against our will, We purpose that our answer to his master’s overtures be thus conceived: “With regard to his offers of service We feel very grateful, and will seize the very first opportunity to make use of them. He is to consult you (Leyva) as to the manner in which he can best be employed in Lombardy or elsewhere. If after this the Marquis should allude to his desire of obtaining the command in chief of the Imperial forces, he is to be told with all courtesy that the Prince of Orange having filled that post until now to our great satisfaction, We could not, without injury to his honour, deprive him thereof; and that besides our shortly intended journey to Italy will make the said post unnecessary, as wherever We are We need no captain-general for our forces. You will tell him that the overtures of peace brought by his ambassador were of such a nature as to be unworthy of consideration, but that he will always find us inclined to an honourable settlement of all difficulties, and ready to show him favour.”

After the above was decided and written, the Mantuan ambassador called again and offered to abandon his project of a land journey through France, and return to Italy by sea, provided the following two conditions were granted: the first was that his master, the Marquis, should be empowered to treat with Venice, and induce her to desert the League and join her forces to his, so as to expel the French from Lombardy. The better to calm the fears of the Venetians, and secure their co-operation for this enterprise, the Marquis, he sug-

1529.

gested, ought to be authorised to promise in the Emperor's name that, as soon as the French should be ejected from Milan, the Duchy should be divided into two portions as the Pò runs, leaving to Venice that part which is now in the hands of the confederates, and giving the Cremonese to the Marquis.

The other condition was that, in order the better to remove the suspicions of the French, it should appear as if We had compelled him to return to Italy by sea, for which purpose Marco Pio, the Ferrarese ambassador, who had left for France under a safe-conduct, ought to be overtaken and obliged also to take the sea route, &c.

These proposals of the Mantuan ambassador could not possibly be accepted, as it was evident that he only aimed at ascertaining what our plans and intentions were respecting the Italian Princes. It was, therefore, decided in our Council to detain the Mantuan at our court, and not let him proceed on his journey by land or sea, until We ourselves embarked at Barcelona, the more so that We hear that his master, the Marquis, has publicly announced there [in Italy], as well as here [in Spain], that he is about to enter into a treaty of alliance (*concertarse*) with France, and marry the daughter of Mons. de Labret, which intelligence has since been confirmed by the ambassadors of the Marchioness of Monferrato (Margaret) and of her son, the Marquis (Bonifacio), who assert that the Marquis of Mantua (Gonzaga) had sent a chaplain of his to Casale to renounce and break off, before a public notary and witnesses, his engagement to a daughter of the Marchioness [Margaret].

Should, therefore, any overtures about the dismemberment of the Duchy, above alluded to, be made to you, either on the Signory's side or on that of the Marquis of Mantua, you are to treat the matter as if you were ignorant of it, and had no suspicion whatever of the Marquis' double dealing in this particular. You will tell them that you do not think it probable that We shall ever consent to the said dismemberment unless the justice or injustice of the Duke Francesco [Sforza] be previously established and declared. But that in the event of the said Duke being judicially deprived of his estate as having no right whatever to it, then in that case, and provided it was thought expedient for the pacification and repose of Italy, and to remove the suspicions and fears generally entertained by Italians of our intending the said Duchy for ourselves or giving it to our brother (Ferdinand). We might allow and tolerate the aforesaid dismemberment in the manner most compatible with our honour and interests. This, however, must be stated merely as a private opinion of your own, and not as if it came from us.

Your idea of sending a trusty man to France, along with the agent of Monferrato, that he might report on the affairs of that country, was an excellent one, and We beg you to do

1529.

the same whenever an opportunity offers itself. It is always important to know what our enemies say about us. As to the advices which you say have lately come from the Duke of Savoy, purporting that the troops now being raised in our Spanish dominions are destined to accompany us to Italy, they are quite correct. The Duke had an agent here who saw the preparations made, and who, on his return to Savoy, divulged the fact.

Of your readiness to serve under the Prince of Orange as commander-in-chief, and implicitly obey his orders, We felt sure. No harm can result therefrom to your honour or well-established military reputation. We are convinced that the Prince will never command anything without your approval, and that he will follow your advice in everything.

With regard to the grants and confirmations which you say "will be made in future with moderation, and in the most convenient form," We know not what to think of such declaration, having never allowed any such grants to be made in our name, but, on the contrary, having refused to confirm those made in the estate of Milan by the Duke of Bourbon or by yourself, insisting always that until the justice or injustice of the Duke Francesco Sforza was openly proved and established We did not intend interfering in those matters. We have hitherto dissembled and allowed those upon whom such grants have been bestowed to retain them, without approving or disapproving of your acts and the Duke's; and this We have done out of regard for you, and from fear of being called an unjust Prince (*por no aquerer la voz y fama de principe injusto*); but We have never given any hope to the parties. We marvel much, therefore, that, under the excuse of the said grants and confirmations that We are supposed to have made, a number of people have arrived at this our court, in representation of the Castellan of Mus (Giangiacopo de' Medici), of Count Philipppo Torniello, and others, bearing letters of commendation from you, and asking for the confirmation of pensions and lands which they assert have been granted by you. We cannot answer these people in different terms from other applicants. We cannot confirm any alienations of territory or grants made in the estate of Milan until the justice or injustice of the Duke Francesco be duly established. It is to be presumed that the said applicants or their agents will not be pleased with this our answer, and that when they hear of it they will be inclined to desert you (*desampararos*), and, with what you have already given them, go over to the enemy. As this, however, would be highly injurious to our interests under present circumstances, and especially before our own arrival in Italy, We will delay an answer to their applications until the very time of our embarkation at Barcelona, that they may not be advised of it and commit treachery previous to our arrival in Italy.

1529.

Having some misgivings that the aforesaid error originated in some mistake of the clerk who copied the instructions given to Rivadeneyra—especially as We had seen the letter which you addressed to Jean Lallemand by Barahona, advising him of the grant of an annual pension on that Duchy, amounting to 1,000 ducats, payable by Francisco Dada (d'Adda), banker of Milan—We ordered the said draft to be carefully inspected, when it was found that the following words had been intercalated without our knowledge, *i.e.*, “as it has been verbally related to you.” The said Jean Lallemand being now in prison for various misdemeanours, We believe that it must have been he who, for his own profit and for the sake of the pension he expected to get from you, had the said words inserted by the clerk. We wish you to command Rivadeneyra in our name to write down the very words which were told him by mouth (*de boca*), besides those contained in the instructions, and who spoke them to him. We command you also to write very explicitly on this point, and let us know what the aforesaid Rivadeneyra told you verbally respecting the affair of Jean Lallemand and his pension of 1,000 ducats, as well as the grants and confirmations which it is stated you were to make in the estate of Milan. And let this be done as secretly as possible, and come by the next post.

The agreement entered into with the Germans, Spaniards, and Italians of that army, and the way in which you have managed to keep them on under your banner, appears to us excellent. We thank you for your exertions and the trouble you have taken in the affair. The accounts sent by Barahona have also been received, as well as your estimates of the money wanted monthly for the support of that army from the 1st of January. Now in this estimate We find that the pay of the Germans alone is put down at 18,500 ducats per month, which is nearly double the sum usually spent for such a service; for if We are rightly informed—and Barahona himself owns it—the number of Germans does not exceed 3,000, and their usual pay three *cr.* per month, which would make 9,000 *cr.* Now, as a charge of this sort is most unusual and cannot be overlooked, We wish to know on what authority the said Germans have been paid double their usual allowance, or whether there be some error in the accounts.

As to remitting funds in specie or bills of exchange for the support of the forces under your command, We fear that the thing is exceedingly difficult, if not altogether impossible. We want all our resources for this Italian expedition, and cannot divert any of the funds that the Cortes have voted for that purpose, and which come in very slowly. But We shall send you a ship laden with wheat, wherewith to feed your men, and pressing orders shall be sent to the Prince of Orange to succour you from Naples, and to our brother [Ferdinand] to hasten the departure of the Germans and Burgundians.

1529.

Andrea Doria wishes very much to land on the coast of Provence, and asked for permission to borrow 20,000 or 25,000 ducats, wherewith he says he can raise 8,000 hackbutiers. With these, and 2,000 men of the Genoese and the Spaniards lately landed [in that port], besides the crews of his galleys, Doria maintains that he is able to inflict great injury on the French. If this plan is disapproved, he says that with such a force, and some assistance from you, he can very easily reduce Alessandria [della Palla], which would be a great advantage in the present state of the war. If you think that the intended expedition to Provence will distress our enemies, and improve your position in Lombardy, and will not be an obstacle to Doria's galleys being at Barcelona towards the end of April, ready to escort us to Italy, We authorise you, in union with the said Doria, to prepare and plan the aforesaid expedition, and borrow from 20,000 to 30,000 ducats, to be paid at one of the fairs of these kingdoms, at the longest possible dates, and lowest rate of interest. And in case of the expedition to Provence being abandoned, and that of Alessandria decided upon, you shall take care to inform us, as soon as possible, that your bills and those of Doria may be honoured when presented, for We would not for the world injure our credit in a thing which concerns that captain.

The agreement made with the Lord of Monigo (Monaco) We approve entirely. You are right; nothing can be so important to our interests as to get possession of that port and castle, and, therefore, We beg you to give all your attention to seeing that it is arranged in the best possible manner, for which end We enclose you a copy of the memorandum sent by the Lord Bishop. Though the demands made by his agent at this court seem to us rather exorbitant, especially in what concerns the lands and estates in Spain,—which We should have preferred giving in Milan or Naples,—yet We hope that through your means he will be brought to reason. If you could so manage that he consents to receive half the indemnity in the kingdom of Granada, and the other half in Italy, this arrangement would suit us best; but if you cannot, and he insists on having the whole of it in Spain, let it be so, on condition that one half of the stipulated indemnity consists of villages and vassals in the aforesaid kingdom of Granada, and the other half “en juro perpetuo de heredad.” As Lope de Soria will soon come to Spain, with our permission, on a pilgrimage to the Virgin of Moncayo [in Aragon], you will direct him to pass through Monaco, on his way to Genoa, that he may see Agostino Grimaldo there, treat of this affair with him, and bring us his final resolution.

Respecting the Marquis of Monferrato,* whom you reported in your last despatch as being in delicate health, and your wishing to know how you were to act in case of his dying,

* Bonifacio VI., son of Guglielmo VI., who died in 1530, and was succeeded by his uncle, Jean George Paleologue, Bishop of Casale.

1529.

We have nothing to answer, the Marquis having since recovered his health, and sent an agent to this our court for the purpose of offering his services. Your suggestions about the marriage of the Marquis and his sisters, as well as the information received from your confidential agent at Vercelli, will be taken into account. In the meantime this and other matters are left to your discretion, with this proviso, that we do not wish for a decisive step before our arrival in Italy.

With regard to the Marquis of Monte Sarchio, since We have not yet disposed of any part of the property belonging to the rebellious Neapolitan barons,—which is to be valued first, and distributed afterwards among those who, like you and him, have served us well,—We intend to leave matters just as they are until our arrival. The letter you asked for Giovan Paulo Sforza is here enclosed. You will make the best use of it for our service.

The differences which you say exist in Switzerland on account of the Lutheran sect, some of the cantons having determined to follow it, might, after all, be advantageous for us, as We might ultimately favour and help those who profess our Holy Catholic Faith. If you could send thither a trusty and confidential agent, who would manage to fan the fire of discord among them, so as to prevent either party from giving help to our enemies, or at least induce them to remain neutral, considerable advantages might be gained thereby. Barahona will explain to you how and in what manner.—Toledo, 16th February 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 7.

20 Feb. **629.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING OF BOHEMIA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 71, f. 206 v^o.

Pedro de Ascoytia left Madrid for Flanders four and a half months ago. Since then Secretary Gabriel Sanchez, Noguero*, the Emperor's steward, and Monforte, his gentleman in waiting, have also left with despatches. They have all, however, been detained in port, owing to stress of weather. Sanchez wrote on the 11th inst. to say that all attempts to set sail had been in vain; they had been obliged to return to port.

On the first day of Lent His Imperial Majesty resolved upon going to Barcelona, and embarking for Italy on the 1st of March. Great preparations are now being made to that end, as His Highness will see by his brother's letter.—Toledo, 20th February 1529.†

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

* Moquerol in the original.

† Though this letter is distinctly dated 20th February 1528, there must be an error, or it must be admitted that Salinas' secretary in this single instance adopted the old style of calendaring, and made the year end in April. For at that time the Emperor was still at Burgos, and returned to Madrid in March. The journey to Barcelona, and subsequently to Bologna, to be crowned, did not take place until the next year (1529), it having been decided upon at Toledo, where he resided from the middle of October to the beginning of March.

1529.

22 Feb. 630. The EMPEROR to LEYVA.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 44,
 f. 37.
 B. M. *Add.* 28,578,
 f. 44.

Since We wrote last* your despatches of the 18th, together with letters of Count Belgiojoso of the 31st, and of Giuliano della Spezzia and Andrea Doria of the 1st of February, have come to hand. Considering our resolution to procure bills of exchange, and not to make use of the credit granted to Andrea Doria, except in the form and manner contained in our letter of the 16th, and not exceeding the sum of 30,000 ducats expressly named, We cannot help wondering that, without waiting for our answer to the "consulta," you and the above-mentioned captains have proceeded to draw upon our Treasury for so great a sum, and at so short date that it will be impossible for our treasurer to honour the said bills at once, unless the funds destined for our Italian expedition be diverted, and our journey retarded. We find, besides, that instead of limiting yourselves to the sum specified by you and Count Belgiojoso in your despatches, the bills drawn, four in number, amount to the sum of 43,652 gold ducats, of which 35,000 are payable 10 days after sight, and the remainder at 30 days. Besides which, the bill of the 35,000 is drawn by Andrea Doria and Count Belgiojoso conjointly, which makes us suspect that when the latter signed the bill he paid no attention to the sum, for otherwise he would have consulted you, knowing, as he did, that he was only authorised at the most to draw for 25,000. We also find that the three bills drawn by Andrea Doria amount altogether to 8,652 ducats; and as he only says in his letter to us that he has spent the money for the support of the new Spanish infantry, which must have been provided for in some other way, We really do not know how to account for the enormous difference between the estimates made by Doria, the Count, and yourself, and the sums actually drawn at so peremptory a term. Until a proper explanation be forwarded respecting these bills We have refused acceptance, though We have made arrangements with the holders of them to pay them an interest until they are reimbursed.

We command you in future not to draw upon us or borrow money in our name; not to use any further the credit sent to Doria, observing that the permission given to you in our letter of the 16th of spending 20,000 or 25,000 cr. for one of the two undertakings, that of Provence, or that of Alessandria, must be considered as altogether exhausted (*esperada y consumida*), in consequence of these bills now drawn upon us, for We consider that what with the 20,000 bushels (*hanegas*) of wheat which are about to be sent to you, and which you can sell at very high prices, and what with such taxes and duties as may be levied in the estate of Milan, you have enough to keep your ground until our arrival.

* The Emperor's letter of the 16th will be found at p. 898, under No. 628.

1529.

The assistance which, according to your last despatches, you are ready to lend to the Marquis de Saluzzo and Count della Mirandola, must be understood without any detriment of our interests in Italy, or dismemberment of our estate, for you must bear in mind that our principal object is to keep matters as they are until our landing in Italy. If in the meantime the King of France, as he gives out, should enter Italy, it might come to pass that the affair of the duel might be accomplished much better than he seems to wish, since he prevented our herald from doing his office, or delivering our answer; a very unusual thing for a King or Prince, or even for a gentleman to do.*—Toledo, 22nd February 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

[24] Feb. 631. The EMPEROR to the COUNT OF VISMONT.

S. E. L. 6, f. 24.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 24.

In credence of "Gundisalvus Ferdinandus" (Gonçalo Fernandez), his chaplain;† "nobis æquè fidus et gratus," who will disclose his intentions, and report his willingness to help him. "Experieris profecto haud ingrato Principi operam tuam navasse. Vale."—Datum Toleti, — Februarii 1529.

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.

24 Feb. 632. The EMPEROR'S INSTRUCTIONS to GONÇALO FERNANDEZ, his Chaplain, respecting his Embassy to Ireland.

S. E. Trat. c. Ing.
L. 6, f. 24.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 47.

What you Gonçalo Fernandez, our chaplain, are to say to the Duke of Vismont is as follows:—

1stly. You will, after delivering the letters of credence, inform him how some time ago a gentleman and officer of his household, called Galfrigidus, came to our court, and brought us a letter from him telling us of the good-will and desire he entertained for our friendship and alliance, and begging We would send [to Ireland] a proper person to treat with him, &c.

You will inquire very carefully about the forces and powers of the said Count and of his friends, and where and how he is willing to employ them. You will ask a categorical answer on this point, and also ascertain from him what he expects from us. You will tell him that, as his offers have been unsolicited and voluntary, We expect that he will explain frankly his motives, and how and where he intends waging war against our enemies.

Respecting the Count's proposal, that in case of concluding a treaty of defensive and offensive alliance with us, he should

* "Podria ser que encontrandolo accabariamos lo de su desaffyo muy mejor que él no lo quiso acabar impediendo nuestro rey darlas que no hyziesse su officio en presentarle nuestra respuesta, que cierto fué cosa no conveniente á rey á principe ni ahun á simple cauallero."

† The same who in 1509 was attached to the Spanish embassy in London. See Bergenroth Calendar, &c., vol. ii. p. 20, where he is mentioned as chaplain of Ferdinand, precentor of St. Paul's, and son of Dr. Puebla, the ambassador.

1529.

be named and included in any treaty of peace that We might hereafter make with the King of England, you will tell him that We have always desired, above all things, the friendship of England, not only for his own sake, but also on account of our close relationship, and the affectionate friendship (*vecindad*) which the Kings of Spain, my predecessors, have entertained for him; that We have also done everything in our power to maintain the said alliance and friendship, but that lately the King has declared for the King of France, and sent us a challenge, and, what is still worse, led away (as they say) by false and wicked persuasions, is now trying to get a divorce from our aunt, the Queen of England,* his legitimate wife, and give the kingdom of Ireland to his bastard son [the Duke of Richmond]. These are things which we can in nowise tolerate, as they might be the source of much scandal among Christian Princes, very detrimental to England itself, and besides injurious to the Queen and the illustrious Princess Mary, her only daughter and heir in that kingdom.

Things having come to such a pass, We intend preventing the aforesaid evils as much as We can, and waging war on the King of England. We, therefore, accept the Count's services, and hope he will employ his forces and means against the common enemy, promising that We will sign no treaty of peace with England unless he is comprised in it with all his friends and vassals.—Toledo, — February 1529.

Indorsed: "Yrlanda. Duke (*sic*) de Vismont."

Spanish. Original draft.† *pp.* 2½.

25 Feb. **633.** The EMPEROR to SHAH ISMAIL, Sophi of Persia.

S. E. L., 1,555,
f. 18.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578,
f. 50.

Sends "Johannem Balbum," Knight of Hierusalem, to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance against the Turk. Begs credence for him.‡—Toledo, 25th February 1529.

Addressed: "Ad KaKam Ismaelem Sophi."

Latin. Original draft. *p.* 1.

28 Feb. **634.** JEHAN LALLEMAND to CARDINAL WOLSEY.

f. 333.

Has duly received his letter, as well as the Emperor's order to make over to him the whole amount of his pensions on the bishoprics of Palencia and Badajoz. Will do everything in his power to have everything settled to the Cardinal's satis-

* "Mas el engañado (segun me dicen) por malas y dañadas persuasiones procura de apartarse de la Serenissima Reyna, nuestra tia."

† Another copy is in the Archives at Brussels, *Negociations d'Angleterre*, tome i., as well as in Bergenroth's collection, *Add.* 28,578, f. 45.

‡ The instructions to Joannis Balby have been published by Dr. Karl Lanz (*Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V.*, vol. i. p. 293), after a letter resembling the above in its contents, though dated the 15th (24th) of February. The Sophi of Persia at this time was Shah Ismail, who ruled from 1523 to 1574, and was continually at war with the Turk. As early as 1518, at the beginning of Charles' reign, he had solicited his friendship. See Dr. Lanz, vol. i. p. 52.

1529.

faction, for he wishes above all things to be useful to him, as he has frequently told Monseigneur [Ghinucci], the English ambassador.

Wants to know what sums were owing to him by the late Bishop of Badajoz, brother Bernardo de Mesa, as he will immediately make a claim upon his property before the Pope's Nuncio claims the spoils (*espolios*).

Respecting the Palencia pension, the bishop owed more than he possessed, and the claim not having been established in due time after Sir Bernardo's decease, it will be now necessary to bring an action against the see to recover the sums due; but nothing shall be omitted on his part until the Cardinal has been paid the last farthing of his due.

The present debt the Archbishop of Toledo has by him been requested to make good, and he has promised to pay it within a very few days, and for the future his Reverence may be sure that the pension shall be paid every term, and the money remitted to England in bills of exchange, or otherwise, as it will be his pleasure to command.—Madrid, the last day of February.

Signed: "Jehan Lalemand."*

Addressed: "A Monseigneur le Revme. et Illme. Monseigneur le Legat et Lieutenant General d'Angleterre."

French. Original. p. 1.

1 March. **635.** CARDINAL SANCTACROCE to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848,
f. 114.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578,
f. 26.

On Friday the 28th ulto. a consistory was held, wherein the affair of the restitution of the fortresses, not yet accomplished, was discussed. Those who are not the Emperor's friends imagine that the restitution will not take place so soon. Neither do they wish for it, that they may have a just complaint and an excuse to throw the schism on the Emperor's shoulders. Should the Pope die before the fortresses are restored to the Church, all think, and he (Santacroce) with them, that the schism is inevitable. Most of the cardinals are determined, the case happening, to quit Rome and proceed to the election elsewhere, and although their own private passions are more likely to be the cause of the schism, still it would be prudent and advisable not to give them cause for it by retaining the fortresses longer. That is the reason why neither he (Santacroce) nor any other of the Imperialists at Rome can possibly approve the conduct of the governors (*alcaldes*) of Civittà Vecchia and Ostia, who refuse to give them up unless they are paid the ransoms of the prisoners made by them at the taking of this city, notwithstanding that all the cardinals have contributed their share towards them, and he (Santacroce), though a poor man,

* It would appear from this letter that Jean Lallemand recovered soon the Emperor's favour and continued still to be his Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

1529.

has had to pay a large sum. No wonder, therefore, if in the last consistory an allusion should be made to the unjust and exorbitant demands of the Spanish soldiers, one of the cardinals having intimated that all was a dilatory excuse invented by the Prince of Orange for not giving up the fortresses. The accusation being so direct, he (Santacroce) could not help reminding the cardinals of the orders given to the Prince on the matter, and what the Prince himself wrote when he heard that the army had sent to ask the Pope for money; and how he had commanded him (Mai) to give up the promissory bills of Sigismondo, now a prisoner in Spain, without any reduction or discount.* In short, that the delay originated entirely with the soldiers, not with His Imperial Majesty, and that it is hoped that this very week the fortresses will be surrendered, though many of them entertain a contrary opinion.

The Pope is not getting better; on the contrary, many people think that he will die before the end of the present month. A new ambassador from France, named Juan Juachino (Gioachino), has arrived. He brings the Pope several offers, and among others the restitution of Cervia and Ravenna, if he will again join the League. When the offer was made, the Pope said that, were they to give him the whole of France, he would never again make common cause with the confederates.—Rome, 1st of March 1529.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

1 March. 636. MIÇER MAI, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the
S. E. L. 848, EMPEROR.
f. 29.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 68.

Wrote last by Balançon on the 26th of January, and twice afterwards by way of Genoa. The present is forwarded through France, and its duplicate will go in three or four days by Naples.

The Pope has been very ill indeed, so much so that, after two or three consecutive relapses, fears were entertained for his life. There was even some suspicion of his having been poisoned.† However this may be, his life was in danger, and all Spaniards and Imperialists at Rome were in great consternation, especially as the Abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsino) was known to have arrived in Rome. He is much better now; fever has left him for the last five or six days, and it is expected that very shortly he will be able to attend to business.

The Emperor must have been informed in time of the rebellion of Aquila, which the Prince of Orange put down almost immediately by seizing sixty of the principal inhabitants, who readily compounded for an aggregate sum of

* "Y como luego me mandó dar el giro de Sigismondo Guis, sin rescate ninguno, que estaba preso en España."

† "Y sospechase de su mal que serian yervas."

1529.

100,000 ducats, besides having some of the chiefs (*caporales*) hanged. The soldiers he sent to Naples, to be employed in the galleys there. As the garrison of Aquila fled to La Matrice* the Prince caused some heavy guns to be cast in the former place, and this morning news has come [to Rome] that the fortress had surrendered at discretion.

Until now he (Mai) thought that the Pope feigned to be worse than he really was, in order to postpone the settlement of present questions, and wait for a change (*hasta ver en que pararia el mundo*). Was confirmed in this opinion when he saw the many intrigues and devices put forward by the French, by the English, and by the rest of the confederates for the purpose of circumventing and deceiving him, or at least of securing his neutrality, but in reality he has been so very ill that his (Mai's) suspicions were unfounded. Has only seen him twice,—once to present his own credentials, the other to present those of Miçer Andrea del Burgo, the ambassador of the King of Hungary, who, being laid up with gout, could not attend. On one of these occasions the Pope told him (Mai) that he might at once begin to disclose (*desengrosar*) to Jacobo Salviati what he had to say. Will not dwell long on this topic, but he must observe that this is not the best time for negotiating, for the news of the Emperor's journey has so frightened and disconcerted these politicians that they are doing all they possibly can to prevent it. The Pope announces that he intends starting shortly for France and Spain, for the sole purpose, as he says, of bringing about a general peace, and that in the meantime, and whilst waiting to recover strength enough to undertake so fatiguing a journey, he intends sending thither as legate either the Cardinal of Capua (Schomberg), or the Bishop of Verona (Gianmatheo Giberti). As this is to take place very soon, he (Mai) will begin at once to negotiate publicly or in secret, as it may happen, for which purpose he is in almost daily correspondence with the Prince [of Orange]. Andrea del Burgo's mission is chiefly confined to asking the Pope's help in the conclusion of the peace between Christians, that all Princes may employ their arms against the Turk, who, according to advices from Ragusa and other places, is sure to invade Hungary this year. As Andrea is ill, and cannot at present leave his rooms, he (Mai) will lose no opportunity of assuring the Pope that if he will only act on this occasion as the true Father and shepherd of the Christian flock, and succour Germany, threatened by the Infidel, the Emperor will do his pleasure in every respect. The King asks besides for a Nuncio; this the Pope has granted at once, because had not the application come from Germany he would have been obliged to send one thither, so important is it for him to have a Nuncio in that country under present circumstances.

* Thus written, but meant evidently for La Matrice.

1529.

Doria has been unwell, and that is the reason why he has not come to Rome as he promised.

The Duke of Savoy (Charles III.) is in trouble with the Switzers, who threaten to invade his estates. They say he is collecting money and men against the canton of Vaud, which threatens revolt.

At Vercelli the vassals of Count Crescentino have suddenly attacked his house, slain him, his wife and children, the servants, and even the horses.

Nothing particular from Lombardy. Up to the last dates Leyva was expecting reinforcements from Germany, and the confederates, though they bragged without measure, had achieved nothing of importance.

The despatches concerning the bishoprics of Coria and Burgos have come to hand, and will be attended to.—Rome, 1st March 1529.

Signed: "Mai."

P.S.—Is only waiting for a letter from the Prince of Orange to make restitution of the fortresses.

3 March. **637.** The EMPEROR to MIÇER MAI.

S. E. L. 848,

f. 30.

B. M. Add. 28,578,

f. 72.

Considering that the proofs and justifications whereof We have hitherto made use have not been sufficient to secure peace to Christendom, which has always been our most ardent desire, and that our enemies are newly making preparations to invade our dominions; having, moreover, received certain intelligence that the Turk, at the instigation of the confederates, is about to invade Hungary, We have resolved to prepare for defence. For this purpose it is our intention to go to Barcelona, and, if necessary, to cross over to Italy in person, as you will see by the letter We now write to our most Holy Father the Pope, stating the reasons for this our determination. You will inform us as soon as possible what the Pope says about it, and also what is the state of affairs at Naples, whence We have had no news for many a day.

The King of England has sent to ask us for the original brief of dispensation for his marriage with our aunt, Queen Katharine, which is in our possession, but, although the Queen herself has also sent one of her chaplains, We have not thought proper to surrender it. For We are informed that she has actually been compelled to write to Rome and to other parts according to the King's direction, and that he has made her swear not to write or plead in her own favour except with his knowledge and consent; and, moreover, that two lawyers sent by the most illustrious Princess Margaret of Austria to advise and defend her were immediately after their arrival sent out of the kingdom. As, therefore, she has no liberty to defend herself, and there is no security for her if the case be tried in London, We have begged the Pope, whose

1529.

interest is to maintain and confirm the dispensation granted by his predecessor [Julius II.], to revoke the commission given to Cardinal Campeggio, and call the case before his consistory, where it may be fairly tried. We need not say that We command you to use, conjointly with Cardinal Santacroce, all possible exertion and diligence in this affair, as one which We have greatly at heart.—Toledo, 3rd March 1529.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "By His Majesty's order, Francisco de Los Cobos."

Addressed: "To Miçer Mai, of our Council, and our ambassador at Rome."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

3 March. **638.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 1,555,
f. 101.

B. M. *Add.* 28,578,
f. 74.

Has been obliged to contract great debts. Were he to die now, his conscience would be much disturbed by the thought that his creditors were not paid. Has, therefore, decided to employ the revenues of the three military orders during a certain number of years in order to meet his engagements. Asks the Pope to sanction this measure.—Toledo, 3rd March 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

3 March. **639.** ANDREA DORIA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,362,
f. 104.

B. M. *Add.* 28,578,
f. 75.

The Viceroy of Naples (Philibert de Chalon) with 9,000 good and well-disciplined troops, 700 light horse, and some men-at-arms, is marching on Florence; 7,000 foot, Spaniards and Italians, remain in the kingdom of Naples for its defence.

(*Cipher* :) Is negotiating with the Duchess of Urbino [Eleonora Ippolita Gonzaga], whose husband (Francesco Maria della Rovere) is willing to enter the Imperial service as soon as his time of service with the Venetians is up. Begs the Emperor to reserve for the Duke a position suitable to his rank and military reputation. Is treating with the Duchess, and not with the Duke himself, owing to the scruples of the latter, and to his thinking that his reputation and honour might suffer, were the Venetians to learn that he purposes abandoning them whilst in their pay.

The Florentines have sent ambassadors. Will negotiate with them cautiously, lest the Pope's suspicions should be aroused.

Galleys and other things, &c.—Genoa, 3rd March 1529.

Italian. Original. pp. 2.

1529.

5 March. **640.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1362.

f. 76.

B. M. *Add.* 28,578,

f. 76.

Encloses triplicate of his despatch of the 1st inst. The answer of the Prince of Orange has arrived. Expects to accomplish the restitution of the fortresses in three or four days.—Rome, 5th March 1529.

Spanish. Holograph. p. ½.

5 March. **641.** ALFONSO VALDÉS to ERASMUS.

M.R. e. Ac. d. Hist.

*Cartas de Erasmo**y otras, f. 37.*B. M. *Add.* 28,578.

f. 51.

Has received his letter dated 6 Calendas Augusti and pridie Calend. Sept. (1st and 31st of August). Cannot procure a situation for Francis Dillus, as the Regent [of the Council of Aragon ?] and indeed all the officers at Court are trying to reduce as much as possible the number of their clerks. Money is scarce here, especially in anticipation of the Italian journey.

The Archbishop of Toledo (Fonseca), however, continues to be his friend, and has ordered 200 ducats to be remitted to him. Sends him likewise 30 florins to be spent in editing the works of Saint Augustin.

“Monachi silent, non enim muttire audent, quum experti sint quantum incommodi excitatio semper tumultuum illis attulerit. Pax dormit, quum dixi dormit, immò sepulta est; ita horum principum animi concitati sunt, atque novis subindè injuriis concitantur. Audimus R. Pontificem venire ad nos ut hos principes conciliet. At ego, neque illum tantum laboris suscepturum credo, neque etiam, si susciperet, quo pacto dissidium componere possit video, ni Deus ipse manum imponat. An offensam in aula Regis Ungriæ contractam, quod nimius sis in predicanda pace, nescio. Apud nos certissimam ob id gratiam ini[vi]sti, licet nullum ferè belli incommodum speciatim his inferimus—Mitius fero Italicam profectionem quod sperem te, &c.—Toleti, quinto Calendas Marci (sic) 1529.”

5 March. **642.** LOPE HURTADO DE MENDOZA, Imperial Ambassador in Portugal, to the EMPEROR.

S. E. Port. L. 368,

f. 197.

B. M. *Add.* 28,578,

f. 76.

The negotiations for the cession of the Moluccas are quite closed and finished to the satisfaction of both parties. The Emperor's ratification only is wanted. Sends an express to apprise the Emperor of the result. The King of Portugal [Joaõ III.] is sending another to his ambassador at court. Hopes, however, that his own will be the speedier, and arrive at Toledo a few hours before, so as to get the treaty signed and ratified before the 8th inst., which seems to be the day fixed for the Emperor's departure. If necessary, this might be delayed for a day or two, as in reality the 350,000 which this King has to pay for the concession are not to be

1529.

despised, besides the advantage of the fairs [of Castille] being still open to negotiate the bills.—Lisbon, 5th March 1529.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 7.

6 March. **643.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848,
f. 30.

B. M. *Add.* 28,578,
f. 80.

Wrote last on the 1st by way of France, and sent the duplicate of his despatch by way of Genoa. Encloses now a triplicate.

Since then news has arrived of the taking of La Matrice by the Prince on the 28th ulto. The fortress having been battered during some hours, the garrison offered to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to quit. This was granted, but as the gates of the fortress were closed and walled in, as usual in similar cases, some of the soldiers began to throw themselves down from the walls. Some of the inhabitants, wishing to accompany them in their flight, followed their example, and the consequence was that, by impeding, and pressing upon, each other, all fell, sustaining great bodily injury. The Prince writes that he was actually moved to pity at so deplorable a sight. The garrison scarcely numbered 300. The town was then entered and sacked, some of the inhabitants being taken prisoners, others slain. The Prince, however, took care that the women should be protected. He has since written to ask that neither the soldiers who sacked the place, nor the people of La Matrice (*Matricianos*), who had left it before, should be allowed to enter the territory of the Church. The application has been made and granted, the Pope having sent orders that all people from La Matrice, as well as "fuorusciti" of Naples, should be stopped at the frontiers of his estates.

The Prince would also have wished that the "fuorusciti" of Norsia, of the Gibeline party, should be allowed to return home, that they might keep the Guelfi, who are very strong there, in check. This application also has been made, and the answer has been that this could not be done all at once. A promise, however, has been made that the change will be operated gradually.

Bishoprics of Coria and Burgos.—Ecclesiastical pensions.

As the principal object of his mission to Rome was to secure the Pope's friendship, he (Mai) will now proceed to give an account of his doings in this particular. Whenever he has spoken to the Pope he has found him so cold and reserved that he has almost been driven to despair. First he says that he wishes to maintain perfect neutrality, and go to France and Spain, accompanied by six of his cardinals, so as not to show partiality to either party; that he does not want Florence for himself, nor indeed Cervia and Ravenna which belong to him. Peace once made between the Emperor and the King

1529.

of France, he says, that will come off of itself without any difficulty. He never intended to be otherwise than neutral in the contest between Spain and France; had always said so to the Capuan (Schomberg) in former times when he went to Spain as his Nuncio. The Emperor knew his sentiments, and approved of them. Had undeceived Mugetula (Giovanni Antonio Muxetula) on this point. Has always replied to these and other objections as he considered most fit for the Emperor's interests.

Such is in substance the Pope's language whenever the question of peace is brought before him. On one occasion, however, whilst replying to similar arguments on the part of one of his cardinals, supposed to be most hostile to His Imperial Majesty, he (Mai) could not refrain from making use of the following threat: "The Imperial army is now about to leave Naples, and unless good intelligence exist on all matters between His Holiness and the Emperor, my master, I cannot conceive how the Germans can live at peace with the Church, for certainly the Prince [of Orange] will not be able to prevent their doing mischief to the lands of the Church; and as to the King of Hungary, I doubt much his power to bridle his own subjects, all of whom will become Lutherans, and in other ways disobey the precepts of the Catholic Church,* unless he can show that the Pope and the Emperor are friends." These and other similar arguments have made such impression upon the Cardinals, that he (Mai) fancies they are much riper (*maduros*) than they were. Is to have an audience from the Pope to-morrow, for although he is now in bed suffering from fever, and sees nobody, yet he hopes to be received.

The Prince and Burgo† write from Naples that the League, though only defensive and secret as the Pope wants it to be, must needs be signed at once. At any rate that will have the effect of separating him from these devilish confederates, who assail him with importunities and circumvent him with tricks and lies (*bellaquerias y mentiras*) of every description.

Hopes that the Crusade will be granted, though of less amount than asked for.

Finds that the abbacy of Rocamador, which His Imperial Majesty bestowed on the brother of Joan Jacobo, is disputed by one Fabian de Spoletto, who pretends that he sued Don Carlos de Urries for 10 consecutive years, and gained several sentences against him.

A son‡ of Count della Mirandola, married here and living with the Pope, has been appointed to go as Nuncio to the King of Hungary.

* "Tampoco podria el Rey de Ungria asegurar las cosas de los Alemanes, que van á querer ser Lutheranos, y [caer] en otras desobediencias de la Iglesia."

† Andrea del Burgo, Ferdinand's ambassador.

‡ Giovanni Francesco Pico had at this time three sons, Gian Thomasso, Alberto, and Paolo, besides three daughters, Anna, Julia, and Beatrice, the former of whom was married to Antoniotto Adorno, Doge of Genoa.

1529.

Joan Mateo (Gianmatheo Giberti), the Bishop of Verona, has arrived. Had a long conversation with him, the substance of which will be given in another letter in cipher. His answer was that he wished to serve the Emperor. Gave an explanation of his conduct on former occasions, to which he (Mai) made no reply, as it might have had the effect of making a bitter enemy to the cause. Feigned to believe everything he said, but promised nothing.

Lope de Soria writes from Piacenza that he is going to Milan, at the summons of Leyva, who was to be joined soon by 1,500 Germans.

Was told yesterday that a revolution had broken out at Florence, and that the son of the Gonfaloniere* had been slain, but until the news is confirmed he believes not a word of it. The news came through Cardinal La Valle, who is so good a servant of the Empire that he believes anything that is favourable to our cause.

They say that Joachin, the French ambassador who is daily expected, brings "carta blanca" to give the Pope anything he may ask for, and cause Cervia and Ravenna to be restored to him. But if the Pope be only true to his word, the Frenchman is likely to lose his time, for the Pope professes the most strict neutrality, saying that he is going to France and to Spain, and will take in his company two cardinal-bishops, two priests, and two deans; the two former to be Farnese and Monte, or perhaps Sanctiquatuor; the presbyters La Minerva and Santacroce; and the deans Cesarino and Mantua; but if they cannot have Andrea's galleys, I wonder how they will go.—Rome, 6th March 1529.

P.S.—With regard to the Queen of England and her case, he (Mai) hopes that the first brief put for the Pope's signature will be that for the adjudication of the suit at Rome.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

644. INSTRUCTIONS to GOMEZ SUAREZ DE FIGUEROA.

S. Pat. Re. Cap.
y Tra. c. Pont.
Leg. 2, f. 50.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 61.

What you, the Knight Commander Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, are to do and say at Genoa, where We presently send you.

Istly. You will call on Captain Andrea Doria, and, after delivering our letters of credence, you will tell him how convinced We are of his good-will and zeal for our service, and how disposed We feel to reward his merits by taking care of him and his affairs (*de hazer por él y por sus cosas*). You will add that, though We have answered all particulars contained in his despatches, and especially that relating to the

* His name was Niccolò Capponi, but his son (Piero) was not slain on this occasion. See Mecatti, *Storia Cronologica della Città di Firenze* (Napoli, 1755, 4to.), vol. ii. p. 578.

1529.

see of Orense, We now send you [to Genoa] for the express purpose of explaining to him the reasons why We could not please him on that point, nor present to the bishopric his nephew, Cardinal Doria. That We might prevent the Pope from appointing bishops to vacant sees in these kingdoms [of Spain], as he has occasionally done in opposition to the laws and customs of this country, orders have been issued that no foreign ecclesiastic be promoted to such dignities. Yet such is our regard for Andrea Doria, and our gratitude for his services, that besides our hearty congratulations on his nephew's promotion to the cardinalate, We command you to offer him in our name the archbishopric of Taranto, in Naples, burdened, it is true, with 500 ducats pension, which it was not in our power to redeem, but, on the other hand, increased by 3,000 which We have begged the Pope to grant on vacant benefices in that kingdom.

Respecting the "trata de Sicilia," which is another of Andrea's claims, you will tell him that if the grant has not taken place, it must be owing entirely to the scarcity of wheat in that island. We have again written to the Viceroy [Duke of Monteleone] to allow the export of 2,000 "salmas" of wheat, and besides given permission for 1,000 "cabizes," which We are told are equal to 2,400 "salmas," to be exported from these kingdoms of Spain; besides which, he will get in time the 10,000 "salmas" promised for his fleet.

You will also remind him that the caracks and "velas cayras" must be towards the end of March, or the middle of April at the latest, in the port of Rosas [in Catalonia], and that if he himself comes with his galleys, he must bring 500 expert mariners, officers and oarsmen, to be distributed among the galleys now arming at Barcelona, that they may teach their crews, &c. Also, that knowing he has at Genoa much good artillery and plenty of ammunition which he does not use, We should be glad if he brought most of it [to Spain], for, although We have given orders that our fleet should be completely armed in this respect, We still think there is never too much of that warlike implement.

With regard to the bills of exchange you will tell him that if they were not honoured at presentation it was only owing to two causes: the 1st, that the sum drawn exceeded by nearly one half the estimate that was sent to, and approved in, Council; and, 2ndly, that had We given orders for their immediate payment out of the money destined for the fitting out of our fleet and intended expedition to Italy, this might have been seriously affected or retarded through it; and it behoves us, now that it has been officially announced, to undertake it as soon as possible. But you may tell him that, as soon as a satisfactory explanation comes from Leyva respecting the expenditure of those sums, such arrangement will be made with the bankers now holding the bills that they will lose nothing by the delay. If, notwithstanding the above explana-

1529.

tion, you should perceive that Doria is still dissatisfied about this, you will tell him that We could not act otherwise, and that in future he must refrain from drawing upon our Treasury without express orders from us, or before knowing that the bills will be paid.

With regard to the Pope and his dangerous illness, which alarmed us considerably, you will tell him what our intentions were in case of his death and of a new election. He is now better, thank God, and, therefore, the danger of a schism is no longer imminent.

After explaining to Doria what our plans concerning the Genoese Republic are, and taking his advice as to what declarations are to be made in our name, you will assure the people of Genoa that We are well pleased with their fidelity, as well as thankful for their expulsion of the French, and the subsequent victories obtained over them, and that We beg them not to allow the enemy's power to grow and spread abroad, and promise to help them with all our forces. You will also tell them that although the reasons alleged for not admitting Lope de Soria have appeared to us insufficient, yet We accept them, and send you Gomez Suarez de Figueroa to reside there as our ambassador, that you may attend to our affairs, principally as concerns the preservation and defence of their Republic.

You will likewise tell the Genoese that We have listened attentively to what Martin Centurion and Joan Baptista de' Grimaldi had to say in their behalf, and that should any ambassadors of theirs come to our court they shall be treated as those of our best ally and friend.

With regard to the wheat and flour, you will tell them that an estimate is now being made of the quantity that can be exported from these our kingdoms after making due provision for home consumption, and that when such amount is known, We will take care that they are abundantly supplied. Besides which, express orders have been sent to our Viceroy of Sicily [Duke de Monteleone] to deliver at once the 3,200 "salmas" as indemnity for the losses their Republic had to sustain when the King of France was brought a prisoner to Spain, which grant took no effect at the time, owing to the disturbances which arose at Genoa.*

As Lope de Soria is soon coming to Spain on leave, you will take care to inquire from him, with the greatest possible caution, who are the influential people in the Republic, those who profess most affection to our service, and have been accustomed to give him information, their qualities, position, &c.

* The original has *ducats*, but there can be no doubt that bushels, or *salmas*, are meant, unless it be that "ducats" is for the equivalent in money. The passage runs thus: "A causa de la turbacion del estado de aquella Republica creemos no haver el Visorrey de Sicilia cumplido lo que mandamos de los 3,200 ducados que se havian de dar a aquella Republica en recompensa del daño que recibió al tiempo que trayan acá al Rey de Francia preso."

1529.

Ansaldo Grimaldo, the banker, is to be thanked in our name for his efforts in procuring money, assuring him that he will always meet with corresponding favour on our part. As a proof of our good-will, you may show him the copies of our "cedulas" bestowing on the Cardinal, his brother, a very handsome revenue in the kingdom of Naples. As, moreover, Stefano Centurione has offered us in his name the caracks and galleons which the Cardinal owns, We have accepted the offer, and beg that they may be kept in readiness to join those of Genoa on their coming to Barcelona.

Similar messages and thanks to Captain Agostino Spinola and to Stefano Spinola. Such has been the press of business that We have not yet been able to attend to their request, as presented by their agent at this our court, but in the meantime have granted to the former an annual pension of 1,000 ducats, and 600 to the latter, on the "trattas" of the kingdom of Naples.—Toledo, — February 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 14.

8 March. **645.** MIÇER MAI, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the
EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848,
f. 31.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 86.

Here, at Rome, is a man, named Villaverde, once a secretary of the Archbishop of Saragossa, Don Alonso. He enjoys the confidence of the Pope, and likewise of the Bishop of Verona (Granmatheo Giberti), whom he assists in deciphering letters and despatches without a key, for he has great experience in these matters and is very clever. As he is also a great friend of his, and professes to be much attached to the Imperial service, he (Mai) has proposed to him to furnish any intelligence he may have about the Pope, &c. This commission he has accepted, and consequently told him the other day that the persons from whom the Pope gets his information in Spain are, first, one Don Miguel de Silva, now residing in Portugal, through whom he (the Pope) is periodically advised of what concerns him and the cardinals; and one Don Pedro Pacheco, who writes very often (*de quien acá diz que tienen letras spesso*). This last is no doubt the author of the memorandum given to the Bishop of Pistoya (Pucci) about the Crusade, of which a copy was enclosed in his despatch of the 1st March, for he knew the seal on the letter, which was handed over to him to translate into Italian. He further says that a lackey (*lacayo*), called Treio Ribeyro, goes frequently backwards and forwards with messages from and to the Pope. Will continue making use of his friend, who has his entrée at the bishop's, and sees him at all hours. Has also two spies watching the movements of the ambassadors of France and England, as well as of these Italians, who feign to be on their side, though nevertheless they come every day to the

* *Trata*, in It. "tratta," is the permission or licence to export wheat from Sicily. *Salma* was equivalent to the Spanish "fanega."

1529.

Spanish embassy, and report every word that is said about their affairs. In this manner scarcely a day passes without his writing to the Prince at Naples, and informing him of the progress of his negotiation.

The son of the last King of Cyprus [Lusignan], who was a prisoner at Padua, when he (Mai) was a student at the University, is now in Rome. We were great friends then, and have renewed acquaintance since. He has come to say that whenever it shall enter into the Emperor's plans to invade that island and take possession of it, six galleys will be sufficient for the undertaking. He has many intelligences among the natives, who would, if assisted, rise against the Venetians, and proclaim him. He (Mai) does not want to be king of the island, as his father was, but would be contented with governing it in the Emperor's name. Has presented to him a bishop, lately appointed to that see, who confirms this statement in all its parts, and as this would greatly contribute to weaken the Venetians, who alone dare resist the Emperor's greatness and splendour, he (Mai) feels it his duty to report the circumstance. The conquest of Cyprus, besides leading to the more glorious enterprise of Jerusalem, might also pave the way to San Marco, and put an end to the mischievous practices of the Signory.—Rome, 8th March 1529.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

11 March. **646.** DON IÑIGO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 806,
f. 26.

Thanks the Emperor for his presentation to the bishopric of Burgos, and enjoyment of the ecclesiastical pensions attached thereto. Understands that he is to renounce the half-fruits of Coria, and the pensions of Jahen (Jaen) and Leon. Encloses powers of attorney for Secretary [Francisco de los] Cobos, granted in the terms prescribed.—London, 11th March 1529.

Signed: "Don Yñigo de Mendoza."

12 March. **647.** MIÇER MIGUEL MAI, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848,
f. 32.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 97.

On the 7th inst. the Emperor's letter arrived concerning the see of Burgos* and other ecclesiastical matters. As the Pope's health has since improved, it is to be presumed that he will soon attend to this and other business. Some difficulties, however, are raised respecting the bull of Pope Adrian, but he (Mai) is determined not to relinquish any of the rights which that bull confers on him (the Emperor) as King of Spain.

Has also received a great number of private letters from Spain. All agree that the Emperor will soon come to Italy; but such is the excitement caused by this news at Rome, and such the alarming rumours spread by those who wish to create disturbances and to stir up all the elements of discord, that he

* The archbishopric for which Don Iñigo de Mendoza had been presented three months before.

1529.

(Mai) has much difficulty in calming the fears of these politicians. Hitherto there has been nothing but much wild talk and bravadoing (*braverias*) on the part of the French, the Venetians, and their allies, but should any positive facts come to his (Mai's) knowledge he will not fail to make his report.

The Pope, as the ambassador has had occasion to advise in his former despatches, seems still determined to visit Spain, provided he is well enough to undertake the journey, but purposes going first to France, and perhaps also to England, as he thinks he will thus be better able to conclude a general peace, which he seems to desire above all things. (*Cipher* :) Has no doubt that it is so, for in every respect it behoves him as shepherd of the Christian flock, now that the Infidel is in the field, to promote the union of all the Christian Princes. This notwithstanding, he (Mai) believes that his visit [to Spain] is undertaken more to prevent, if possible, the Emperor's journey [to Italy] than for any other purpose; for neither he nor the rest of the confederates are to be trusted on this point. Their having sent for Andrea Doria, to escort the Pope with his galleys, seems done intentionally to mar the Emperor's projects. That object once obtained, and the journey put off, the Pope will certainly not go to Spain, as is publicly said in this city. He (Mai) would be glad to see His Holiness start off for Spain, for Secretary Juan Lallemand writes from Madrid that the Emperor is very anxious to receive his visit, and expects it. But for this circumstance he (Mai) would be inclined to think that the Pope never intended going to Spain, and that, if he goes, it is for no good purpose; for in a memorandum (*la traga de unos memoriales*) drawn up in the year 1527 by Gianmatheo Giberti certain expressions are found indicative of the Pope's vacillating conduct in these affairs. The memorandum is in Gianmatheo's own hand. It is a rough draft of the instructions to be given to him when there was first a talk of the Pope going [to Spain]. Gianmatheo was to be the Pope's right hand man (*paronymfo*) in the journey, and the bearer of the instructions. Among other things, there was the following sentence: "The Nuncio is to tell the Kings of France and England that unless peace be concluded by their intermediate agency he (the Pope) will return to the League." As he (Mai) could not keep the original memorandum, which has been procured by a friend (Villevérde?), on condition of its being returned, he took the trouble of transcribing it in his own hand. Will send another copy by way of Naples, by the courier. Dares not send it now, for were he to have it transcribed in cipher, as it is, it would be hardly intelligible, the style of the writer being both concise and ambiguous. The substance, however, is what he has stated it to be, as His Imperial Majesty will be able to judge from the copy of the memorandum itself.

(*Cipher* :) This is the reason why he (Mai) strongly disapproves of such neutrality as the Pope and his ministers seem to profess. Hopes soon to be able to make them get out of it

1529.

one way or other. Though this new League and its conditions may not be so advantageous as might be wished, it will be yet of sufficient weight to destroy the other, and let the Pope understand gradually where his real interest lies. Once detached from the confederates, His Holiness will accustom himself to the alliance of His Imperial Majesty, whose power and virtue both of mind and person (*del cuerpo como del animo*) he is known to admire, for he has often been heard to say that he is well acquainted with the Emperor's temper, and knows also that of other Princes. Thinks, therefore, that little by little the evils of the past will be remedied.

(*Common writing* :) The news of the death of Count Bal-dasar de Castiglione was brought by the same courier. The Pope has felt it much. Though he had many enemies at this court, as most people of distinction have in these hard times, he had also a good many friends, and the Pope was sincerely attached to him. Immediately after the arrival of the news, the appointment of his successor in the "nunciatura" was discussed. The principal candidates, not to mention others of less importance, are a Sicilian baron,* who is here [at Rome] in the service of Cardinal Medici, and of the Duke Alessandro. Andrea del Borgo dislikes him exceedingly, because he says he is a warm partisan of the Vayvod [of Transylvania], and consequently a friend of the French. Fears also that the Baron being a Sicilian, and consequently a subject of the Emperor, may possess other qualities† likely to make him acceptable to this court. The master of the Papal household (*maestro de casa*) is likewise spoken of. He (Mai) supports the latter, knowing him to be a thoroughly upright man, and one likely to give the Emperor satisfaction when in Spain.

(*Cipher* :) Poor Cardinal Santacroce, who is in the habit of sailing with all winds, has often spoken to him (Mai) about the expediency of sending Gianmatheo [Giberti], who is his greatest friend, to Spain.‡ Were he to go only to the Imperial Court as Nuncio no objection could be raised; on the contrary he might be very acceptable; but as he is to go first to France and England, it would be rash to trust him in so important a business before he has given some proofs of his adhesion and good-will, although he is by no means chary of professions and offers of service. Has not dared mention to the Cardinal the affair of the memorandum, sure as he was that he would immediately reveal the whole matter to Gianmatheo. Proceeds, however, in the negotiation as cautiously as he can,

* The same Baron del Borgo mentioned elsewhere. Mr. Rawdon Brown, *Venetian State Papers*, iv. p. 258, suggests that his title was Baron de Burgia, a small town in Sicily. Though a different person from Andrea del Borgo or Burgo, Ferdinand's ambassador in Venice, Rome, Ferrara, &c., he was often mistaken for this latter in letters and despatches of this time.

† "Y tambien temo que con imbiar ellos un Siciliano vassallo de V. M. deben estar seguros de otras [sus] qualidades."

‡ The paragraph stands thus in the deciphering: "Este pobre de Cardenal Santa Cruz como se dexa andar á todos vientos, segund aparte lo escibiré á V. Md. me ha hablado en lo de andar tambien Joan Mateo, porque como otras vezes tengo escripto á S. Md. es grandissimo su amigo."

1529.

for fear of rousing the bishop's suspicions, and making an enemy of him here at Rome as well as in Spain, should he go as Nuncio. Once at the Imperial Court, His Imperial Majesty will no doubt gain him over, however shrewd he may be (*por mas diablo que sea*).

Said in his last* that the Pope, when pressed by him (Mai) to join this new League, (*cipher*;) excuses himself on the ground of his present neutrality. (*Common writing*;) So do his ministers, most of whom, however, observe it very badly. Has now been discussing this matter with them for 10 consecutive days, and keeps informing the Prince from hour to hour of the progress of the negotiations. (*Cipher*;) Feels very confident that in the end a secret treaty of defensive alliance will be concluded, but the Pope wants to introduce a clause that no one of the contracting parties should, without the consent of the other, be able to make peace or form alliances,† and although he (Mai) has adduced reasons why it should not be so, declaring, among other things, that it would be indecorous for so mighty a Prince as His Imperial Majesty to be thus prevented from granting peace to those who ask for it, and, moreover, that the Imperial interests in Italy are quite distinct from those of the Pope, he has not yet been able to persuade them. Yet he hopes to make the treaty (*concierto*) anyhow, as he is only expecting an answer from Miçer Andrea del Burgo at Naples, who has been consulted thereupon, and approves of the general terms, remarking that whenever the Emperor wishes for peace there will be plenty of honest means and opportunities to bring it about.‡

The Pope is making as though he did not want Florence nor the other lands of the Church. He says he has not one "carlino" left to help the Florentines in their distress, and that he hopes that through the general peace they will come back to him voluntarily. Should it not be so, he has no force to compel them to obedience, and certainly he cannot struggle against all the Princes of Christendom put together. (*Cipher*;) Notwithstanding this and other similar asseverations, he (Mai) has reason to think that he (the Pope) will soon do something in the matter, because he knows all these assertions of his to be mere lies, this question of Florence being now hammered at every day like the red-hot iron on the anvil.§ Writes hourly to Naples reporting all the particulars of the negotiation. When finally brought to a close will not fail to apprise the Emperor and his ministers. —Rome, 12th March 1529.

Addressed: "S. C. R. Mt."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Deciphering between the lines. pp. 4.

* See above, No. 643, p. 916.

† "Pero querría que el uno no se pueda ligar con otros aliados, en especial en Italia, sin el otro."

‡ "Nunca faltaran medios honestos, señaladamente para paz, siempre que V. Mt. querrà inclinar en ella."

§ "Porque conozco que todas estas son mentiras y porque esta materia está agora como el hierro en el yunque que batimos en ella."

1529.

12 March. **648.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING OF BOHEMIA AND HUNGARY.
 M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
 C. 71, f. 207.

Has written by Pedro de Ascoytia, by Secretary Sanchez, as well as by a third messenger who left by way of Italy. This last, he hears, sailed on the 22nd of January, but the weather was so bad, and the sea so boisterous, that the ship was obliged to put in at Laredo.

Mercado and Clavijo arrived at Toledo on the 3rd inst., at the time when His Imperial Majesty was preparing to go to Barcelona and embark for Italy.

The Emperor's stables were so badly provided with horses such as His Highness requires, that he could not at once send them. He has ordered, however, the best that could be procured in his kingdoms. Meanwhile he is sending out of his own stables three Spanish horses and one charger (*cursier*) reputed to be excellent. Among the Spanish is one bay,* the best horse of its kind. The remainder shall be procured at Saragossa, where the Emperor expects to be for the Holy Week.

The letters that came for Don Pedro de Cordova were duly delivered. In obedience to His Highness' commands that gentleman left immediately for Portugal.

The cause of Lallemand's disgrace was that certain charges were brought against him by Chancellor (Gattinara) and by the Emperor's Lord High Steward (Nassau). It would appear that those gentlemen, wishing to remove him from the Imperial Councils, accused him of peculation and other crimes. The Emperor ordered him to leave the court and retire to a village two leagues from Toledo, and had his property sequestered. Messengers were sent in various directions to ascertain whether the accusation was well grounded, but as some of them have come back actually bringing a most satisfactory account of that Secretary's doings, his exile has been revoked and his property restored. He is now at Toledo filling the post of secretary to the Empress, and there can be no doubt that when a fuller inquiry is made, and his innocence established, he will be reinstated in his offices and triumph over his enemies.

During the Emperor's absence the government of the country remains in the hands of the Empress (Isabella), assisted by the Archbishop of Toledo (Fonseca), the Count of Miranda (D. Francisco de Zuñiga y Avellaneda), Don Juan Manuel, and the Archbishop of Santiago, President of the Council of the Indies.†—Toledo, 12th March 1529.

Addressed: "To the King."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2½.

* Literally egg-coloured horse, for such is the meaning of *overo* or *hovoero*, which is the word used.

† Don Fray Garcia de Loaysa, Charles' confessor, was appointed to the post of President of the Council of the Indies on the 4th of August 1524. He was subsequently appointed bishop of Osma (1525-32), of Sigüenza (1532-9), and lastly archbishop of Seville. He died in 1546.

1529.

15 March. **649.** ANTONIO DE LEYVA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 44,
 f. 58.

Recommends Diego de Osseguera, man-at-arms, who has served in all the Italian wars. On the day of the battle of Pavia he took Sante Memes,* captain of gendarmes of the King of France, prisoner, who promised him a ransom of 2,000 ducats. Charles de Lannoy, however, claimed him as his prisoner, offering to pay his captor the above sum. Has not received one "carlino" of it.—Milan, 15th March 1529.

Signed: "Antonio de Leyva."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic, &c."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1529. From Leyva."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

15 March. **650.** DON IÑIGO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,553,
 f. 308.

Hears by private letters from Court that His Imperial Majesty has been pleased to grant him leave [to go to Spain]. Is very thankful for it. Has been so unwell for the last two months that his physicians, perceiving that all treatment of his disease has been unavailing, and fearing for his life, have advised him to quit England immediately and repair to his native country for change of air. As this King's wish is that, of his two ambassadors, the one† who went first remain at the Imperial Court, and that the other, the Bishop [of Worcester, Ghinucci] come back, it will be necessary to give him leave to do so. Has reason to believe that he [Don Iñigo] will not be allowed to pass Bayonne until the said bishop is reported to have crossed the frontier and arrived in France. Humbly begs His Imperial Majesty to send the English ambassador to Fuenterrabia, and keep him there under guard (*á buen recaudo*) until he (Don Iñigo) and his suite have crossed the Bidassoa (*hasta que pasemos la ribera*), as is customary in such cases. Has carefully informed Madame [of the Low Countries] of these particulars, that she may send here some person to fill his place, and to reside in London until His Majesty be pleased to appoint a regular ambassador. Believes that Madame, seeing the necessity under which he (Don Iñigo) is of abandoning his post will take care that the Emperor's service is duly provided for.

At present, however, there is no pressing business to transact here, because the settlement of the truce depends entirely upon the Emperor; and with regard to the Queen everything is in suspense, as this King is now doing all he can at Rome to have the case tried here [in England]. His Imperial Majesty may be sure that unless he (the Pope) orders the contrary, and refers the cause to this court, the affair is irretrievably lost. Every effort, therefore, must be made there,

* Monsieur de San Menas, according to Sandoval, *Historia de Carlos V*, xii. § 33; but Du Bellay calls him *Sainte Mesmes*, vol. ii. p. 29.

† Dr. Edward Lee.

1529.

and at Rome, to prevent the case being tried here, where no liberty is allowed for the defence.

(*Cipher* :) This Cardinal (Wolsey) sent a message to say that if His Imperial Majesty consented he would induce the Queen-mother of France and the King himself to go as far as Narbonne to have an interview with the Emperor, in some town near the frontier. He felt sure that the Pope would also like to be present. Firmly believes, however, that this is only a stratagem to prevent, if possible, the Emperor's journey to Italy.—London, 15th March 1529.

Addressed : "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins and between the lines. pp. 3.

16 March. 651. SECRETARY PEREZ to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 44,
f. 60.

Wrote last by way of Genoa in date of the 3rd inst. Encloses duplicate. The Viceroy came back on the 9th, after settling the affairs of Aquila and Abruzzo. Hears that, besides the 100,000 levied as a contribution on that city, the Viceroy has had 20,000 more from private persons, and that he left orders for the trial and execution of nine or ten citizens who had been most instrumental in the rising of the province. The works of the citadel were already begun, and a gentleman of the Prince's suite named Betrian,* an Aragonese by birth, had been appointed to direct the works, and be the governor. On his way back [to Naples] the Viceroy encountered a most furious storm of wind and rain. Upwards of 60 persons perished, besides several horses and mules. The Viceroy's life was in danger, and he escaped only by miracle. Ascanio Colonna and Don Fernando Gonzaga came with him.

(*Cipher* :) Since the Viceroy's return [to Naples] nothing else has been thought of except the march of this Imperial army on Lombardy. Both Knight Commander Rivadeneyra, who is now here on behalf of Leyva, and Erasmo Doria, who resides for his uncle Andrea, keep incessantly reminding the Prince of it. The Council of Sumaria is also doing everything in its power to hasten it. They find, however, that if the bulk of the army goes to Lombardy there will not be a sufficient force left to prosecute the war in Pulla (Puglia), and that is the reason why they have applied for reinforcements from Spain.

(*Common writing* :) The Marquis del Guasto wrote on the 3rd inst. from a place three leagues distant from Monopoli, which he was about to attack on the ensuing day. No further news has been received since. Some Venetian galleys, about 20 in number, though not in very good order, had anchored close to Vesta (Vieste), and landed 300 men to reinforce the garrison of Monopoli.

* Thus in the original; perhaps a mistake for *Bertran* or *Beltran*.

1529.

(*Cipher* :) Has reason to believe that the Viceroy will soon send Commander Rivadeneyra and Erasmo Doria with his final resolution, and that money will be sent to Leyva, that he may maintain his ground until this army reaches Lombardy.

(*Cipher* :) Until now neither Civittà Vecchia nor Ostia has been delivered as agreed, though Miçer Mai, the Imperial ambassador, writes confidently that the delivery is to take place soon. New difficulties had arisen about the bulls of the new Spanish Bishops, the Pope and the College of Cardinals insisting upon the word "supplication" being used instead of "presentation."

Alonzo Sanchez, the treasurer, has arrived, but not yet entered upon his functions as such. Soria is at Piacenza. He writes on the 2nd inst. that Leyva has been very ill, but was now better. He wished him to go to Genoa and procure money from Thomasso de' Fornariis.

(*Common writing* :) Leyva writes that three days before one of the King of France's chamberlains, called Mussiur de Yserne, had passed through the Duchy on a mission of his master to the Duke of Ferrara, the object of which was to beg and entreat that he would take the command-in-chief of the League. The same individual was to go to Venice, and tell the Signory not to lose courage, but strengthen their army in Lombardy. He himself would send 12,000 Germans under the leadership of the Duke of Bertinberg (Wurtemberg) and other captains, and his ally the King of England was about to invade Flanders. Leyva, however, thinks that the Duke [of Ferrara] will not accept the charge, and that the Venetians will not stir so soon in that direction, for it is reported that a sum of 7,000 ducats, which the above-mentioned Frenchman was taking to them, has been seized by St. Pol for his immediate wants, besides 3,000 which the King of France was sending to Count Guido Rangone, who, though he gave the Viceroy his word of honour not to serve under the French, is about to join them with a small force, pretending that the six months of his engagement have already passed.—Naples, 16th March 1529.

Signed : "Perez."

Addressed : "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed : "To the King. 1529. From Secretary Perez."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (fol. 62). pp. 4.

16 March. 652.

CARDINAL SANTACROCE to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848,
f. 141.
B M. Add. 28,578,
f. 89.

To-day, the 6th of March, a packet of letters has been received from the Imperial ambassador in England of the 25th of February. There is inside, one from the Queen to the Pope, closed and sealed, asking him, as it is presumed, to have her case tried here [at Rome]. The Queen having

1529.

complained that she had no liberty to defend herself in England, it was resolved that she herself should write an autograph letter to the Pope, stating her wishes. That has been done, as it would appear, with great difficulty, and is most probably the subject of her missive. The Queen writes to him (Santacroce) commanding him to put her letter into the Pope's hands with the greatest possible secrecy, as she does not want anyone to know of it. The Pope, however, is not well enough now to treat affairs of this kind; as soon as he recovers the letter shall be given to him.—Rome, 16th March 1529.

Spanish. Original.

16 March. 653. MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848,
f. 26.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 112.

The Pope is getting better, and begins already to transact business, though still with difficulty. Needs not say that both Miçer Andrea del Burgo and he (Mai) profit by this improvement in his health to proceed with their negotiations. Neither do the ambassadors of France, England, Venice, or Milan lose their time; they wait upon His Holiness or his ministers as often as they can. Is nevertheless sorry to say that the negotiations with His Holiness are not so smooth as could be desired; hopes, however, that little by little he (Mai) will be able to overcome all difficulties, though the task is by no means an easy or agreeable one. What renders it more laborious is the recent news of the Emperor's journey, which these people cannot stomach (*no la pueden tragar por acá*).

(*Cipher*.) Cannot deny that the Pope shows at the present moment some sort of good-will towards His Imperial Majesty, and has a due idea of his power and wisdom (*de su potentia y su prudentia*), differing herein from the confederated Princes, who hate him most intensely. Yet at the same time he is afraid of them, and, considering both parties as his natural enemies, would like to see the ultramontanes, as he calls them, fairly out of Italy. Such are in reality the Pope's sentiments as expressed to Santacroce at his departure for Spain last year, though that cardinal adds that the Pope also told him that, were he compelled to choose between the Emperor and the King of France, he certainly would keep to the former. On the other hand he seems to be afraid of the disorderly administration in Spain, where, he says, promises are never fulfilled.* Has told him so three or four times. The other day he (Mai) was shown a letter which the people of Perugia had written to the Pope, informing him that one ambassador from France, and another from Florence, had offered them help and assistance against the Imperialists, whom they described as "*istos crudelissimos barbaros qui*

* Al mismo tiempo se queja el Papa de los desordenes de alli, y dice que nunca cumplen lo que prometen."

1529.

indifferenter debacchantur tam in amicos quam inimicos." So it was that when Monsieur de Baury (Waury) passed through Rome with Rivadeneyra, and suggested that, if the Pope approved of it, both might go as commissaries and take charge of Piacenza, the offer was positively declined on the plea that, were such a thing allowed, it would be equivalent to breaking the neutrality, which, after all, is his principal defence, not only as regards his own vacillating policy, but also against the offers and threats of the confederates.

A letter from Count Balthasar [Castiglione] mentioning the troublous and dangerous state of Germany, as well as the preparations the Turk is making, seems to have infused new courage into these people, as they imagine that the Emperor's journey may still be prevented, or that in the event of a peace they will obtain better terms. The other day a letter of the Venetian ambassador in France* was intercepted, in which he wrote that the news of that Infidel's warlike preparations was far from being disagreeable to King Francis, as he thought his affairs might be improved through it. Moreover, three days ago, as the Pope was telling the Venetian orator here that his Signory was bound to keep off the Turk from Europe, as after all he was the enemy of Christianity, the Venetian observed that it was true, but that the great danger to Italy, and principally to Venice, which was the first on the frontiers of the Empire, was still nearer at hand.

The Pope has publicly announced during the last few days that he is going to the Emperor [in Spain] and to France also; likewise that he is about to send for the Cardinal of England (Wolsey), that they may both with their authority and prudence help towards the conclusion of peace, one of them acting the part of St. Peter, the other that of St. Paul. The Cardinal's answer, they say, has been that he approves of the idea, and will do his utmost to assist and help in the undertaking; but that he (the Pope) must take care not to be deceived by the Emperor's professions. Since the Pope's convalescence, it is added, this idea has gained ground, and is now spoken of as completely fixed. He (Mai) does not implicitly believe in anything these people suggest or say. Thought from the very first that all this was but a wicked stratagem (*malicia*) invented for the purpose of hindering, if possible, the Emperor's journey, which is now much talked of, but it may be after all the Pope's own device; for it is well known that Leo (the Tenth), when the King of France announced his visit, went out of Rome, met him at Bologna, and made such a treaty as prevented his nearer approach; and Pope Julius II., when the French wished him to hold a general council, summoned one first to prevent the other.

Called yesterday on the Pope in company with Miçer Andrea del Burgo, who addressed him in the name of his master, the King of Hungary. Took occasion of this to observe that,

* Andrea Rosso.

1529.

although he had no instructions from the Emperor to treat about general peace, but only of peace with him (the Pope), he did not hesitate to say that his master was equally well disposed towards the other, provided the conditions were just and honourable, and such as befitted his greatness. Begged the Pope to send him an answer in writing as soon as possible, which he promised.

Ostia and Civittà Vecchia will be restituted without fail this Passion week, these cardinals having at last come to terms with Don Alonso de Cordoba on the subject.

(*Cipher* :) It is now quite certain that the resolution taken by some of these cardinals to quit Rome *sede vacante*, and make the election elsewhere, was not in reality owing to the fortresses not being restituted, as they gave out, but entirely to the instigations of the Cardinal of England (Wolsey), who, having lost all hope of being elected at Rome, wished to take all his colleagues to Avignon, where he considered himself sure of the election. That was the real motive; the other was only a pretence. The Pope is aware of this, and has felt very much the roguish conduct of the cardinals, and the extreme weakness of Santa Croce, who was so carried away by their deceitful arguments, that he did not scruple to say to him (Mai), in the presence of several of his colleagues attached to the French party, that he (Santa Croce) would be the first to quit Rome.*

The bull for the Crusade is not yet ready. Suspects that these people want money for the grant. Has told them that, whatever they may do, they will get none, as it is not the custom in Spain to bestow money on such occasions.

Has said nothing yet about the marriage of the Duke Alessandro [de' Medici]. Would not mention it in his memorandum, because it is better that the Pope, who really wishes for it, should ask for it first. So much so that he has lately abandoned the project of marrying him to the daughter of the late Vespasiano Colonna, still under his keeping and guardianship, though the Colonnese claim her to dispose of her hand.

The Prince [of Orange] has asked the Pope's consent for a marriage between Don Fernando de Gonçaga and a daughter of the Duchess of Camarino. Spoke yesterday to the Pope, who spoke fair, but nothing more. Fancies that he will delay his consent until he sees whether Alessandro [de' Medici] marries Margaret or not; for in case of this marriage not taking place he will like his nephew to marry the Colonnese lady.

Has begun to solicit the reserves for the Lord [Bishop] of Monaco and for Martino Centurione; but as the Pope has lately declared that he will not grant any more reserves of that

* "Con esto sintiò mas la bellaqueria de ellos y la bondad del Cardenal Sancta Cruz, que assi se dexasse levantar dellos á que me dixesse en presencia de cardenales, que son Franceses, que él seria el primero que se iria."

1529.

kind, he (Mai) is much afraid that neither Agostino Grimaldo nor Centurione will get theirs.—Rome, 16th March 1529.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 13.

16 March. 654. The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. Roma, L. 848,
f. 27.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 122.

Has not said anything in former despatches respecting the Emperor's projected journey, because the measure itself is very important, and he was not sure of his own judgment. Now that he has a better knowledge of men and things in Italy, will venture some remarks on the subject. If the Emperor delays his glorious coronation until he has the good-will of all parties, the ceremony will not take place at all. So changeable is the condition of these Italian Princes, and so various their interests, that they will never unite in their assent, but, on the contrary, will join their efforts to prevent the journey, if they can. Unless the coronation take place with the consent of the majority, the undertaking is by no means an easy one; and yet this is perhaps the time most suitable for it, for although the enemies of the Empire are numerous and threatening, and might declare themselves on the occasion, this must be said, that there has hitherto been no visible sign why they should be more dreaded now than formerly.

(*Cipher:*) Fears the almost universal hatred which the excesses of the soldiery has caused, more than all the confederated armies put together; but fancies that the Emperor's arrival will be an efficacious remedy to this evil, inasmuch as he cannot fail to come to Italy with a powerful army, and plenty of resources, &c. If so, he will be supreme lord of Italy; otherwise he will be entirely without means of subsistence (*no terná que comer*), and his army will be starved, for there is no wheat in Italy for friends or enemies. To be frank with His Imperial Majesty, he (Mai) does not hesitate to say that the very night of his arrival at Rome, Muxetula having earnestly inquired what he knew respecting the Emperor's intended journey, and he (Mai) having returned no definite answer, as he could not tell then what the Emperor's intentions were, Muxetula observed, "My private opinion is that the measure cannot be beneficial to the Emperor, and that if he comes now [to Italy] he will do more harm than good." When Monsieur de Baury (Waury) arrived [at Rome] Muxetula repeated his inquiries, but without gaining further information, as Baury could not or would not tell him. Muxetula is a very good sort of a man, very quick and intelligent, but is considered here to be far too confident,* so much so that

* "Muxetula, él es buen hombre y bien vivo, pero acá le tienen por muy confidente."

1529.

according to Andrea del Burgo the other day the Pope proposed to send him to Spain to negotiate for him at the Imperial Court. As there is some probability of the mission being offered and accepted, he (Mai) considers it his duty to warn the Emperor's ministers thereupon. Muxetula is a good servant of the Empire, and ought to be munificently rewarded; but were he to receive any commission from these people the utmost caution must be used.

Will always tell the truth, without sparing anyone. This Cardinal Santacroce has rather dishonoured by his private conduct the dress of his order and ecclesiastical dignity. That, however, is no business of his (Mai's); suffice it to say that the contempt which his acts have brought upon him, is a sufficient punishment for his levity. For this reason, though he (Mai) gives him his share in the negotiations, he has to use the greatest precaution. The past cannot be mended; but, as a man sincerely attached to the Emperor, he (Mai) will no longer trust to him. Such is Capua's advice, for Santacroce is generally supposed to be the secret friend and ally of all the cardinals of the French party; he frequents their society, dines with them, makes them presents (*los trata y presenta*), and they laugh at his simplicity. This is generally known at Rome, and the people make fun of him. The other day the Bishop of Leche (Lecce) came to him and mentioned this fact, as if he (Mai) were not aware of it already, adding that, if there was no Imperial ambassador at Rome, he would take upon himself the task of writing to the Emperor, and informing him of the ridiculous figure which the Cardinal is making. Firmly believes that all this is nothing more than sheer levity on his part (*liviandad*), and perhaps also some hope of securing the votes of his colleagues for the next election, as he must naturally consider himself the candidate of the Imperialists. This must be the reason why he has been heard to say in public that should the cardinals, who complain of the non-restitution of the fortresses, go out of Rome for the purpose of electing a new Pope, he (Santacroce) will be the first to follow them. This threat of the Cardinal became so public throughout Rome, that La Valle threatened also to quit, saying that since the Imperial ministers, whom this affair concerned most particularly, would not do their duty, he himself would go away, as he was unwilling to take such a burden on his back, when those who were in duty bound to assist, left him in the lurch (*en los cuernos del toro*). He (Mai) has had the greatest difficulty to persuade La Valle to stay, and not quit Rome. Spoke also rather sharply to the Cardinal (Santacroce), who, after all, being, as he really is, a good servant of the Emperor, and

* "Tambien soi forçado, aunque me pesa, por que siempre querria decir bien de todos á Vrã Mt., de este Cardenal de Sancta Cruz, que se es desdorado (*sic*) los sus habitos y portamentos (portamanteos?); pero esto no nos toca; basta que con lo que se burlan dél paga la liviandad."

1529.

not at all a badly intentioned person, took no notice of his words, and made no reply. The Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) has since told him (Mai) and Burgo that he has seen letters addressed from France to Joan Joachin, the ambassador, stating that King Francis, hoping that the Cardinal (Santacroce) would pass through his kingdom on his return from Spain,* had prepared great gifts and numberless presents of gold and silver vessels to give him, trusting that, when at Rome, he would take care of his affairs. This might well be either treachery (*bellagueria*) on the part of the writer, or imprudence (*liviandad*) of the ambassador himself, who perhaps placed faith in some words (*palabrillas*) uttered at the time; God knows where and for what purpose.

Begs His Imperial Majesty to forgive him if he has been too bold. Is very sorry to have to speak in this manner of his own colleagues, and especially of a man like the Cardinal, whom he respects and honours as the Emperor's minister; but the fact is that his conscience does not allow him to omit one single circumstance likely to promote the Emperor's better service.

Spanish. Original almost entirely in cipher. Partial deciphering by G. Bergenroth in Add. 28,578, fol. 119-21.

17 March. 655. CARDINAL SANTACROCE to the PRINCE OF ORANGE.

S. E. L. 848,

f. 139.

B. M. Add. 28,578,

f. 123.

Would write oftener, were it not that the Emperor's service is at times better done by communicating with this ambassador [Miçer Mai] as to the state of the present negotiation. A few hours before he sat down to write this present letter the Pope sent for him (Santacroce), and they had a long conference together, the substance of which is this: the Pope said, "Since I willingly place myself in the Emperor's hands, both person and estate, I am very much offended at his not believing implicitly in what I say." His (Santacroce's) reply was, "Neither the Emperor nor his servants desire to interfere with Your Holiness' person and estate, except to serve the former and preserve the latter." Begged him, moreover, to explain what he meant by saying that he placed himself at the Emperor's discretion. His answer was, "I mean exactly what I say; by applying for his galleys to convey me to Spain, I place my person in the Emperor's power. My estate I also leave in his hands, for during my absence it will remain entirely at the mercy of the Prince [of Orange], or whoever may be the commander-in-chief of the Imperial armies." From this conversation he (Santacroce) gathered that the Pope would be sorry if private matters of small importance should in the present state of the negotiation embitter the

* Instead of going through France, as was at first intended, Sanctacroce embarked at Barcelona for Naples.

1529.

minds of the other contracting parties, and prevent the conclusion of the mutual peace proposed.*

Omits for brevity's sake his own answer to the above remarks and objections of the Pope, for, as the Prince [of Orange] may naturally suppose, it was such as befitted a zealous minister of His Imperial Majesty.

The negotiation, therefore, commences under very good auspices, both as regards God's service and the Emperor's honour. The only bar to it is the doubt whether the proposed League will be carried into effect or not, because not only the news from England, but the opinion also (*juicios humanos de acá*) of many Italians here is against the probability of the League being concluded. Yet all this is very insignificant if compared with the good to be expected should the Pope sincerely adhere to the two aforesaid objects, for in fact if he is the Emperor's true friend he cannot be expected to do more than he does, and if on the contrary he dissembles and does not love him, he cannot afford greater securities for not doing mischief than by placing his person and estate, as he says, at the Emperor's discretion. Thus he (Santacroce) sees no harm in the negotiation being conducted as briskly as possible on this basis, and brought to conclusion; provided, however, the Pope means what he says, and will act as he speaks. Meanwhile, and pending the negotiations, no extraneous matters, however important, should be introduced. Such is his (Santacroce's) advice for the present. Should the Emperor's journey be decided upon, and officially announced, he may change his opinion.

(*In the Cardinal's own hand:*) The Pope tells me that most likely before this letter reaches Naples a chamberlain of his will leave post-haste for Spain, and make two requests in his name, viz.: that your Signory should take care of the estates of the Church during his absence from Rome, and that an order should also be sent to Andrea Doria to convey him in his galleys. I scarcely know what to say about this request of the Pope, and whether he is really in earnest or not, for at times it is almost as dangerous not to believe [a man's saying] as it is to believe him implicitly. I find that some people to whom the Pope's intended journey is not agreeable think more of their own private passions and interests than of the Emperor's service.—Rome, 17th March 1529.

Signed: "Sancta + Cardinalis."

Spanish. Original partly holograph. pp. 3.

* "Lo que me pareció que quería inferir era que le pesaría si por particulares negocios que se podrían differir (?) y no importan para el tiempo presente, se acedasen (*sic*) las intenciones para impedirse tan grand bien."

1529.

21 March. 656.

LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 44,
 f. 66.

Wrote from Genoa on the 10th and 15th inst. His business then being at an end came to Piacenza, where he met Nicolas de Cavanillas, present bearer, on his way to Spain on a mission from Leyva. As the messenger will no doubt inform the Emperor and his Council of the state of affairs in Lombardy and elsewhere, he (Soria) need not allude to it further than to say (*cipher* :) that such is the state of penury and want in Leyva's army, that were an attack to be made against Milan, that city, and indeed the whole of the Duchy, would easily fall into the hands of the enemy. For it appears that Leyva is not so well provided with money and men as he made us believe at first, in proof of which he no longer talks of sending reinforcements to Genoa, and, therefore, the 30,000 cr. destined for the pay of his men must needs be returned to Count Lodovico Belgiojoso, who, in lieu of the 2,000 men promised by Leyva, is to raise other troops, as the Genoese desire by all means to strengthen themselves against the French and the rest of the confederates.

The majority of the Genoese seem pleased with the new government, though some who dislike Andrea Doria, and the authority he has lately assumed in the Republic, are no doubt in secret correspondence with the French. As long as Doria holds the supreme power in that city there is no danger; but should he die, or abandon his post, there is fear of discord arising among the citizens. For this reason it is advisable that His Imperial Majesty appoint a governor for that city, who may keep people in order, as well as an Imperial ambassador to send advices from time to time. The former is much desired by the citizens themselves.

Leyva is now sending a gentleman of his suite to the Prince [of Orange] to ask for reinforcements in men and money, because, he says, if the army of Naples do not come to his assistance the whole of the Duchy may be conquered by the confederates. It is said that the King of France has agreed to pay 10,000 ducats monthly to the Duke Francesco Sforza, and as many to the Venetians, that they may recruit forces and undertake the siege of Milan. The French, themselves, expect considerable reinforcements from Germany.

The Duke of Urbino [Francesco Maria della Rovere] has retired to his estates on no very good terms with the Venetians, as it is rumoured. Hears, however, that he and the Florentines, besides Malatesta Ballon (Baglione), who is, as it were, lord of Perugia, are about to annoy the Pope somehow, and that the Duke of Ferrara secretly helps them.

(*Common writing* :) The news from Rome is that the Pope had recovered his health, and that Andrea del Burgo was suffering from an attack of gout, which had prevented his waiting upon His Holiness.

The Prince of Orange was soon expected back from Aquila, after taking possession of La Matrice.

1529.

In Puglia the enemy was waxing stronger every day, so that in fact the subjection of the country is not expected to take place soon.

The news of the great preparations being made by the Turk is confirmed.

The Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) is about to repudiate his wife, a sister of the Marquis of Monferrara,* and to marry a sister of Monsieur de Labret.

Andrea Navagero, once Venetian ambassador in Spain, has arrived at Lodi, on his way to France; whither the Signory is now sending him. Also Miçer Galeazzo Visconti, whom King Francis is sending to comfort and encourage the Duke Francesco Sforza and the Venetians. At the same time as these two, one Domenico Venero,† who resided in London for the Venetians, has made his appearance at Lodi.

Since the above was written, he (Soria) has been told that the Duke of Urbino has made it up with Venice, and that he will soon come to Lombardy to help the rest of the confederates in the undertaking against Milan.—Piacenza, 21st March 1529.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To the King. 1529. Soria."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet (fol. 70). pp. 3½.

22 March. 657.

MIÇER MAI, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the
EMPEROR.

S. E. Leg. 848,

f. 58.

B. M. *Add.* 28,578,

f. 125.

After my despatch of the 26th January, which went by Balançon, I have written twice, on the 7th and 13th of February, by way of Genoa. I am, however, afraid, having received no answer, that these two last despatches have been intercepted, (*cipher*;) especially as the Florentines are known to stop all couriers passing through their territory, for it appears that one of the measures adopted by the ambassadors of the League, now assembled at Florence, is to intercept all correspondence between Rome and Spain. Moreover, as the Venetians, the principal promoters of these political intrigues, are taking similar precautions on their frontiers, I cannot say for certain whether my letters to the King of Hungary, to Madame [of the Low Countries], and to Don Iñigo de Mendoza in England, have reached their destination. I hope, however, that very soon the Emperor will come [to Italy] and crush both Venetians and Florentines, who are now the only stumbling-blocks in the way of peace. Indeed, they and

* Margaret Paleologo, daughter of Guglielmo VI., Marquis of Monferrato, who died 1518, and consequently sister of Bonifacio VI., deceased in 1530, without posterity. The Monsieur de Labret mentioned in this passage can be no other than Henri d'Albret, Prince de Bearn, Comte de Foix de Bigorre et de Perigord, who in right of his mother, Katharine of Foix, last Queen of Navarre, claimed the inheritance to that kingdom, conquered by Ferdinand V. of Aragon in 1512.

† Venier was his name, but Spaniards of that time called him *Venero* or *Veniero*.

1529.

the rest of the confederates (*estos diablos le la Liga*) are doing everything they can to cast disrepute on the Emperor, by circulating all kinds of lies and absurd rumours. Found, on my first arrival at Rome, that a report was in circulation that the Emperor was not on good terms with his brother Ferdinand, the King of Hungary. In order to contradict so malicious a report, I begged the Austrian ambassador [Burgo] to take rooms in the "Cancellaria," the largest palace in all Italy, that we might both live together, though in separate apartments. Burgo's household is considerable; my own consists of no less than 30 people, not including many Spanish prelates and other learned men (*hombres doctos*), most of whom dine daily at my table, and yet the palace of the Embassy is large enough to contain us all.

The ambassadors of the confederated powers being no longer able to maintain the above malicious assertion, have now hit upon a new plan. They say, "Since the Emperor loves his brother so much, he must, for fear of the Turk, now about to invade Hungary, and perhaps Germany also, forsake all other enterprise, and make any sacrifices to obtain peace."

The probable loss of my despatches of the 7th and 13th of February obliges me to insert here a summary of the news contained in them, as well as the progress of negotiations since my arrival in Rome.

Shortly after my landing at Naples, news came that Aquila had revolted, and soon after the whole county. The Germans, not having been paid, refused to serve, and Julio di Capua with his Italians did not consider himself strong enough to compel them into obedience.*

Seeing that the delay caused by the insurrection of the Aquilans might mar the enterprise of Barletta, and that the confederates were promoting these little wars (*estas guerrillas*) for the sole purpose of distracting us from our principal object, a council of war was held at Naples, wherein it was resolved that the Prince [of Orange], though still slightly indisposed, should at once march towards the Abruzzi, which he did the next day, and that I should leave for Rome the day after, as the news concerning the Pope's death were rather alarming.

Once at Aquila, the Prince made short work of the rebels. The city surrendered at discretion, and the inhabitants compounded for 100,000 ducats, which they paid down, not to be sacked. Sixty of the principal inhabitants were taken prisoners, from whom 100,000 more are expected; the ring-leaders were hung, and 170 soldiers sent to the galleys.

At the beginning of this rebellion, one Count of Montorio, who styles himself Count of Aquila, hastened to the spot with some men from Spoleto; but no sooner did Muxetula, who was then at Rome, hear of it, than he went up to the Pope, and remonstrated strongly against any aid from the estates of the Church being given to the rebels. It was in consequence

* "Por que los alemanes por no ser pagados no sirvieron, y Julio de Capua no pudo satisfacer á ponerseles al encuentro."

1529.

resolved that Fabio Petrucci, son of Pandolfo Petrucci, of Sienna, a good servant of His Imperial Majesty, should go to Spoleto, accompanied by a Papal commissary expressly appointed for the purpose, and publish there, as well as at Norsia and Perugia, a proclamation forbidding under heavy penalties any help being given to the rebels of Aquila and La Matrice. The proclamation had due effect, for several people who had received money from a French general, or from the ex-Abbot of Farfa, kept it and did not go; Count Montorio was obliged to quit Spoleto with his wife and children, and the whole conspiracy fell to the ground. The Prince writes in very grateful terms of the Pope (*mill amores*), praising his behaviour on this occasion.

Count Montorio went to Florence, where money was supplied to him for the purpose of raising 1,000 more troops to succour La Matrice; but the Prince having heard of it has sent five companies of infantry to occupy the passes, so that we expect to hear soon of its surrender.

Whilst writing the above the news has come of the taking of La Matrice. I hope that the Prince will make an example of it, for although I am by no means fond of spilling blood, yet, seeing the malignity of these people (*la vellaqueria de estos*), any punishment the Prince may be inclined to inflict will appear to me quite just and mild.

Shortly before my arrival at Rome the Abbot of Farfa [Napoleone], eldest son of the late Jo. Jordano (Giangiordano) Orsino, was deprived by the Pope of all his ecclesiastic benefices and revenues. The abbacy itself was given to a half-brother of his, son of Giangiordano's second wife, Madame Felice,* daughter of Pope Julius [II.]. In consequence thereof Napoleone has become a regular condottiere. It was he who, after the departure of the Imperialists, entered Rome, and perpetrated all manner of cruelties on the Spaniards he found there or outside. He went afterwards to St. Pol's camp, but perceiving that he could do nothing in favour of the Aquilans, owing to the Prince of Orange being already inside the city, he came to Bracciano, one of his father's estates, where, as well as here at Rome, he enlisted all manner of scoundrels, with whom he is actually doing all the harm he can, making inroads to the very gates of this capital, seizing cattle, robbing passengers, especially Imperialists or Spaniards, and committing atrocities of all kinds. Hearing this I went to the Pope and cardinals, and threatened that unless they themselves put a stop to the ex-Abbot's doings, I, with my own retainers and the Spaniards at Rome, would go and stamp out the nuisance. I must say that my demands were immediately

* In the genealogical tree of the Orsini family, published by Mr. Dennistoun (*Memorials of the Dukes of Urbino*, vol. ii. p. 343), Felice della Rovere, bastard daughter of Julius II., is set down as Giangiordano's second wife and Napoleone is said to have been born of his first marriage to Maria Cecilia d' Aragon, bastard daughter of Ferdinand, King of Naples. Napoleone's half-brother was Francesco Orsino, the progenitor of the Dukes of Bracciano.

1529.

complied with, and two captains appointed to march against him; one was Count Della Anguillara; the other, Francesco Orsino, a brother of Napoleone. However, as the cardinals of the French party would not hear of the ex-Abbot, their friend, being thus treated, a messenger was secretly despatched to the French ambassador with the request that he should prevail upon him to quit this neighbourhood, which he has promised.* We shall see whether he is in earnest or not.

(*Cipher:*) The truth is that the cardinals attached to the Empire are but few, and do not serve with the zeal and ardour displayed by those of the opposite party. It was on this occasion that La Valle sent to say that he wanted to retire to Castro, an estate of his in the Campania, intimating that he was afraid of the ex-Abbot suddenly entering Rome. The same cardinal loudly expressed his discontent on this occasion, saying that those who ought to show visibly their attachment to the Emperor's service deserted him at the most critical moment, &c. This he (La Valle) is known to have said in allusion to Cardinal Santa Croce, who, it appears, has lately become the intimate friend of Monte and other French cardinals, stating in public that unless the fortresses are immediately restored, he will follow the dissenting cardinals to Avignon, Bologna, or wherever they may choose to go. This being a most dangerous move, and one likely to produce the worst possible consequences, I have made every effort to persuade La Valle to remain, and think that I have succeeded. I have also written to the Prince of Orange to send me Ascanio Colonna as a counter-balance to the ex-Abbot. I have spoken to Santa Croce, &c.

(*Cipher:*) Yet as the ex-Abbot, with the troops he had enlisted, and is now paying with French money, still threatens to go to the Abruzzi, I have hit upon another plan to stop his mischievous career. As in the event of his going to the Abruzzi he must needs pass through Spoleto, I have secretly arranged with the governor of that city, Fabio Petrucci, to do his utmost to arrest him. Jacopo Salviatis here has promised to do the same if he should come to Rome. I attach no great faith to the promises of these people; but as both are personally interested in his capture, they may perhaps accomplish it; for, in reality, the Pope is most interested in putting down this nuisance of the ex-Abbot, whom he fears most tremendously, especially when he sees me (Mai) affecting indifference about his raids. Only the other day the governor of Rome (Jacopo Salviatis) came to me to say, in the name of the Pope and conservatori, that in case of any tumult or disorder occurring, I had nothing to do but send instantly for him. He would see that the Spaniards and Imperialists in general were protected within the city walls. And he

* "Y como los Cardenales franceses no quisieron acordaron de inbiar á rogar al embaxador de Francia que lo hiciesse ir de aqui, al Abad, que assi le llaman llaman siempre, y sino viniera en estos tiempos le devieran llamar."

1529.

added that some time before my arrival at Rome a conspiracy had been detected, the object of which was to murder all Spaniards and Germans in Rome. He (Salviati) had defeated it by giving early information to Muscetula (*sic*); he would now do the same with me, if there was any need for it. I thanked Salviati very much for his attention, and exhorted him to fulfil the duties of his office as befitted a person of his rank and authority.* If anything happened I would assist him [with all my people]; when he would have occasion to learn that the Emperor's good servants are never found at fault when called upon to aid the Pope. (*Cipher* :) The truth of this matter is that, notwithstanding all these protestations and offers of help, we Spaniards are on our guard, and quite prepared should the ex-Abbot's people come and attack us. It is true that in order to induce the Romans to do penance for their sins in this forthcoming Lent, these devils of preachers are in the habit of reminding them of their past sufferings [during the sack], and foretelling that greater evils are still to come, and otherwise exciting them to such a degree that Rome is ripe for any tumult; but he (Mai) has taken his measures and stopped their tongues.†

The first news received at Naples of the Pope's dangerous illness was conveyed in one of Muxetula's despatches to the Prince of Orange, relating how some of the cardinals had tumultuously (*se amotinaban*) risen to propose that in the event of the Pope's death they should all go out of Rome. The city, they said, was without wheat, Ostia and Civittà Vecchia still in the hands of the Imperialists, three of the cardinals prisoners at Naples, and the remainder had no liberty to deliberate. Such was the alarming news sent by the Imperial ambassador (Muxetula), in consequence of which, and in order to avoid a schism, which appeared imminent, the three cardinals were immediately liberated, the Prince having sent Balançon to tell them that they were free to go. Two of them went at once; Triulzio left the next morning in great haste, and without taking leave of the Prince, as he ought, though in point of fact he is to be excused, for there was at the time a rumour of the Pope's death, and he (Triulzio) not being an Imperialist, as are the other two, he was perhaps afraid of being detained in confinement.

This was not all; it was resolved that two or three ships laden with wheat, and which had been previously embargoed at Naples for the necessities of that kingdom, should be allowed to sail for the Roman estates, thus removing, as far as was in our power, every cause or pretence which the malignity of the

* "Que hiciesse su officio con la autoridad que convenia."

† "A la verdad, yo estoy bien apercibido, que agora aunque no sé si reñan (reñiran) tengo proveído como seria nada, porque estos diábolos de predicadores por traher los Romanos penitentes cada día les comemoran los daños pasados, y dizen que ha de aver mas, y tienen á Roma medio alborotada, aunque yo he proveído en ello que no lo digan mas, porque sin duda era malo."

1529.

confederates might turn into a plot for creating a schism in the Church.

Besides the above resolutions taken in Council, it was decided that I should come [to Rome] in haste for the purpose of immediately restoring the fortresses (*las rocas*) to the Pope if he was still alive, and if dead, to the College of Cardinals. And as it was rumoured that these latter were greatly afraid of the Imperial army, and wanted some sort of pledge, Muxetula was instructed by the Prince to assure them that he would not move one step without the consent of the sacred College and Consistory, and to say likewise, that in coming as far as Aquila, it was not with the intention, as they said, of approaching nearer to Rome, but in order to put down the rebellion of that city and of the Abruzzo. These same statements I confirmed on my first arrival in Rome, and I must say that they had the effect of soothing the passions of the cardinals, the more so that the Pope was then getting better every day.

This business of the fortresses the cardinals have so much at heart, that one day, because I did not answer Jacopo Salviati as warmly and categorically as he expected, he went away rather offended (*resentido*), and I have since heard that the cardinals threw the blame of the affair on the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg), with whom I had been talking that very morning. But the truth is that neither had the Archbishop spoken to me on the subject, nor had I used since my arrival any expression at which the said Salviati might take umbrage; on the contrary, I voluntarily offered in the first instance to send for the governors of Ostia and Civittà Vecchia and deliver to them the Imperial warrants commanding them to obey the Prince's orders, as well as his letters delegating his authority to me.

(*Cipher* :) During these transactions I received a letter from Cardinal Medici, advising me, in case of the Pope's death, not to give up the fortresses. The proposal seemed to me so startling and dangerous that I consulted Cardinal Santa Croce, Bauri (Waury), and Il Muxetula, and we decided to follow the instructions of the Prince and Council, which were to give up the fortresses to the College of Cardinals unconditionally, rather than expose Christendom to a schism. Bauri (Waury) and Il Muxetula, however, leaving next day for Naples, were to acquaint the Prince with Medici's message, and with our own impression of it, and send me fresh instructions how to act in this particular; but as those ministers remained in Naples, and the Prince is still in the Abruzzo, I never got a definite answer, though I received two letters referring the matter entirely (*cipher*) to me, but intimating that in case of the Pontificate becoming vacant it was advisable to retain the fortresses.*

* "Pero que en caso de vacation confirmavan la retencion susodicha."

1529.

(*Common writing* :) Meanwhile the Pope had a relapse; the cardinals met, and sent to request me to give up Ostia and Civittà Vecchia. (*Cipher* :) Cardinal Santa Croce, though he well knew that we were waiting for an answer to the message sent by Bauri (Waury), sent also a secretary of his with the cardinals' messenger to join in the prayer that I should at once give orders for the restitution of the fortresses, and I was thereby thrown in great perplexity, for although I knew well Your Majesty's intentions in this particular, which I have lost no opportunity of proclaiming in public and in private, yet I disliked to see so much activity and zeal on the part of Cardinal Santa Croce, when a few days more would have been quite sufficient to allow of an answer from Naples. However this may be, in order not to increase their mistrust, and that these people might see that we were in earnest, I sent for the governors, and as I suspected that my orders would be reluctantly, if at all, obeyed, I begged the Prince to send me a commissary who might see them carried out in case there should be a hesitation to obey them. The Prince sent me Rodrigo de Ripalda, who has behaved in a very gentlemanly way in this affair, for having taken him with me to the congregation, he assured the cardinals that his brother, who held Ostia for the Emperor, was willing to give it up as soon as I sent him the order. His brother (he added) had certain just claims [against the Pope and the cardinals], but that would not prevent him from surrendering the fortress, when so commanded, for he (Rodrigo) and his brother, the governor, were ready to stake their fortune and their lives in Your Imperial Majesty's service.

Don Alonso de Cordoba, the governor of Civittà Vecchia, came also, but though a true gentleman (*buen caballero*) in every respect, he is somewhat high tempered (*rezio*). He brought forward certain claims which, in my opinion, are neither good nor just enough to warrant his retaining the keys of that fortress. Had the answer from Naples come in time, I would then have pressed him more warmly (*le apertara mas caldamente*), though I failed not to tell him, in the presence of cardinals deputed by the Sacred College, and in my own house, many things conducing to Your Majesty's best service. I did more; I commissioned Rodrigo de Ripalda to treat of the matter with him. (*Cipher* :) Don Alonso has been staying with me for a fortnight, but being in indifferent health, has now returned to Civittà Vecchia, without coming to an agreement about his charge.* I confess that I am not sorry, for that will give us time to wait for the answer [from Naples], for Don Alonso was continually raising obstacles and creating disputes which might have spoilt the whole negotiation. Upon one or two occasions, and whilst the cardinals were dis-

* "Y puse á Rodrigo que lo tractasse con él, el qual ha xv. dias, que tengo aqui para esto. Y como Don Alonso no estava muy bueno, con esta conclusion se volvió á su tenencia."

1529.

puting his claims in my presence, he was so intemperate in language that had I not interfered and put a stop to the quarrel by saying that the case was not one to be argued with Don Alonso, but with me alone, there is no knowing how the conference would have ended, *hubo de venir á malas con estos cardenales*. "Civittà Vecchia (I said) had a Spanish governor and garrison, but it was not held for the Emperor, but for the Pope." This I said with a view to calm the suspicions of the cardinals, and I flatter myself that I succeeded to a certain extent, for they now begin to own that Your Imperial Majesty had nothing to do with the sack of this city, but, on the contrary, was really grieved to hear of it. This tardy confession of the cardinals is not so much based upon their own conviction as it is upon the result of their investigations in Spain, for I hear from a very reliable and secret source that soon after that deplorable event most minute inquiries were made to ascertain the truth of the matter, and find cause or pretence for depriving Your Majesty of the sacred Roman Empire, as well as of the fief of Naples, and dictate other equally preposterous measures (*locuras*).

Meanwhile, the ambassadors of the League, and the cardinals attached to them, perceiving that there was some delay in the delivery of the fortresses, began to publish a report that they would never be restored. This rumour assiduously spread coincided with the ex-Abbot of Farfa's arrival in Rome, and produced some agitation among the populace. I tried to counteract the evil by assuring them that the restitution would take place almost immediately, and I prevailed upon a secretary, Don Alonso, who had remained behind, to present his master's bill, begging the cardinals to examine it attentively, and, if found correct, to settle it at once, as I could not conveniently bring an execution on Don Alonso, and oblige him to give up Civittà Vecchia without his claims being acknowledged. Since the sum was not considerable, they ought, in my opinion, to redeem their pledge at once. This declaration had the effect of appeasing the fears of the cardinals, the more so that, happening to meet on the same day Salviati and Monte, I said to them, "You may be sure that the Emperor is very well disposed towards the Pope and towards you all. Had he been otherwise, by merely stopping the importation of wheat from Sicily and Naples, you would have been compelled to surrender Sanct Angelo, your own lives, and that of your children."* The cardinals agreed that I was right.

At Easter, Cardinal Santacroce visited his colleagues, as is customary to do at such times. All mentioned to him the

* "Bien podian ser ciertos del animo de V. M^d. y sus ministros, que sino fuesse bueno para con Su Santidad y para con ellos, que con no darles grano de Sicilia y de Napoles nos vinieran á dar la roca de Sant Angelo, y sus vidas y sus hijos."

1529.

affair of the fortresses, as they had done to me, but finding, as it has been ascertained since, that Santacroce's answer was not as explicit as they expected, they again began to announce that should the Pope, who had had a relapse just then, really die, they would certainly quit Rome, and proceed to the new election elsewhere; and I was told at the time that Cardinal Santacroce not only approved their determination, but said he would be the first to go. I confess that I was astonished when I heard this, and could not believe the report, until the Cardinal himself came and stated the case to me. Nor was this all; as if a declaration of this sort were not sufficient to encourage the cardinals of the opposite faction, one day, as I was in the church attached to this embassy, under the patronage of Sant Lorenzo in Damaso (*sic*), he and Cardinal Monte came in on the plea of hearing a sermon, took me apart, and related to me several malicious reports, invented no doubt by the ambassadors of the confederated powers, or, perhaps, by the cardinals themselves, who wished to quit Rome in the event of the Pope's death. Then in the very presence of Cardinal Monte, who is no friend of Your Imperial Majesty, Santacroce added, "I cannot help thinking that the cardinals are in the right; if they go I will follow them." I replied to him as well as I could, and when Monte went away I told him in plain terms what I thought of his conduct on this occasion. His answer was that he had already written to Your Imperial Majesty about this, and that he wished to behave in all these matters as a good ecclesiastic. If he did not serve God first, he could not serve the Emperor afterwards. At last, as I could not convince him, I begged he would not mention to his colleagues that I was waiting for an answer from Naples. Though I expect it every day, I could not take upon myself to have the fortresses restored without positive orders from the Prince [of Orange]. I had not lost my time in the meanwhile, knowing Your Majesty's interest was at stake. I had so arranged matters that as soon as the answer came the restitution of the fortresses should take place, I was anxiously waiting for the answer, which, in my opinion, could not be other than what had first been proposed in Council, and consulted upon by Waury, Muxetula, and myself. I, therefore, entreated him to try and persuade the rest of his colleagues that, should the Pope die, I would upon my own responsibility, and without further waiting for an answer from Naples, give up Ostia and Civittà Vecchia at once. His answer was, "I really believe the cardinals will quit Rome even before the Pope's death, and that the very moment they hear of his being near his end they will pack up and go."

Such is the state of this affair at present. I spare no trouble or fatigue to procure an answer from Naples. Every day and almost every hour I write for it, and were the state

1529.

of the roads such as to allow copies of my despatches to the Prince and to the Collateral Council to be forwarded to Spain, Your Imperial Majesty would see that I omit nothing towards the settlement of this delicate affair.

A few days after, the Pope growing very ill, the cardinals assembled and endeavoured, as I afterwards learned, to draw out a bull whereby they might, in opposition to settled rights, make their election out of Rome; and it seems that there was a discussion about the place of the meeting, whether it should be Bologna, Verona, Civittà-Castellana, or Avignon. (*Cipher:*) On the night of the same day, the most Reverend Cardinal of Tortosa (Enckwort) and Santacroce came to me in disguise, announcing that unless the restitution of the fortresses was immediately accomplished there would certainly be riots in Rome. I dared not say before Tortosa that I was waiting for an answer from Naples, as I thought such declaration might, at the present juncture, do more harm than good. I, therefore, told them they might rely upon it, if the Pope died the restitution should be accomplished forthwith. Again, two or three days after this, as some of the cardinals, among whom were Capua, Monte, and others, were trying to intimidate me, I told them resolutely that the fortresses would be given back. It was no fault of the Emperor's or of his ministers that the restitution had not been accomplished already.

There remained now no cause for the disturbances which the cardinals apprehended, though I was pretty sure that in the event of the Pope's death the wicked suggestions of some of them would ultimately prevail, and that, with or without motive, they would do their utmost to promote a schism in the Church, by quitting Rome and holding the election elsewhere. I said as much to Monte and Santacroce, adding that I would still try my utmost to avert such an unjustifiable proceeding. If unsuccessful in my attempt I would let them go, for certainly neither the Christian faith nor Your Imperial Majesty's greatness could be affected by the fact that 12 or 15 cardinals, more or less party-spirited and selfish, chose to withdraw from the College and make the election out of Rome; for if the said cardinals neglected their duty towards God and man, Your Imperial Majesty could soon reform them and set them right in a Catholic and religious sense. The fortresses would be restored without loss of time, but if after that the cardinals did not do their duty, it was only a matter of five or six days for our troops from Naples to come and seize them again.

Certain protests drawn out by me are ready to be entered in the College of Cardinals in the event of the Pope's death, the substance of which is to summon them in Your Imperial Majesty's name to remain at Rome, and make the new election here. Should they disregard this injunction, the cardinals shall be proceeded against as authors and originators of a

1529.

schism in the Church, their temporalities occupied, and they themselves subjected to the penalties they may have incurred. Several copies of the protest are already [in print?], to be distributed in case of need among the cardinals who wish to absent themselves; one will be sent to Santacroce, who, notwithstanding my friendly advice, still persists in his idea.

Whilst on this subject of the fortresses I must not omit to mention that Santacroce said once to me, "If the fortresses are not quickly given up, people will begin to entertain doubts respecting the friendship and affection which the Emperor professes to the Pope. I have often been called upon to return the articles of the treaty which I myself took to Spain, as proposed by the Pope to the Emperor. Those articles, I am told, are merely conditional; if the fortresses were not previously restored there was to be no treaty at all." This objection being one of some importance, I asked him (Santacroce) who was his informant. He hesitated, and answered: "I have not been told so in Rome by the Pope, or by anyone coming from him, but in Spain." This, however, was said in a manner that convinced me that either he shunned to give the name of his informer, or else that the rumour had no solid foundation. My reply was that the story seemed to me highly improbable. No Papal functionary or minister could speak in that manner now, for if the Pope, unfortunately for me, refused to declare in favour of Your Majesty, still I was sure that he would not, under present circumstances, declare for the League. I concluded by again asking him, since he knew that I expected daily an answer from Naples, not to push matters as he did, but to have patience.*

Having so far accounted for my proceedings in the negotiations which Your Imperial Majesty has been pleased to entrust to my care, I will now state my candid opinion as to the qualities and views of each of the cardinals, whom I have had occasion to visit since my arrival in Rome, and especially during the Easter week.

And first of Pope Clement VII. I could not visit His Holiness until nine days after my arrival at Rome. As I was impatient to begin the negotiation, and so were the Cardinals, an appointment was made for the evening of the Purification of our Lady.†

I went to the Quirinal, accompanied by most of the Spaniards then at Rome, perhaps a little earlier than the cardinals might have wished, for I was told at my entrance into the Papal chamber not to speak too loud or too long, as His Holiness was not well. Kissed his foot, made my

* "Por que me pareció cosa de qualidad le demandé quien se lo havia dicho, y enubrioseme diciendo que no se lo habia dicho el Papa ni nadie por su parte, sino allá; no sé como se lo revolbia. Roguele, porque sabia que se esperaba la respuesta que venia, que no lo apretasse tanto por que aquello no era verisimile que en este tiempo ninguno lo diga, por que aunque por mi desdicha el Papa no se declare por V. Md. soi mas cierto que no [se] declarára en contrario."

† Purificacion de Nuestra Señora, or the 2nd of February.

1529.

reverence, and delivered my credentials. Without, however, delivering the Latin oration customary at such times, and prepared beforehand, I contented myself with extolling the Emperor's devotion to and respect for the Holy See (*devotion y observantia*). The Pope then spoke for more than a quarter of an hour in complimentary terms about the Emperor and his good wishes, begging to be excused if, owing to his ill health, my reception was not so solemn and splendid as he might have wished. Replied that all the Imperial ministers were exceedingly sorry to see him in that sad condition, and were praying day and night for his speedy recovery. The Emperor also begged to be excused for, owing to the difficulty of the roads, his ambassador not having been sent before.

On leaving the room both the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) and Jacopo Salviati, who were present at the audience, took care to mention incidentally the affair of the fortresses, upon which I and Cardinal Santacroce, who happened to be with me, assured them that orders had been already issued for their immediate restitution. What has since happened on this particular point I have already stated in the former part of this despatch.

After visiting the Pope, I went to call on the cardinals one by one, beginning by Farnese, who is now the president (*decano*) of the College. Told him the affectionate regard which the Emperor entertained for him, and how much he trusted in his good offices, assuring him that if ever he wanted the Emperor's favour and assistance he might count upon them. The Cardinal, who is a wise and well-spoken man, answered in a long complimentary address, which lasted nearly two hours, praising the election which the Emperor had made of my humble person to represent him at the Papal Court. There remained such good memory at Rome (he said) of Mossen Vich and of Don Luis Carroz, both natives of Aragon, that he had no doubt I should be equally acceptable as coming from the same kingdom. He then made all manner of offers, assuring me that he was personally attached to the Emperor, and a good ecclesiastic. If he ever had said or done anything disagreeable to the Emperor, it was in fulfilment of his own duties as a churchman, and not in any way with a view to annoy or hurt the Emperor, whom he respected and loved above all princes. He had once been appointed Legate in Spain, but had been prevented from going thither.* Two or three more allusions did the Cardinal make to facts of no great importance, but which were entirely unknown to me. I answered that His Imperial Majesty had always considered him a friend of his, and certainly his acts proved him to be such; (*cipher*;) for his son Piero Luigi, now at Naples, is a staunch Imperialist, and has always served well, though the

* The instructions given to him on this occasion may be found at pages 510-20, No. 280.

1529.

eldest,* now dead, was a thorough Frenchman. The Cardinal was no doubt flattered by this observation of mine, for he replied "I am delighted to hear from you that the services of my son, Piero Luigi, are held in such esteem. I have no doubt that his sons will inherit his devotion to the Emperor; that has always been and will be my constant desire."

Though the Duke of Sessa (D. Luis Fernandez de Cordoba), and perhaps also Don Juan Manuel, had some idea of making him Pope after the death of Adrian, he has now rather moderated (*reducido*) his aspirations, and does not approve of the opinions and plans entertained by his colleagues†. His eldest son, whom he loved the most, being dead, and Piero Luigi being, as he is, so good a servant of Your Majesty, I imagine that if elected to the purple, he (Farnese) will be more of a churchman than of a Frenchman, though he professes to be Imperialist.

Called next on Cardinal Monte, who has hitherto been a staunch partisan of the French, though very lately, having become one of the principal members of the College, and holding, as it were, in his hands the reins of government, he has relented, and gives himself out as an Imperialist, making much public demonstration in our favour. I was told so by Muxetula, and by Pero Ruiz de Alarcon, and therefore addressed him in almost the same terms as Farnese, which he answered with equal courtesy. Most likely he makes similar professions to the League, for, like Farnese, he aspires to the Pontificate.

I saw Sancti-Quatuor (Pucci) and spoke to him one night before the others; he professed to be the Emperor's friend. So did the Cardinal of Sienna (Piccolomini), and in saying so he spoke truth, for he has actually suffered personal injury through it (*que es lisiado por ello*). As Sienna is a good man, and an excellent lawyer, I did not stand upon much ceremony with him, as his help, when required, is sure to be forthcoming.

Held similar language to Trani (Joannes Dominicus de Cupis), and was answered in the same courteous strain. Though he has hitherto been a partisan of the French, his sister Madame Felice is now wishing to become an Imperialist, as she was formerly, and intends making her sons enter the Emperor's service. As she is known to exercise great influence over her brother, the Cardinal may, perhaps, be trusted, though this must be said of him, that in this last affair of the ex-Abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsino), as well as on the threat of his colleagues to quit Rome, the said Trani did not behave at all well.

As to La Valle (Andrea) he is so staunch an Imperialist that there is no necessity of further alluding to him, or referring to his words and professions, which are sincere.

* Ranuccio, who died in 1527.

† *Estas ligerias de los otros* says the original, but I fancy that *liguerias* or meetings of confederates is meant.

1529.

The same may be said of Cardinal Tortosa (Enckwoert). Cardinal Perosa (Perugia) is now the Pope's chamberlain, but as he has always been mercenary (*mercader*), it is necessary to wait for his deeds; his words at present cannot be better.

He of Naples (Caraffa) is a confidential and trusty friend. The same may be said of Palmerio (Andrea Mattheo).

Grimano, when visited by me, answered in nearly the same terms as the others, protesting his devotion to Your Imperial Majesty, whom, he said, he considered as the head and protector of the Holy Catholic Church, he himself being, as Patriarch of Aquileia, a vassal of the Empire. He added that whenever his services were required he would be glad to receive the Emperor's orders. May they never be wanted!

Cardinal Orsino spoke in the same strain; and apropos of this family, it must be observed that many of its members, whose services have been lost to us for want of care, might have been gained over very easily. The Catholic King Ferdinand made use of them at very little cost; and certainly with one fourth of the sums lately lavished upon persons whom nobody knows, several members of the Orsini family might have been secured for the Emperor. This is a point well worthy of consideration, (*cipher* :) for the French fury with which the Imperialists of this city are continually being threatened has no other foundation or support than from the discontented members of that influential family. The evil might be remedied by gaining over some of them. I have been told by Alessandro Colonna, the brother of Stephano, the lord of Palestrina, (*cipher* :) that if he and his brothers are now partisans of the French it is merely owing to the Cardinal [Pompeo] and Ascanio having made them such, but that, now that he is free from bonds, he is ready to serve Your Majesty. Fancies that they would be contented with little. I will communicate with the Prince [of Orange] on this subject, for hopes are also entertained of the other brother, who is at present in the service of the French, coming over to us.

Cesarino made very good professions, and there is reason to think he is in earnest. (*Cipher* :) Cardinal Colonna, whilst at Naples, reported things about Cesarino likely to raise suspicion. I have investigated the matter, and find nothing yet to justify the accusation. Will have my eyes upon him.

To the three cardinals who were kept as hostages in Naples a different and fuller declaration was made by me. Besides telling them how sorry His Imperial Majesty had been at the occurrence, and how, upon learning their arrest, he gave immediate orders for their release, I assured them that though Your Imperial Majesty had nothing to do with their arrest, he was ready to compensate them for their losses and troubles.

Pisani being ill in bed at the time, I did not call on him, but sent him a courteous message, which that cardinal returned with many thanks. Trivulzio is another sort of man. I called and addressed him in the same terms as the others.

1529.

His answer was that he was particularly thankful at the Emperor having ordered his release. He was born a French subject, and felt a natural attachment for that country. There were matters, however, in which he could serve the Emperor without doing violence to his sentiments, and for those he offered his services. Replied that if such were his sentiments he was quite right in speaking thus. The Emperor would never ask from his friends anything but what they could honestly give him. I expressed hopes that his attachment for France would not last long, for experience had shown that the staunchest partisans of that country had finished by deserting her (*se reconocian*), or had ended in total ruin.

The above-mentioned Cardinal (Triulzo) is quick, and does not proceed by halves.* The day that I went to the College and delivered Your Majesty's letters to the cardinals, Farnese, who presided, rose and said that he and all his colleagues knew the Emperor's sentiments towards them, and that was the reason why God had granted him so many signal victories over his enemies. Many other flattering expressions did Farnese utter on this occasion, which so much shocked the worthy Cardinal (Triulzo) that he could bear it no longer, and, rising abruptly from his chair (*alzose en seco*), went out of the Hall, and never returned until I was gone. Yet, notwithstanding all this, he came the other day to me, and begged I would forward to Spain certain claims he had, or pretends to have, in consequence of various ecclesiastical revenues unjustly withheld from him, as he says.

Some five and twenty days after, this same Trivulzio sent me a message by a bishop of his suite (*obispo familiar*) to say he was highly displeased at hearing that the people of Naples murmured at his departure from that city, and made me write to the Prince about it.

Cardinal Gaddi is an Imperialist to the backbone (*Imperialissimo*), and held as such both here and at Naples. The Prince of Orange, who esteems him as he deserves, told me at Naples that if Annibale Pignatello could only be persuaded to take another bishopric instead of that of Cosenza, for which he has been presented, this ought to be given to Cardinal Gaddi, on condition, however, of his acknowledging the favour (*con que lo conociesse de V. Magd.*) and showing his gratitude by his acts. This was afterwards confirmed by the Cardinal himself in a private conversation I had with him. Answered that I could do nothing in the matter save fulfil the Emperor's orders; but that as soon as the Pope recovered I would ask him to interfere, so that Pignatello should content himself with the pensions of the bishopric, and leave him to administer the see. If unsuccessful, I could do nothing but obey the Imperial commands, and again present Pignatello for the archbishopric. Since then I have had letters from Naples

* "Este es vivo y no tiene medio."

1529.

offering me a large sum of money if I would only prevail upon Pignatello to give up his claim, but I have refused, because my wish is that the Cardinal and the rest of his colleagues should understand that this and similar favours are derived exclusively from the Emperor, and that no personal influence of my own will ever be employed in forwarding the views of ecclesiastics not directly recommended by my lord and master.

Spoke to Cesis in similar terms. His answer was satisfactory. He is quick and learned, as well as high-spirited and fond of command (*presume de que manda*). Pero Ruiz de Alarcon having assured me that this cardinal was a staunch Imperialist, I addressed him as such, and showed confidence in him. Hitherto, however, he has given no signs of being as good as he is represented.

The same may be said of Ridolfi. Though we bestowed upon each other mutual caresses, he has not yet done anything to prove his attachment to the Empire. The said Ridolfi is a man of merit and high-spirited (*tiene espíritu*).

Cornaro is the man who was Papal Nuncio at Barcelona when Your Majesty left La Coruña. He and all his family are staunch Imperialists; he himself boasts of being the Emperor's servant (*criado*). Fancies that in all matters not immediately connected with his own personal interests some trust may be placed in him.

There is no need of passing judgment on Grimaldo, who, even if he chose, could not be anything but an Imperialist. (*Cipher* :) In fact Your Imperial Majesty may be thankful for the services of all this family, for Ansaldo Grimaldo is sincerely attached to the Empire.

Cardinal Cavem* says the same. The Duke Lorenzo [de' Medici] told Muxetula, at the time when the Pope was dangerously ill, that if he were to die, he and the rest of his family would place themselves under the Emperor's protection, and leave immediately for Naples. This Duke Lorenzo I have flattered in a thousand ways, and I think have him entirely in my power, though after all he and the rest of his family depend entirely on the Pope, and as long as Clement VII. is alive they will naturally follow his steps.

Sanseverino protests of his friendship for Your Imperial Majesty. I spoke to him as to the rest of the cardinals. He replied in the same strain. He did more, he complained to me that at the time of the first agitation (*alteraciones*), and when the cardinals threatened to quit Rome, he uttered expressions which Muxetula had totally misrepresented. He had always been sincerely attached to Your Majesty, and, though his brothers might at times have shown hostility to the Empire, it was entirely against his will. If his professions be sincere, there will be in future plenty of occasions to test him.

* Thus in the cipher, but I suspect that the deciphering clerk read *Cavem* for *Medici*

1529.

Cardinal Mantua (Hercole Gonzaga) is very high-spirited for a young man of his age, and as he belongs to a princely family (*presume de señorico*), he wishes to domineer over his uncle (Federigo Gonzaga), and will certainly accomplish it in time. The cardinals who threatened to go away took him for their chief, and so when I arrived in Rome, and called upon the Mantuan ambassador, he was the first to mention the fact and excuse the Cardinal for being at the head of his dissenting colleagues.* Knowing, as I did, through Muxetula's letters, the part taken by Cardinal Mantua in these intrigues, I did not hesitate, when I called on him, to allude to his past conduct in the affair. He dissembled, and assured me that we could place implicit reliance on him, and that he would never be in fault when the Imperial service could be done. Your Imperial Majesty may believe me when I say that one of the severest trials I have encountered in my life has been this hearing of lies, and patiently listening to false protestations of fidelity and attachment to the Empire; but after all we must accommodate ourselves to the times.

The above are the cardinals I called upon; the rest were absent. My visit to them was in private and one by one. I had besides seen them all, or nearly all, at the College, when presided over by Cardinal Farnese, I presented to them Your Imperial Majesty's credentials.

(*Cipher* :) Cardinals Mantua, Cesis, and Ridolfi, as above stated, though hostile to Your Imperial Majesty, presume to be of weight and authority at this court.† I learn from a very good source that it is they who brought back to Rome the Bishop of Verona [Gianmatheo Giberti]. They say that the Pope did not actually write to him to come, but that they themselves, counting on the Pope's good-will, despatched one of his chamberlains with the message. This incident has given rise here to many conjectures; some people asserting that the Pope really sent for him, whilst others maintain that he did not, and that the above-mentioned cardinals sent the message. However this may be, there can be no doubt that, invited or not, he has come to Rome with the Pope's consent, that he is actually at the head of the government (*lo manda y lo mandará todo*), and that absolutely nothing is done without his consent.

(*Cipher* :) In my opinion, three are the objects of the good bishop's presence at Rome. The first and principal is fear of the confederates, for the Pope, having, as he has, treated me so kindly ever since my arrival, may one of these days be persuaded to forsake the League entirely, and become the friend and affectionate father of Your Imperial Majesty. Indeed so terribly afraid of this are the confederates that they have hitherto done, and are actually doing, everything in their power to prevent the Pope from carrying out his deter-

* "Y assi quando yo vine el embaxador questá aqui del Marques de Mantua me dixo," &c.

† "Presumen de cuerdos y de mandar á esta corte."

1529.

mination, especially now that Your Majesty's journey is no longer an uncertainty.

The second object is, that the cardinals are afraid that, if the Pope be left to himself, the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) will be created cardinal. They fancy that Gianmatheo, who certainly is no friend of Capua, will prevent his nomination, or at any rate will be appointed conjointly with him, so as to counterbalance each other's vote in the College.

The third object of Gianmatheo's visit is to arrange certain domestic broils in the Papal household, such as Ridolfi's jealousy of Jacopo Salviati, and other petty quarrels not worth mentioning in this despatch. The last-named would, perhaps, make a better cardinal than the former.* However this may be, certain it is that Gianmatheo is a greater favourite than ever. Since his arrival in Rome the Pope's health has considerably improved, so much so that he has had no further relapse, whereas formerly he had one every two days.

On Capua's recommendation I waited upon Gianmatheo on the very day of his arrival. He had already sent me Secretary Sanga to offer his excuses, and say that he was very much fatigued from his journey, but would soon call. Two days after this, as I was coming down from the Pope's apartments, I heard that he (Gianmatheo) was visiting Capua. I went thither as if I wanted to see the latter, and we met, he (Gianmatheo) saying many kind things to me, as on our first interview.

Three days after this Gianmatheo returned my visit, when, after the usual courteous and complimentary phrases of which these Romans are so lavish, he said to me that one of the greatest misfortunes in his life was to have been unjustly held to be a wicked man. That was the reason why he had left the Papal Court, and retired to his see. He had now come to Rome only to see the Pope, and intended to return [to Verona] very soon, though he could not tell whether the Pope would let him go back. He placed himself entirely in the hands of God, for now he led a quite different life, away from the bustle and temptations of Court. He could not deny that he might, when young, have been guilty of some peccadilloes (*livandades*), yet he had never intentionally wronged anyone (*cometido bellaqueria*), much less Your Imperial Majesty. If he had ever done anything which did turn out more profitable to others than to Your Majesty, he was not responsible, having done it in strict obedience to superior commands, and as a faithful servant should act towards his master, that is to say, to be a white tablet for the master to write upon, whilst he holds the sponge in his hand to efface the writing, and write again as desired.†

* "Y este seria menos mal, pero en fin él es mas privado que nunca, y del día que llegó á esta parte ha siempre mejorado el Papa, sin recaer, que de primero cada dos días recaía."

† "Y como han de ser los verdaderos criados que son, que han de ser como una tabla blanca en la qual pueda scribir su amo y tener la spongia en la mano para borrar lo que es escrito y escribir otra cosa."

1529.

Hearing this, and knowing him to be quick of understanding, and as capable of good as of evil, I thought it was full time to beat the red-hot iron upon the anvil. I, therefore, replied to all his civilities, and said, as coming from Your Majesty, that not knowing at my departure from Spain that he (Gianmatheo) had returned to Court, I could not possibly ascertain what opinion Your Imperial Majesty had of him. I had since heard at Rome that he was not (*cipher*;) reputed to be the Emperor's friend, but as I sincerely wished him to become such, I did not hesitate to state the fact. I knew him to be quick and learned, a man of great tact and experience in affairs, who therefore could not take offence at such avowal of my sentiments concerning him. Concluded by begging him to tell me frankly in what light I was to consider him, whether the friend or the enemy of Your Imperial Majesty; for if the former, I would immediately write home to the Emperor; if the latter, I should not be greatly shocked, because, after all, men, as he had very properly said, served their masters, and nothing was more natural for him than to obey implicitly the Pope's commands.

At this point Gianmatheo interrupted me, and, with a great change in his countenance, exclaimed (*muuy demudado*), "I really imagine myself in Paradise, and thank God for my coming to Rome, since I have had the felicity of hearing your very kind words. I declare at once that I never intended doing harm to the Emperor. Had it been otherwise, I should not, now that my habits of life have been completely reformed, wish and hope so ardently as I do, that with God's help I shall be able to do much service to His Imperial Majesty." After which very handsome words, he went on to say that his wish was to go to Spain, and throw himself at the Emperor's feet, sure as he was that with his innate benignity and discretion he would, after listening to his explanation, accept his excuses, and hold him in future for what he really was and wished to be, namely, the Emperor's best friend and humblest servant. If he could not succeed in persuading the Emperor of this, he had better be put to death at once, or thrown out of the windows of the Imperial palace; that would be a better fate for him than to live at Rome under the stigma of being the Emperor's enemy.

(*Cipher*;) The conference at an end, I begged Gianmatheo to prove his good intentions by helping in the present negotiation, which he promised to do. Two were my reasons for binding him in this manner: the first and principal, that I risked nothing by it; for having spoken in my own name, and told him expressly that, owing to his return to Rome not being known before my departure, his name had not been mentioned at the Spanish Court, Your Majesty's authority and reputation could nowise be affected by my avowal. The second, that were I to disdain and reject Gianmatheo's offers of service, we might make a declared enemy of him;

1529.

whereas in this way, without attaching more confidence to his words than they deserve, we may still make use of him.

I have already said above that Miçer Andrea del Burgo had arrived, still in bad health, and that he begged me to go to the Pope and to the cardinals, and present the letters of credence of his master, the King of Hungary, which I did, asking the Pope to help and assist him against the Turk, and send a Nuncio to the Diet at Spires. My impression is, that the help will turn out moonshine, for the Pope, they say, has not a "carlino"; but there is every reason to think that the Nuncio will be appointed and sent. Miçer Andrea [del Burgo] having asked that the person appointed should be a layman, learned, and of gentlemanly aspect and bearing, the Pope thought of sending Gaspar Argellense, but Burgo and I having objected (*cipher*;) on account of these late rumours about his person, Luigi Gonzaga was named and accepted by us both, as we know him to be sincerely attached to the Empire. The Archbishop of Capua had also spoken in favour of one son of Count [Pico] della Mirandola, now residing here, a gentle knight and a good scholar, but Gonzaga was preferred.

Soon after his arrival in Rome, Burgo said a good deal to me about general peace, and the best means of bringing it about; but though no servant of Your Imperial Majesty can do else than advocate it, provided it be advantageous to the Empire, and come from a good quarter, I answered that my instructions were of a different nature. Should the proposition be openly made elsewhere, I had no doubt that His Majesty the Emperor would do his duty towards God and man, thus ensuring the tranquillity of Europe and the utter destruction of the infidel Turk; but it was not for Your Majesty to make advances on that score. I had been expressly told not to talk or treat about general peace; that was no business of mine. Burgo's reply was that his instructions were to conform himself on every point with my opinion; besides, being the Emperor's servant, he had been commanded to do so by the King of Hungary. "Our two embassies," he remarked, "though different, were only one and the same."

Matters being in this state, I have not the least doubt that Your Imperial Majesty's wishes (*cipher*;) will be properly attended to, though, perhaps, with reluctance; for, after all, the injuries sustained by the cardinals on a previous occasion are still fresh in their memory; besides which, the incessant intrigues and instigations of the confederates, and, above all, the dread and panic lately spread over Italy on account of Your Majesty's intended journey, may prove an obstacle. For although these people cannot fail to have observed our good behaviour towards them, and how we have generously supplied a quantity of wheat, for want of which Rome might have been entirely depopulated, and they have seen the Prince's

1529.

forbearance after his victory in the Abruzzo, yet the cardinals of the opposite faction still persist in their determination. Though I have told them several times that the Prince of Orange might, if he chose, have occupied Spoleto, Norsia, and Perugia, the inhabitants of which cities invited him to come, and he had refused their offers out of respect for the Pope and for them, (*cipher* :) they still obstinately persist in their wicked purpose, though it must be said that they dissemble as much as they can.

(*Common writing* :) Though these cardinals have news, as I have also, from Lombardy, purporting that when the Pope was dangerously ill, the confederates formed the design of seizing on Parma and Piacenza, just as the Venetians have occupied, and still retain, Cervia and Ravenna; though they know from their own Vice-Legates, as I do know from some of Your Majesty's ministers [in Italy], that about this time Antonio de Leyva sent to offer them all the succour they might wish or want, certain it is that the majority of the cardinals are hostile to our views, for no other reason, in my opinion, than the wanton ravages of the Imperial soldiers all over Italy, beginning by Piedmont and ending in Puglia. This is a truth which I dare say Your Imperial Majesty would be the first to acknowledge, were the amount of plunder taken, and the atrocities committed to obtain that plunder, known in all their details. Your Majesty may believe me when I say that one of the greatest laurels of the Imperial crown will be the reformation of the armies, as I had the occasion to say to the Prince and to Alarcon whilst at Naples. Otherwise Your Imperial Majesty will never be the master [of Italy]; for although a thousand worlds may be conquered in this way, they will never be good for anything, if the raw recruit, when he sets foot in Italy, becomes as perverted and wicked as the veteran soldier. It is a wonder to me that, with the impunity they enjoy, the Germans, Italians, and Spaniards are not a hundred times worse.

This despatch, commenced several days ago,* could not be sent as soon as was expected, the messenger who was to take it to Naples not being quite ready.—Rome, 22nd March 1529.

Signed: "Mai."

22 March. **658.** CARDINAL SANTACROCE to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848,
f. 140.

B. M. *Add.* 28,578,
f. 109.

Since his last ciphered despatch Gianmatteo [Giberti] has arrived, as the Imperial ambassador (Micer Mai) must have advised. His presence at Rome has greatly excited the curiosity of courtiers. Many conjectures are formed about his coming, but as the ambassador reports on it, as well as on his (Santacroce's) sentiments respecting him, no further allusion is needed.

* That is on the 15th of March.

1529.

The subject of the Emperor's journey is now in everybody's mouth. Should the Pope completely recover his health, and there is every appearance that he will, that will also furnish matter for general conversation.

The fortresses, he believes, will soon be restored. The fault lies not with the Prince of Orange, but with those* about whose dealings and claims the Emperor has no doubt been informed. The delay keeps the minds of these people in suspense, although he (Santacroce) takes good care, whenever he goes to the College Hall, to assure the cardinals that should the present Pope die, of which there is no fear for the present, the fortresses shall be immediately restored; and, besides, he (Santacroce) will quit Rome forthwith, not as a cardinal, but as a servant of His Imperial Majesty, and for fear it should be presumed that his intention by remaining at Rome is to influence the election. Told them likewise that, far from wishing to have a Pope of his own, the Emperor's only wish is to have one elected who shall be a "Christian" in the true sense of that word, and to behave towards him in such a manner that he shall become Imperialist of his own free will. Apropos of this, he (Santacroce) repeated to the cardinals the very words His Imperial Majesty told him [at Toledo] whilst discussing this point: "I feel great reluctance at proposing cardinals for the Pope's approbation, because I know not their individual merits; but I dislike still more to recommend cardinals for the Papacy." Whilst writing the above, news has arrived of the restitution of the fortresses, to the great confusion of those who affected not to believe in it.

The Pope is quite well already, and speaks of going to visit the Emperor, not indeed through France, as before, but direct to Spain by sea. Various opinions are here entertained about this project. His own (Santacroce's) is that there are two sides to the question, God and man, and that both are likely to promote God's and the Emperor's service.† Doubts, however, whether the journey will really take place. There is evidently much talking about it, but no preparations are visible. England has answered coldly (*tibiamente*) to the proposition, and France is not likely to ask for Doria's galleys to convey him.‡

The draft of the bull of the Crusade is being made. The Emperor would do well to inquire into the state of affairs at Naples, whence most strange reports come daily to us. So many of the nobles exiled (*fuorusciti*); the disaffected in a state of despair; the friends ruined, and tribunals all over the country trying the rebel barons, whilst those who have appro-

* Don Alonso de Cordoba and Ripalda.

† "No faltan diversos juicios; el mio es que en esta cosa hay Dios y hombre. Lo uno y lo otro redundará en servicio de Dios, y honra vuestra, mas temo que no se haga."

‡ "Francia no creo embiará á pedir á V. Md. las galeras de Andrea Doria."

1529.

priated the confiscated estates are appointed to be their judges. Not a few of the latter, actually driven to despair, have renounced their faith and gone over to the Turk.

Since writing the above Master Avalos has arrived with the Emperor's despatches.—Rome, 16th March 1529.

Signed: "F. Cardinalis S+."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Impl., Cath. Majy."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

23 March. **659.** MIÇER MAI, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the
S. E. L. 848,
f. 25.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578,
f. 148.

EMPEROR.

The enemy does nothing at present except bragging and intriguing (*braverias y ficiones*). Hopes that very soon we shall be able to apply to him that saying of old times, *i.e.* that "whilst the Romans acted, the Greeks feigned."

After the surrender of La Matrice it was naturally supposed that Perosa (Perugia) and Spoleto would soon follow their example, and that the inhabitants would be punished as they deserve. However, as the people of those cities were divided in opinion, some being Imperialists and some French, and all in common feared the consequences of their rebellion, they formed the design of changing master. This could not easily be managed, for neither the Prince at Naples nor he (Mai) at Rome could in any way countenance a project of this kind, as both Spoleto and Perugia were virtually within the territory of the Church; it was therefore referred to Rome. The Pope was pleased at this, and though we did not tell him who had made the request, he showed gratitude at our non-interference. The same answer was given to Madame Felice, the second wife of Jo. Jordano (Giangiordano) Orsino, who, together with her sons, has lately placed herself under the Emperor's protection. Though the ex-Abbot of Farfa is her own stepson, she came to ask our help against him. She was told that we could not possibly interfere with the Pope's affairs within his own estates, but that if he gave us permission a sufficient force would be prepared to expel the ex-Abbot from the Abruzzi.

The Perugians were frightened at this threat, and as Malatesta, who is now their governor, dreads any change of politics, owing to his rival, Braccio Ballon (Baglione),* having lately implored our protection, he and the Perugians resolutely sent to ask the help of the Florentines. These at first refused to interfere, and tried to undeceive him as to the result of his undertaking, but as the principal object of the confederates is to carve out work for the Imperial army, so as to prevent its leaving Naples and coming down upon them, they assented to

* This Baglione, who was the opponent of Sigismondo Malatesta in the lordship of Perugia, is here and in other places of this correspondence called Orazio.

1529.

the idea of making Perugia, which is strongly situated and very much fortified, the centre of their operations, giving out that 10,000 men, however contemptible (*por bellacos que sean*), will be sufficient to maintain their ground in the locality, and prevent the advance of the Imperialists. Hears that such is the plan just now of the French and Florentines, and likewise of the Dukes of Urbino and Ferrara. (*Cipher* :) This about the Dukes, however, is only a report, for the agent of the latter, who resides in Rome, keeps saying to whomsoever he meets in the streets, that although the French still press him very hard to assume the command of the armies of the League, his master has hitherto refused. And as to the Duke of Urbino, he is known to have gone to Pesaro, disgusted with the Venetians. Some people will have it that this is only a feint (*cautela*) of Urbino, and that he went to Pesaro merely for the purpose of helping the Perugian intrigue. Rather inclines to this last construction, for it is asserted just now that he has again made his peace with Venice. Yesterday one of his relatives made some overtures on the chance of bringing him over to the Emperor's side, and though he (*Mai*) considers it almost impossible under present circumstances, yet he encouraged the man, and told him that any proposal in that sense would be taken into consideration. The Perugian intrigue in the meantime has lost much of its importance. News has also come that the King of France had made peace (*acordado*) between Malatesta and Baglione, giving to the former of those lords the command of 200 lances and 2,000 foot, and to Horaoci,* the son of Braccio Baglione, half that number. The Emperor may believe him (*Mai*) when he says that more lances figure in these French army rolls than there are trees actually growing in the forest of Ardenan (Les Ardennes?). Though Frenchmen are naturally a vain and boasting people, this bragging implies more than vanity; it shows want of wisdom in their councils, for, as the proverb says, wicked people work in a circle (*los malos andan in circuitu*).

The Pope, it must be said, was not over vigilant (*sobre si*) in this Malatesta affair, owing no doubt to his having been formerly a condottiere in his pay. He has since tried to inquire into the ins and outs of the intrigue, but has not yet found the thread. Has also sent a message to Orazio (*sic*) Baglione, and if Malatesta should be found guilty, or persevere in his plans, the Pope will be glad to transfer Perugia to Baglione's dominion.

These mad disturbances at Perugia have been greatly encouraged by the ex-Abbot of Farfa, who is now here [at Rome] secretly recruiting men, and presenting petitions [to the Pope] in favour of Malatesta. He (*Mai*) has already said what steps he has taken to prevent the enlistment. Napoleone, some

* Thus in the original; but Braccio Baglione, the son of Orazio, must be meant.

1529.

time ago, brought money from France, though in small quantity, for the purpose of helping the Perugians. Perceiving, however, that the affairs in the Abruzzi did not turn out as he anticipated, he kept the money and prepared no armament. He now boasts that he is about to do wonders for the French cause.

The Venetians will in all probability send reinforcements to Pulla (Puglia). They have lately imposed a new tax of 200,000 ducats, one half on the property of the nobles, and the other half in a variety of ways more or less justifiable, which shows that they are at their wits' end, and have exhausted all their resources.

The Emperor has no doubt been informed of the fact that Mr. de St. Pol, having succeeded in winning over the Lord of Saravalle, sent a division of his army thither, whom the Imperialists surprised, taking the place, and slaughtering all the French they found inside, &c.

The Venetians have again published news of the intended invasion of Hungary by the Turks. This may be true, or it may be only one of the many inventions circulated to make the Pope believe that the Emperor's power is not so formidable as people generally think. In either case it is to be hoped that God will confound the Turk and the Venetians.

Some days ago, whilst disputing with the Pope, he distinctly said that, if pushed to extremities, the Venetians and the rest of the confederates would inevitably bring the Turk into Europe. My answer was, "If so, the greater the reason for Your Holiness to keep aloof and avoid them as you would a raging fire; otherwise it will be said throughout the world, and recorded in history, that Pope Clement VII. did greatly help towards this evil; for, as Your Holiness knows, it is the fashion of men to attribute to the heads of nations the good or bad of the events of their time." He likewise told me on the same occasion that he feared the Kings of France and England would certainly invade Spain, which threat he (Mai) answered by saying, "How very little those Kings seem to care for the Italian people, who have taken up arms and are suffering so much for them! But let them go to Spain; if they do they will find plenty of brave men to answer their call. In Italy we are not the least afraid of them, for with Your Holiness' assistance and kind help, everything, I trust, will be set right again." This part of his (Mai's) answer made some impression on the Pope, who was much taken aback, and looked as if he would rather not have pronounced the words which provoked it.

Jo. Joachim has not arrived yet. He is still intriguing (*tramando y urdiendo*) at Venice, Ferrara, and even there, as it is reported.* (*Cipher* :) His Imperial Majesty may believe him (Mai) when he asserts that the confederates are doing all they

* "Y aun por allá," which might be meant for "in Flanders."

1529.

possibly can to keep the Pope on their side. The memorandum of which a copy was enclosed* in another despatch, was given to the Pope. Has hopes that an agreement will soon be made, and that almost every one of the conditions stipulated therein will be granted, the Pope consenting to a defensive, though secret, league. A separate draft of the agreement, if possible more secret than the other, and containing a special clause about Florence, and another relating to the marriage of one of this Pope's nephews, is also to be prepared. Your Majesty knows, no doubt, that Hyppolito de' Medici has been created cardinal. There is still another brother of Giuliano, named Alessandro, of whom some account ought to be taken. With regard to the new tribute to be paid for the kingdom of Naples† there is some difficulty. Has tried to persuade the Pope not to be too exacting, for we all hope that he will soon grant us more, without our asking for it. In fact, the Pope himself promised to do so in course of time, and there can be no doubt that, if we ultimately succeed in separating his interests from those of the League, he will ride post-haste to the Imperial service. Now he perhaps fears that the confederates will say that, by abandoning them entirely, he works his own ruin; but nevertheless, though the ambassadors of the League daily tell him this, there is every probability of our wishes being accomplished.

(*Common writing* :) There was a sort of old feud between the Siennese and Count Pitigliano, which the Prince of Orange was able to appease some time ago. Now the Count pretends that the Siennese continue to vex him, and that unless they relent in their persecution he will be obliged to go over to the League. No sooner did he (Mai) hear this from the Cardinal of Naples, his brother-in-law, than he wrote to Sienna begging the magistrates to refrain from this conduct. (*Cipher* :) Has no doubt that a new agreement will be entered into, entirely similar to that made by the Prince of Orange, to last for four months, and to be extended for four more at the will of the Pope and of the Prince.

(*Cipher* :) An anonymous message (*un mensaje fingido*) has been sent to the Duke of Milan, apparently by the Prince of Orange, but in reality by Moron, for the purpose of sounding him as to what portion [of the Duchy of Milan] he considered sufficient to indemnify him for his losses, and incline him to peace. The Duke, instead of answering, apprised the Venetians of the fact. The intelligence came in a letter addressed by the Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) to a

* This paragraph stands thus in the deciphering by Bergenroth: "Yo di aquel memorial que con otra va, al Papa, y tengo esperanz que nos concertaremos bien y presto, que quasi todo me lo daran, y será contento de hazer una liga defensiva pero secreta, y della otra capitulacion mas secreta aun de lo de Florencia y de los casamientos de su sobrino."

† "En lo del nuevo censo de Napoles stan algo rezios, y yo les he dicho que Su Santidad no deve de ser[lo] porque yo espero que nos dará mas y mas sin que se lo pidamos."

1529.

Milanese lawyer here, named Gualterio Corbetta, brother of one of his (Mai's) greatest friends. The last-named person gave him (Mai) the letter to read, and protested that the Duke's intentions are good, but that he is so surrounded by the partisans of the League, that he dares not make or accept overtures. He is so situated that he is not master of his own acts. If he follows the confederates it is through sheer force; in secret his affections are for His Imperial Majesty. He (Mai) replied to Corbetta in general terms; he said that the Duke ought to be grateful to the Emperor for past favours, &c. But as Moron is soon expected in Rome, on his way back to Naples, he will tell us how the Duke has received his overtures, and what his answer has been.

In case of the treaty of League being made the Pope has given us (Burgo and Mai) to understand that his wishes are that His Imperial Majesty should not treat or make alliance with any of the Italian potentates without his intervention and consent. On this point, however, very potent reasons were given by us for not complying with his wishes. Having since consulted the Prince of Orange and the Collateral Council at Naples on the subject, the Imperial ambassadors have been told to accede to the Pope's wishes in every respect, and are therefore doing so for fear of losing him.

The Pope has likewise intimated that he intends to limit the defensive league to this side of the Alps, which means that he does not choose to take engagements against the Venetians, Milanese, or Frenchmen [in Lombardy]. He (Mai) is now writing to Naples for the Prince's advice, this being the only difficulty that stands in the way of the treaty, all others having been opportunely removed. To conclude, His Imperial Majesty may be sure that unless new obstacles arise—of which there seems to be no probability just now—the treaty with the Pope will be concluded and signed very shortly. This is the thing which he (Mai) most ardently desires, nearly as much as his own salvation.

(*Common writing* :) About the candidates for the Nunciature enough has been said elsewhere. There are now three new ones; namely, Jo. Antonio Muxetula, the Bishop of Feltre, brother of Campeggio, and the Bishop of Carpentras, who is Sadoletto's secretary. Believes, however, that no appointment will be made until it is definitively settled what the Nuncio is going for, and what mission he is to take. There is also some talk of sending Hippolito de' Medici as Legate; but this seems highly improbable, because though the Pope wishes very much for the advancement of his own nephews, he has frequently been told by him (Mai) and by others that the aggrandizement of his family cannot be obtained except from the Emperor's hands.

Ecclesiastical affairs; the abbacy of Castel Beltrano.* There are plenty of applications for it. This Cardinal (Santa Croce?)

* Thus in original deciphering; in other despatches Villabeltran; perhaps Castelvetro in Sicily.

1529.

asked for it once, as, I believe, for a nephew of Mediona (*sic*). Miger Luis is also about to petition for it, as he is likely soon to enter the Rotta, to which he has been appointed. Luis is a native of Spain, from a town between the kingdom of Valencia and Castille, and was a friend of Phelipe Cervellon, to whom the Emperor gave that abbacy; but when Cervellon was appointed, the former Abbot was living still; he only died here about the middle of Lent, and before dying he resigned his right in favour of Miger Luis, who besides being now Regent of the Penitentiary, in which capacity he has occasionally done service, is soon to go into the Rotta, where he can be most useful. Mediona, on the other hand, has also some title to it, as his uncle is very much attached to the Empire, and he himself is an excellent man. Both have applied to us to intercede in their favour. Some of the cardinals even have suggested that he (Mai) ought to ask for it for his own brother, but his answer has been that he never will as long as he lives ask a favour from the Emperor, &c.

The Crusade has been granted at last, without compensation of any sort. Not so the *quarta*, about which some difficulty is still made, although he (Mai) is confident that it will be overcome at last.

The Capuano (Schomberg) has shown him the enclosed* paper, the substance of which is that on the first day of Lent the Lutherans of Basilea (Basle) burned all the images of our glorious Saviour, and of our Lady, and of the Saints, and that on the ensuing day a proclamation was issued forbidding mass to be said. He (the Archbishop) is about to go to the waters for his health. Will try to dissuade him from it, for certainly he is at all times a faithful servant of His Imperial Majesty, and he may be soon wanted.

Respecting the movements of the Turk, letters from Constantinople, of the 17th of January, have been received, advising that the Infidel is really intent upon invading Hungary, and is actually making great preparations.

(*Cipher* :) With regard to the English affair, he (Mai) can only say that in his opinion the adjournment of the case to Rome will be accomplished. Has done all he could to discover in the register books a copy of the brief [of dispensation], but in vain. Has found instead two other briefs alluding to the affair. If the case is adjudicated here, there will be a regular suit at law. Has already communicated several times with the lawyer whom Muxetula retained for this and other purposes. He is a consistorial advocate, son of Maestre Ferrando de Aragon, the physician. Has since confirmed him in his post, and held several consultations with him. Finds him to be an able and experienced lawyer, but will nevertheless keep his eye on him.

Was to have gone yesterday, Holy Monday, to the Pope, in order to prosecute the pending negotiation, but found that Cardinal Monte was engaged with him on ecclesiastical affairs in general, and likewise that the English ambassadors had

* Not in the volume.

1529.

previously obtained audience for that very day. To-day, Tuesday, His Holiness has not been so well, not from a return of his old disease, as was formerly the case, but from heaviness in his head (*graveza de testa*), as they call it here. But, if possible, will call on him to-morrow, for, though it is Holy Week, he (Mai) thinks that his time cannot be better employed than in the Imperial interests, which, after all, is God's service.—Rome, 23rd March 1529.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "S. C. C. Mati."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins and between the lines of the copy by Bergenroth. pp. 13.

3 April. 660. The SAME to the SAME.

L. 848, f. 12.
B. M. *Add*, 28,578,
f. 117.

Wrote last during the Holy Week by a courier of the Prince [of Orange], who happened to stop at Civittà Vecchia. Will now be brief, as the bearer of this despatch, the Abbot of Nero, a nephew of Miçer Andrea Doria, is on the point of leaving for Spain. The said Abbot told him last Good Friday that his uncle, Andrea, was shortly to sail for Barcelona to bring the Emperor to Italy. This piece of information has sadly distressed many of the Romans, though he (Mai) has somewhat calmed them by saying that they will be duly and officially informed of his arrival.

He (Mai) has no reason to be dissatisfied with the Pope; the negotiations advance, and one or two more "consultas" with the Prince will do the business.

The Bishop of Venosa, master of the Pope's household (*maestro di casa*), has been appointed Nuncio in Spain. He is to start in five or six days, and will be the bearer of letters from him (Mai).

The English have again applied to the Pope about the divorce of their King. Is prepared in union with the cardinals to present a petition (*requesta*) to the Pope, according to the instructions received from Court.

Announced in a former despatch the restitution of Civittà Vecchia. Don Alonso de Cordoba, the governor, offered such resistance that the Prince had him arrested, and sent word to the Pope to name the sort of punishment that was to be inflicted upon him, which act of courtesy and justice was very agreeable to His Holiness particularly, and to all in general.

It was expected that the news of the taking of Monopoli would be received soon. The Prince was about to quit Naples with his army. He only waited for the Pope's resolution, which was to be communicated to him immediately.

Suspensions are entertained about Perugia, whose lord, Malatesta, they say, has at last joined the French at the instigation of the Duke of Urbino. The latter, they say, is collecting

1529.

troops for the purpose of arresting, if he can, the progress of the Imperialists.—Rome, 3rd April 1529.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

3 April. 661. The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 848, f. 34.

B. M. *Add.* 28,578,
f. 155.

Though the Pope has had a relapse during this Holy Week, and he (Mai) could not, as he expected, wait upon him, yet on Thursday last he had a most satisfactory interview with him, notwithstanding that the ambassadors of France and England had also audience on that day. Everything goes on well, and so he trusts that, after one or two consultations with the Prince of Orange, the treaty will be definitively concluded, which is more than could have been expected under present circumstances.

This despatch is written hastily, on the spur of the moment (*á la ventura*). Will write again in five or six days by the Papal Nuncio going to Spain, who is no other than the Bishop of Venosa, "mastro di casa" of His Holiness, and reported to be very well inclined towards the Imperial service.

The Crusade, &c.

The English ambassadors have renewed their application about the divorce, asking that the case be tried in England, by the Eboracensis (Wolsey, Archbishop of York) and Campeggio; and as they are now half undeceived (*medio desengañados*) they threaten to take up with Luther and his sect. After stating all he had to say on the subject, and that the English ambassadors might see that he considered the whole thing as a hoax (*burla*), he (Mai) observed in their very presence that, should the King of England turn Lutheran, we ought to restore to its legitimate owner the authorship of the book on which he (the King) founds his title of "Defender of the Faith."*

Next week he (Mai) intends placing in the Pope's hands a petition (*requesta*) in conformity with the orders received from the Emperor, and is confident that His Holiness will be quite glad of it. All his (Mai's) attention is now centred in laying fresh snares (*nuevas asechanzas*) for the English ambassadors, and he flatters himself that he has already devised some capital ones. Four or five days ago they held a consultation with some lawyers (*letrados*) here, but, thank God, they have not hitherto fixed upon any plan of attack that he has not been able to defeat. He will be vigilant, and ask the opinion of the Imperial lawyers when required.—Rome, 3rd April 1529.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

* "Dije que en tal caso volveríamos el libro á su autor, el que el Rey de Anglaterra se habia intitulado á si sobre esto para que le quiten el titulo de protector de la Fee."

1529.

3 April. 662.

Rep. P. C. 225,
No. 1.ACT of the EXHIBITION of the DISPENSATION BRIEF to
the ENGLISH AMBASSADORS.

On Saturday, the 3rd of April 1529, in the presence of Don Garcia de Loaysa, Bishop of Osma, and of William Vandeness, Bishop of Elna, and of the undersigned notaries and witnesses, the following document was read, being an answer to the request made by the ambassadors of the King of England, *i.e.*, the most Reverend Bishop of Worcester (*Hieronimo Vigor-niense Episcopo*) and Edward Lee (Edoardo Leo), Doctor in Theology, to be permitted to inspect and read the original brief of dispensation for the marriage of the King, their master, and of the Emperor's aunt. Upon which Nicolas Perrenot, Sieur de Granvelle,* proceeded to explain how the Emperor had done everything in his power to maintain the friendship and good relations between himself and his good kinsman, the King of England. "Et licet predictus Serenissimus Rex præter probabilem occasionem ab ea divertisset, semper adeo illius honoris et conscientiæ studiosa manebat præfata Cæsarea Maiestas, ut not posset non mirum in modum dolere nunc per ipsum Serenissimum Regem scrupulosè hæsitari de validitate et efficacia matrimonii inter se et prædictam Serenissimam Reginam Angliæ eius coniugem ritè et rectè contracti, celebrati, et tot lustris et annis observati, suscepta legitima prole, accedenteque summa auctoritate Ecclesiæ et Sanctæ sedis Apostolicæ, quippe nemo esset qui nesciret diuinas pariter et humanas leges hoc discrimen vetare, rationi et honestati repugnare, et conscientiæ Regis aduersari, et Reginæ inmerenti, affinisque et consanguineis injuriosum esse, necnon communi eorum filiæ naturali et legitimæ prejudiciabile, Regno denique et populo Angliæ periculosum."

The said Bishop of Worcester, and Doctor Edward Lee, ambassadors of the King of England, having lately, at Calatayud, expressed a wish to see the original brief of dispensation, His Majesty the Emperor gave orders that it should be exhibited to them publicly and in the presence of notaries appointed for the purpose, "prædictum breve intus et incuti inspicendum, sanum quidem, ut asserebat, idem, proponens integrum, non vitiatum neque cancellatum, omnique vicio ac suspitione carens, extraque omnem calumniam, offerens ut de eodem sumeretur transumptum in forma solemnî et auctentica coram prædictis Reverendissimis Dominis Oxomense et Elnensi dignitate fulgentibus, seu quibuscumque aliis personis publicis, deferendum ipso Regi, seu quod prædictum breve originale, seu ad ipsorum Regis vel Reginæ, vel alterius cujusvis eorum nomine, instructionem, petitionem, uel requisitionem deferretur in Angliam." The said Nicolas Perrenot said that this could not be done, owing to the perils of war; nor was it necessary, for if the King of England, by way of justice, ever required it in support of his case, an attested copy might be sent to him

* Dominus Nicolaus Perrenot, dominus temporalis de Grandi Villa.

1529.

or procured from Rome. Saying which, the aforesaid Sieur de Granvelle took the original brief in his hands, opened it, and gave it to the English ambassadors to inspect and read, and have a transcript made, if they pleased. This, however, the ambassadors refused, on the plea that, the case having been submitted to the Pope, they did not consider themselves sufficiently empowered to interfere. Upon which the said Nicolas Perrenot requested the Bishop of Osma (Garcia de Loaysa) and the Bishop of Elna (Vandenesse) publicly to read the said document, which was done in the presence of Henry Count of Nassau and Marquis of Cenete, the Emperor's Lord Chamberlain, of Laurence of Gorrevod, Count of Pont de Vaux (*Pontis Vallium*), grand master of the Imperial household, of Charles Poupet, Sieur de Lachaulx, *cubiculi præfecto*, of Louis de Flandre, Sieur de Praet, and of the aforesaid Sieur de Granvelle.

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

3 April. 663. MARTIN DE SALINAS to ARCHDUKE FERDINAND.

M.Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 171, f. 208.

On the 6th ulto., Clabijo and Mercado arrived at Toledo with despatches and instructions for Don Antonio de Mendocça, Gabriel Sanchez, Don Pedro de Cordoba, and himself (Salinas). As the two former had already left for the port, he (Salinas) agreed with Don Pedro to call together on the Emperor, communicate the substance of the despatches, and beg for a speedy answer. This, however, could not be obtained, the Emperor being on the point of leaving for Barcelona, and the points consulted being highly important, and requiring the mature deliberation of the Council [of State]. Montfort will inform His Highness of what the Emperor's wishes are on that matter [of the Duchy], as he is now going [to Flanders] with instructions and orders very contrary indeed to His Highness' aspirations and wishes in that respect. His Highness, however, may be sure that the Emperor's intentions are good, and that he would have done all in his power to forward His Highness' views in that way, but for these late Italian wars. Should the Cortes not grant the subsidy the Emperor is asking for, he will be obliged to alienate some of his own patrimonial estates if he is to crush his enemies, and provide afterwards for the Turkish war. His journey to Italy is intended for no other purpose.

The letters which His Highness sent for the Councillors of State severally were duly delivered, except those for the Dukes of Alba and Bejar,* who are gone to reside on their respective estates, owing to their want of means to keep up their rank at court.

Don Pedro de Cordoba has received the promised despatch for Portugal. After communicating the substance of it to the

* Don Fadrique Alvarez de Toledo and Don Alvaro de Zuñiga.

1529.

Emperor, he left for that country with his credentials in due form.

Respecting the Diet, it is now more than six months ago that Pedro de Ascoytia took the Emperor's order for its convocation. Gabriel Sanchez went next and took a duplicate of it; but both messengers were so long delayed by contrary winds at sea, that it is no wonder the said orders have not been received.

The above is an answer to His Highness' letter of the 8th December. As to the horses, they could be procured as easily as His Highness thought at first, owing to the ordinance (*pragmatica*) lately published that no body shall ride on mules unless he keeps likewise a war-horse. Owing to this, and to the shortness of the notice, which came before the Emperor's departure [for Barcelona], when the Emperor commissioned him (Salinas) to purchase on his account all he could find, he now sends four out of his own; they are the best of his stables, especially the roan (*overo*). Clabijo took them with 300 ducats for his travelling expenses.

With regard to Secretary Castillejo, the Emperor was pleased to remunerate his services with a pension on the bishopric of Avila.

Rocandorff* has permission to serve His Highness.

Rosinboz has arrived with certain overtures of peace made by the French to Madame, but they cannot be very desirous of it, for the messenger who brought the proposals travelled through France and Castille in a cart. Another Frenchman has come from the Duke of Savoy with proposals of peace, but in his (Salinas') opinion he is more of a spy than a negotiator of peace.

The Emperor left for Barcelona with the firm determination to cross over to Italy. Before his departure he made his will.

His Highness' letter to the Empress (Isabella) was duly delivered by him (Salinas) and Cordoba. She answered that the Emperor, her husband, had the affairs of His Highness in particular, and of all Germany, so much at heart, that she could not do less than attend to them with all solicitude.—Çaragoça, 3rd April 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 6.

— April. 664.

MİÇER MAI'S REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS AT ROME.

S. E. L. 848,
f. 8.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 197.

(*Cipher*.) Did at the very opening of the negotiations experience great difficulties. Was told that the Pope would never consent to treat, as he wished to be neutral, and considered it sufficient to have said so on more than one occasion. It was his intention to remain such until the general peace.

* Elsewhere written Rocandolfo, Rogundorf, and Rokendelf.

1529.

Muxetula had not asked for more; and besides, Count Baldassar [Castiglione] had written from Spain to say that the Emperor's only wish was that he [the Pope] should remain perfectly neutral. To press him harder on this point would be tantamount to risking the issue of the negotiation. He was in bad health, and we might drive him to despair and cause his death. All cardinals, friends or enemies, agreed in this statement, assuring him (Mai) that they had undeceived Muxetula as to the Pope's sentiments, and that if he (Mai) and Burgo insisted, everything might be lost. It was not for the Imperial ambassador (they added) to show too much zeal in this particular, so as to endanger the issue of negotiations, which had commenced so well. His (Mai's) duty was not to press further matters which were disagreeable to His Holiness, but to content himself, as the Emperor had done, with the Pope's neutrality.

These very words, or the like of them, did Prothonotary Gambara say to Miçer Andrea del Burgo at Bologna, when he was coming to Rome. He, himself, has often been addressed in the same style by the Pope, by the Capuan (Schomberg), and even by Santacroce. Nevertheless, regardless of their entreaties, he (Mai) persists in his determination, as he deems it necessary to go on with the negotiation, were it only to discountenance and thwart the League, whose ambassadors are intriguing now more than ever.

Will proceed to detail the various points of the negotiation, which are as follows:—

- I. The Pope's friendship.
- II. The defensive League.
- III. The redemption of the "censo" of 7,000 ducats to be paid annually for the investiture of Naples.
- IV. The 24 churches in the above kingdom.
- V. The marriage.

Respecting this last point, the cardinals deputed to negotiate with me were the first to mention it, for I had purposely omitted it in my memorials, whilst they had carefully inserted it in theirs. They remarked at the beginning that it was perhaps inopportune to treat on the subject, for the Duchess [of Camerino], the Pope's niece, had her dower in France. My answer was that in procuring an alliance with the Medici the Emperor had not a dower or a fortune in view, but merely the desire to confer honour and riches on their family. As to her estates being in France or elsewhere, that was quite indifferent to us Imperialists, for in the event of her marrying in conformity with the Emperor's wishes, we should know how to claim her dower wherever it might be. This matter, therefore, remained entirely at their choice. They knew the Emperor's good intentions, and that was quite sufficient.*

* "Y á lo que estava en Francia bien lo havriamos nosotros, pero que fuesse como ellos quisiesen que les bastasse el animo de V. Md., pues le conoscian."

1529.

This answer of mine was conveyed to the Pope by Salviati. I, myself, had occasion some days afterwards to mention the fact in His Holiness' presence, and he told me, "What you say persuades me that sooner or later this affair must come to be discussed, and, therefore, let us lay it aside for the present."

With regard to the other marriage, that of the Duke Alessandro [de' Medici], I informed them that Your Imperial Majesty had first thought of Hippolito [de' Medici], now a cardinal. This answer of mine being conveyed to the Pope, he replied, "It is quite the same thing." The Capuan, moreover, observed that the Duke [of Civitta di Penna] was a more important personage, and that he sought the hand of the eldest of the nieces, not so much for the sake of greater honour as of posterity, as that was what he most desired and wanted. This application of the Duke Alessandro I could not reject at once, but I made the Capuan observe that at the moment of my departure from Spain the young lady had been promised to F. (Farnese?), and that was the reason why Your Imperial Majesty had not mentioned her in the articles. The Pope was satisfied with my answer, and thus the affair stands at present. I believe that the future Nuncio will receive instructions thereupon.

VI. England.—When I first came to Rome Muxetula told me that the Pope was willing to adjourn the divorce case [to Rome] at his first signature, and, moreover, that the English ambassadors gave out that Your Imperial Majesty did not care a straw about it. I, therefore, petitioned the Pope in a lengthy memorial to impose silence on the King of England, and have the cause summoned to his court. I did more; as some doubts were entertained here as to whether the Queen would consent or not to such a measure, and as there was no solicitor or proctor of hers in Rome, an application was made, and letters came, in which she informed the Pope of her wishes, and described the strait in which she was placed, and the Bishop of Burgos (Don Iñigo de Mendoza) wrote that she (the Queen) had actually been forced to write a letter to Spain, asking Your Imperial Majesty for the brief of dispensation. All this was related by me to the Pope, and immediately after the most Reverend Cardinal Santacroce, who was present at the audience, delivered into his hands the Queen's holograph letter. After which, perceiving that the cardinals, owing to the intrigues of the confederates, were getting cold in this affair, and, moreover, that Jacopo Salviati had hinted to me two or three times consecutively that, in order to save herself further trouble, the Queen had better retire to a convent,* and that the fear only of her life, that is to say, of her being poisoned, ought to be sufficient to deter me from pushing the matter any further,

* "Y que Jacobo Salviati me dixo dos ó tres vezes que seria mejor que la Reyna se entrase en un monasterio por el peligro de su salud, y que yo no debía estrechar por el mesmo respecto, a saber el temor de yerbas."

1529.

I could no longer refrain, but begged Cardinal Santacroce again to bring the affair before the Pope, and directed Burgo to have a letter from the King of Hungary to him deciphered, in which he was made to insinuate that the Lutherans of Germany were anxiously waiting for the result of this affair. In short, I was so urgent that the Pope allowed the protest to be drawn up and presented in the College of Cardinals.*

After this, learning that the English ambassadors were daily soliciting the Pope, I inquired from a friend on the 7th of April what could be the object of their continual solicitations. Was told that they asked that the brief of dispensation should be declared false, "propter verisimilitudinem," inasmuch as the brief and the bull had one and the same date. It was evident (they said) that when the Emperor or his ministers saw in Spain what was wanting in the bull itself they set about fabricating the brief, wherein everything that could be favourable to the Queen in the present demand was dexterously inserted. A brief, they went on to say, is soon written; a common silversmith and engraver can easily forge a seal; besides which, a document of that class has not as many signatures as a regular bull. They also alleged that the leaf wherein the said brief ought to have been entered was evidently missing in the register book, whilst there were many entries in the book on the same day and month, besides others of older or more recent dates. Lastly, they said, that had there been such an agreement between the parties, duplicates of the deeds and instruments relating to the marriage would have been sent to England as well as to Spain, and yet were only to be found in the latter country; and they concluded by saying that, all probabilities being in favour of their statement, the Pope was bound to declare the brief a forgery, and allow the divorce case to be tried in England, as it was notorious that the Emperor did not care one way or the other about it (*no curaba desto*).†

When I heard the English ambassador express himself in this manner I was on the point of making an angry answer, but the respect due to His Holiness made me refrain. I said, however, that I was really ashamed that men in his service should hold him in so small esteem as to entertain him with similar tales,‡ and that they should presume to spread and authorise in his presence, at Rome, and indeed all over the world, the absurd inventions circulated in England (*las locuras que fantasean en su reyno*). My impression was that the courtesy (*facilidad*) with which His Holiness treated ambassadors had encouraged them to such follies and lies.

* "Y hize que Miçer Andrea del Burgo entendio (estendiese ?) una carta que vino del Serenisimo Rey de Ungria en el sacar (?), y dixo (dixese ?) como los Lutheranos speravan el exito deste negocio, y concerté con el Papa que le daria un protesto, &c."

† "Que tenia verguença en su servicio que le toviessen en tan poco que le acometiessen destas bellaquerias."

1529.

His Holiness would perhaps pardon me if I said that the French and English ambassadors were better treated at his court than we the Imperialists, for I had observed that whilst he barely treated us with common courtesy (*vulgarmente*), he received the others most graciously (*á la evangelica*). The Pope having asked what I meant by these words, I told him that there was a common saying in Spain that honest men were on the decrease,* and that such was evidently the case here also; for, seeing us so mild and so obedient, he took from us all he could; whereas the more insolent and overbearing the others were, the better he was pleased, and the more he attended to their pleasure and comfort, as with the prodigal son in the Gospel.

As to their arguments in proof of the invalidity of the brief, I said that it was no new thing to write out a bull, or a warrant of some king, and then find that there was something wanting in it. In such cases, rather than have the bull or warrant amended and re-written, it was customary to draw out a brief or private letter.† I myself had seen a thousand of such letters at the Court and Council of the Emperor, and I knew it to be the practice of all European courts. To this assertion the Pope assented, and said that the same thing was done at Rome. To their objection that the entry in the register book could not be found, my answer was that His Holiness was well aware, and could if necessary testify, that briefs were not generally registered, either formerly or at the present day; which assertion of mine the Pope also corroborated with his testimony. Besides, I added, who can tell me that the English ambassadors, seeing the interest their master takes in the disappearance of the said instrument, have not had it stolen and made away with?

To their allegation that similar deeds and papers should exist in England as well as in Spain, I at once assented; but said, who tells us that they *are* not there, but that the English do not choose to look for them? Besides, the other day, in turning over some papers I found a brief of that Pope, addressed to the King of England, wherein he tells him, in answer to a complaint of his, that the papers (*escripturas*) had been sent to Spain because Queen Isabella was ill at the time, and wished to see the brief of dispensation before she died. That is the reason, and no other, why Pope Julius sent the deeds to Spain, both parties having promised him to keep the matter secret. This circumstance might have prevented the registering of the brief, or at least might have led to the entry of it on the books being made so cautiously that it could not be found, as is often the case with many things so

* "El hombre honrado siempre va á menos."

† "Que no es cosa nueva hazer una bulla ó una provision, y darse caso que falta algo, y por no bolber á los rodeos de la bulla ó provision despachar el mesmo día un breve ó una carta privada."

1529.

carefully hidden in the bowels of the earth that they never again come to the surface.

With regard to their gratuitous supposition that Your Imperial Majesty cared not about the cause, I only remarked that His Holiness might infer by that how deceitful and malicious the statement of the English ambassadors was. Not only his own Nuncio in Spain (Baldassar Castiglione), but also Cardinal Santacroce, Il Muxetula, and myself could bear testimony that the Emperor has nothing so much at heart as the honour and reputation of his beloved aunt, the Queen of England, as his formal answer to the challenges of the two Kings at Burgos sufficiently proved. His Holiness, therefore, might judge from the English lies in this particular what credit could be given to their other statements.

The Pope on this occasion went so far as to say that the English ambassadors in their address had certainly alluded to the matter of poison by saying, "Were not the King, our master, as good as he is, he would have looked for other means of attaining his object, and certainly faithful servants would not have been wanting to do his pleasure in an affair of this sort.* My answer was that the Queen had been encouraged to run that risk rather than be a bad wife, and prejudice her daughter's interests, and that Your Imperial Majesty approved highly of such conduct, because should poison be administered to her, Your Majesty would take his revenge. Again did I tell the Pope that I was really ashamed at such matters being mentioned in his presence, and astonished at the impudence of the ambassadors; to which the Pope replied, "I must observe, however, that the ambassador did not enter into further particulars." "That is quite enough," said I. Then he added, "Draw out your protest, and I will take care that the case be tried here, at Rome. Even if the Emperor and all the rest of them should agree to the divorce taking place, I will never authorise it." I thanked him for his good purposes, and said, "Your Holiness is more bound to God than to the Emperor and the rest of the world."

After this came letters from Don Iñigo, advising that the affair was taking a very bad turn in England, and would be irretrievably lost if the adjournment of the case to Rome was not immediately decided on. A very touching letter† from the Queen to the Pope came also, which I duly delivered into his hands. He read it through very attentively, and seemed touched by it, so much so that he made very fine promises at the time (*y diome buenas palabras*).

I learned, moreover, from another source that one day he sent for Simoneta to plead with the English ambassadors in

* "Dixome mas que le havian señalado lo de las yervas con decir que si el Rey no fuesse tan bueno, que no faltarian servidores [que se las diessen]. Dixe que la Reyna está aconortada de correr esse peligro antes de hazerse mala muger á si y dañar á su hija."

† "Y en verdad que era para quebrantar las piedras."

1529.

favour of the validity of the brief, and that among other things they said, "Your Holiness promised us to do all he could in this affair, and therefore the brief may at once be pronounced false, without summoning the other party to defend it,* for we hold it to be such, after taking the opinion of several learned lawyers. Should Your Holiness not do this the promise made to us will be broken." These words were repeated to me by the Pope himself, alleging that he had never made such promise to the ambassadors, only that when Campeggio went to London he made certain general offers to the King, such as are customary between friendly powers, saying that his affairs would receive due attention, and that he would do what he could, &c.

However this may be, as I have my spies set on the English ambassadors, I have since ascertained that they are not all satisfied with the Pope's excuse, and complain that he will not grant the divorce, nor declare the brief to be a forgery, adding that their King never thought of it, and that it was the Pope himself who set him on, offering to do everything in his power to promote his wishes, that being the reason for their complaining so bitterly of him.

As Your Imperial Majesty will see by another of my despatches, the protest† was duly entered. What happened on the occasion will be related elsewhere in full detail.

VII. Crusade. — In this negotiation Salviati completely unfolded himself, clearly stating that the Pope wanted a fee. Your Imperial Majesty, he said, had promised to Cardinal Santacroce to give the Pope 30,000 ducats, and he could not therefore do less now than pay a good sum of money out of the proceeds of the Crusade, now so graciously granted for his benefit, and that of the King of Hungary, his brother. I remonstrated strongly, and said that no fee had ever been given, except in the times of Popes Julius II. and Leo X., when 15,000 and 30,000 ducats had been apportioned; but though I sent various messages to that effect through the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) and Miçer Andrea del Burgo, they were of no avail, for the Pope's deputies insisted on their demand, and I was obliged to wait upon him, and say that I was expressly forbidden by my instructions to touch on this point, but that, if His Holiness insisted, I would willingly consult the Prince [of Orange], Cardinal [Santacroce], and Miçer Andrea del Burgo about it. My private opinion was that he (the Pope) could not decently claim such a gratuity, considering the concessions which Your Imperial Majesty has already made, and was likely still to make, and, above all, the want of funds in my hands to pay so large a sum. If His Holiness, indeed, still insisted upon the payment of what he considered his due, the following means could, in my opinion, be adopted to satisfy

* "Y podeis declarar este breve ser falso, *etiam* sin llamar á la parte."

† See p. 928, No. 652.

1529.

his demands in this respect, namely, the sum might be deducted from what the cardinals are bound to pay us on the surrender of the fortresses, or else a thoroughly gratuitous grant of the Crusade should be made, in which case I could promise in Your Imperial Majesty's name that sufficient compensation should be allowed. Upon which the Pope observed that both his predecessors, Julius II. and Leo X. had had their share in the concession, and that the latter had actually bestowed 3,000 ducats as gratuity on the Imperial minister who conducted the negotiation. I retorted, "Most Holy Father, if that be the case, I myself will take no fee at all, and therefore we had better leave matters as they stand."

Upon the whole this negotiation has caused me considerable trouble and anxiety, for one day my spies came and told me that the French ambassadors had protested to the Pope that this grant of a Crusade, under present circumstances, was tantamount to furnishing funds and arms against their King and the League, which he himself had fostered and encouraged, which arguments and others brought forward by the leaguers so influenced the Pope that he was many days without taking any resolution for or against our petition, until, at last, I obtained the grant for two years. The draft was shown to Doctor Maldonado, who found it correct. The Nuncio will take it when he goes to Barcelona.

VIII. Absolutions.

IX. Indulto Quadragesimal (Permissions during Lent).

X. Quarta, or one half of the ecclesiastical revenues every four years.

XI. Restitution of the lands of the Church.

On this last point I must observe, that when I first told the Pope, in the Prince's name, that whatever towns and territories were in the hands of the confederates should be restored to him, he answered coldly, "I care not for that; if a peace be concluded I am sure of getting back what belongs to me. Otherwise, I am so averse from war, and so poor just now, that I cannot make it merely for the sake of recovering the patrimony of the Church." I then begged him to entertain the propositions once made by Muxetula, and which he (the Pope) declared acceptable at the time. He answered me: "there was not, that I am aware, any stipulation on that score; it was all a device (*traza*) of the Capuan (Schomberg). It was never my intention to agree to it." I replied, "Will Your Highness then be pleased to stipulate that immediately after the return of Ravenna, Cervia, and other towns by the confederates, the fortresses shall be restored to Your Holiness on the payment of an adequate sum for each?" "Yes," he said, "I will." But I warned him that in so doing Your Imperial Majesty did not intend fully to re-establish him in his right of possession as he had formerly been, but to confer some sort of new investiture from the Sacred Roman Empire. His Holiness also agreed to this. The same was then offered about Florence, but when we

1529.

came to the point he begged that this part of the negotiation should be transferred to Cardinal Cortona (Silvio Passerino), which was done, as it appears that he (the Pope) does not trust Salviati at all.

This part of our negotiation, however, could not be so secretly conducted but that the latter cardinal got scent of it, when I found that, as much on this account, as on account of his ambition and greediness, which are considerable, from that moment he tried to curtail my audiences. On Easter-day the Prior of Rome, his son, came to me and said that the Pope was seriously ill, and that his physicians forbade him to transact business of any kind. He would send me the Archbishop of Capua, or Jacopo Salviati, or the two, or whomsoever I pleased, to negotiate pending matters. I knew what Cardinal Salviati was aiming at by this move, and therefore dissembled, remarking that if His Holiness could not possibly attend to my business I was content to discuss it with him, which answer so flattered him (Salviati), that in the meantime Burgo, at my direction, solicited and obtained an audience from the Pope for three days later, after his dinner.

At this audience, which I attended, and at which Jacopo Salviati was likewise present, the matter of the towns and lands once belonging to the Pope, and now possessed by the confederates, was seriously taken into consideration; Salviati proposing that we should engage ourselves to the restitution within a fixed period of time, whilst I opposed it, saying that since His Holiness had declared that he was in no hurry for it, and would not pay the money until after the fortresses were restituted, it was most unreasonable on their part to demand that we should fix the time for it beforehand. This, I said, ought to be left entirely to us, for although it was evident that we could not make an agreement with the confederates without the intervention of His Holiness, it was still very important for us to have it carried out as soon as possible, for the purpose of weakening our enemies, as well as of touching the money payable on the restitution of the pledged fortresses.

These arguments of mine met with the Pope's approbation, and accordingly, 10 days after, Salviati sent a message asking me to fix the date of 18 months, and take the engagement at once. This I again refused to do, and called again on His Holiness, repeating in Salviati's presence the very same arguments employed on former occasions, and adding that what they wanted me to do would result simply to the advantage of the confederates. The truth of the matter is that Cardinal Salviati is doing all this for the sake of Florence only.

After a good deal of discussion it was finally settled that, four months after the restitution [by the Venetians] of Ravenna and Cervia, 40,000 cr. or 50,000 should be paid by the Pope within six calendar months, namely, 25,000 for Modena,

1529.

and 25,000 more for Reggio and Rubiera; provided, however, the restitution was effected through the immediate agency of His Imperial Majesty and the power of his arms.—Rome, [— April,] 1529.*

Spanish. Original almost entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 32.

13 April. **665.** COUNT BURRELLO to the EMPEROR.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 4,
f. 83.

Writes in favour and commendation of Captain Alvaro de Grado, who acted as field-master of the Spanish infantry in Calabria, when the French were defeated and expelled from that province.—Andria, 13th April 1529.

Signed: "El Conde de Burrello."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, &c."

Indorsed: "13th April. From Count Burrello."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

13 April. **666.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 4,
f. 81.

In commendation of the Italian captains and gentlemen who served under him in the Calabrese war, namely, the "Conservador" of Sicily, who held on this occasion the charge of colonel of infantry, without receiving any pay; Don Francisco Ventimiglia, son of the Marquis of Irache; Don Carlos Tagliavia, son of the Count of Castel Vetrano; Don Pedro da Bologna, brother of the illustrious Don Jo. Jacobo da Bologna, Regent of the Council, and Julian de Corvera, captains of horse; Cipion Espadafuera (Scipione Spatafora), field-master; all of whom, though they had a salary assigned to them, have not been remunerated in proportion to their services.—Andria, 13th April 1528.

Signed: "El Conde de Burrello."†

Addressed: "To His most Sacred Majesty of the Emperor."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

15 (?) April. **667.** The PETITION of the IMPERIAL AMBASSADORS respecting the DIVORCE CASE.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. C.
Fasc. 225, No. 22.

Michael Maius and Andreas de Burgo, councillors and ambassadors of His Imperial Majesty and of the King of

* This report of Mai's is not dated, but as it contains a detailed account of his negotiations during the months of March and April I have not hesitated to place it here.

† Camillo Pignatello, son of Ettore (Hector), duca di Monte Leone and Viceroy of Sicily. This and other original letters of his in the Academy's volumes are distinctly signed "El Conde de Burrello," though in papers of the time his title is occasionally given as *Borelo* and *Borello*. Guicciardini has *Burrella*.

1529.

Hungary respectively, procurators and solicitors of Her most Serene Highness the Queen of England, separately and conjointly petition Your Holiness to decree :

1st. "*Crescente necessitate*" to confirm and revalidate the brief once issued by Your Holiness at Bologna, enjoining that nothing should be attempted against Ecclesiastical interdicts in matrimonial cases, under the pains specified in the said brief, and even greater, if necessary, inasmuch as danger and contumacy are daily increasing.

2nd. That by means of the said brief, or of a new one, if necessary, it be enjoined to His most Serene Highness the King of England, to dismiss the adulterous woman, or the one suspected to be such, this step being considered the best antidote to impending dangers.

3rd. That by the said brief, powers be granted to Your Holiness' Nuncio in England, or to any other ecclesiastic considered fit for the purpose, to ascertain as carefully and secretly as possibly the briberies, intimidations, and promises which His most Serene Highness the King may have used to win the votes of some doctors in sacred Theology ; by which means Your Holiness will be able to judge what faith and trust is to be placed in the said doctors and in their votes.

4th. That the said Papal Nuncio [in England], or any other ecclesiastic deserving Your Holiness' approval, be empowered to inquire and ascertain from Queen Katharine whether "*fuit cognita, necne, per Serenissimum Arcturum, primum eiusdem Reginæ maritum seu sponsum.*"

5th. That some of the Parisian doctors who voted in the divorce case against ecclesiastical authority, against the Papal brief of Your Holiness, and against their own conscience, be summoned to Rome.

6th. That the English Parliament, as well as the nobility and gentry of England, be forbidden to interfere in any way in their assemblies (*comitiis*) or elsewhere in this case of the said matrimony, pending the time that it may lay before Your Holiness ; the native judges being also recommended to forbid and oppose any attempt made by others than the parties concerned.

7th. That another Papal brief be addressed to all and each of the universities and colleges, "*tum ultra quam citra montes,*" enjoining them not to pass judgment, or in any way give their opinion on this question during the trial, &c.

10th. As in the library of the convent of brothers Preachers of Paris a manuscript work is preserved by Petro de Palude, considered as of the utmost importance for the present controversy, and not to be found elsewhere ; as it is, moreover, to be feared that the text of the said work may be altered or interpolated, the undersigned procurators and solicitors of the Queen of England beg Your Holiness to have the original manuscript safely brought to Rome, or at least an authentic



1529.

copy made of such passages or chapters as bear on the present case or similar ones.

Signed: "Maius, Orator et Procurator. And. de Burgo, Orator et Procurator."*

16 April. 668.

K. u. K. Haus-
of-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 225.

DON IÑIGO DE MENDOZA, Imperial Ambassador in London, to the EMPEROR.

His illness has so increased of late that the physicians, after many consultations and experiments, strongly recommend change of air as the only possible cure. As, moreover, he has been informed that ever since October last, more than seven months ago, His Imperial Majesty has been pleased to grant him leave of absence, he had almost decided to make use of that permission and visit his native country, when he heard that those who bring the Emperor's despatches have already landed in Flanders. Will, therefore, wait in London until he receives instructions respecting what he is to say to the King and Cardinal. Their answer he, himself, will bring to Spain, if God grant him health.

This King, as the Cardinal assured him the other day, has decided that Dr. Lee is to remain as ambassador at the Imperial Court, and the Bishop of Worcester (Ghinucci) to return to England. Begg the Emperor to have him closely watched (*que esté á buen recabdo*) until he, himself, reach the frontier [of France], whence he (Mendoza) will announce his coming, if he has not done it beforehand. The Cardinal has offered to procure him a safe-conduct [through France]. As soon as it comes, he (Mendoza) will start for Spain, so as to pay his respects to the Emperor before his departure for his Italian journey, which, according to the news received here, is now considered certain.

* There is no date to this document, which appears to be the original draft and prepared about this time. The following observations are written on the margins in the hand of some Roman lawyer, perhaps Jacopo Simonetta, dean of the Ruota, and bishop of Pesaro, who, as stated in one of Mai's despatches, was appointed Imperial proctor for this special case:

"1. Volebant quod hoc peterem iure ordinario, sed quia hoc erat longum, replicaui cum verbis maxime significantibus. Tandem decrevit Smus. quod expectarem anconitanum qui veniet ad biduam (*sic*).

"2. Idem quod in primo.

"3. Hoc volebant concedere; tandem dixerunt se concessuros et commissuros per litteras privatas et secretas, quibus ego acquievi, quia idem erit effectus; nam nec per breve poterunt lite pendente juridicè fieri absque vocatione partis.

"4. Idem quod in tercio (*sic*).

"5. Volebant istos vocari eo pretextu, ut hic diserent (*sic*) sententiam, et vocari etiam aliquos ex aliis, quos ego renui, quia minus malum est ut non vocentur quam quod sic vocentur.

"6. Idem quod in primo et secundo, et hoc virtualiter satis comprehendum hic in primo monitorio seu breui.

"7. Hoc pollicentur se facturos, sed quum ipsi iam habent vota quattuor universitatum forte melius est tacere donec nos habeamus etiam nostra

"8. Idem quod in tercio."

1529.

(*Cipher* :) King Francis sent last week an ambassador to ask for the assistance of this King in the invasion which, he says, he intends making on Spain. But as these people must have observed how little they have profited by their advances in money, and how badly the Neapolitan expedition has turned out [for the French], it is to be supposed that they will not be very ready for such a negotiation. Still, as the King and Cardinal are greatly vexed at the famous Italian League being dissolved, or nearly so, it is possible that some sort of help in money may be granted to prevent the Emperor's aggrandizement. However this may be, his (Mendoza's) opinion is that if immediately after Lautrec's defeat and death before Naples some sort of pressure had been put on this King, he would have left France to its fate. But as such was not the case, it is not likely that he will now so dishonour himself as to forsake his ally publicly and without any profit to himself.*

(*Common writing* :) These people, however, are waiting impatiently for the signature of the truce, and, as they observe the delay, are afraid of some change in the Emperor's politics. That is perhaps the reason why they are still making some show of military preparations, and profess to wish for a continuation of the war, both in Italy and elsewhere, (*cipher* :) though it must be said that in reality the people of this country are not in favour of it; indeed, had their want of resources been as great as their aversion to war, we should not have had to regret the loss of their friendship.†

The good issue of the Queen's case depends entirely upon the suit being heard in Rome. The Imperial ambassadors in that Court write confidently that this will be done, and that the only thing required is that the Queen herself should inform His Holiness of her wishes. She has since done this by a letter written in her own hand, and if powers of attorney are needed, they will also be granted and sent, though the Queen is so surrounded by spies, and so afraid of offending her husband, that she hardly dares defend her own right.

(*Common writing* :) Encloses advices from Rome just received from Miçr Mai, and at his particular request, though if the Emperor is already at Barcelona, as reported, there will be more recent news in that locality.

(*Cipher* :) Knows from a reliable source that if His Imperial Majesty were only to listen to the overtures of the Scots, the King of that country (James) would send a numerous embassy (*gruesa embajada*) for the purpose of asking the hand of the

* "Siempre creo que le ayudaran en algo. Es mi opinion, que segun les han mal sucedido las cosas de Italia, que si V. Mt. uviera puesto á este Rey en alguna necesidad, uviera desamparado á Francia, pero como no se les a puesto en ninguna, no quieren en cosa tan publicamente assentada perder su reputacion."

† "En la gente de esta tierra hay mal aparejo para la guerra; y si el [del] dinero lo uvieran tenido tan malo, uviera sido de poca substancia la perdida de su amistad."

1529.

Queen of Hungary,* and would forsake the alliance and friendship of France. Any negotiation of this sort carried on with the King of that country would be a regular thorn (*torcedor*) in the side of the English, and considerably improve the situation of affairs.—London, 16th April 1529.

Signed: “Don Iñigo de Mendoza.”

Addressed: “To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty.”

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 4.

19 April. 669. The EMPEROR to the POPE.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 44,
f. 85.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 172.

Has received his letter of the 23rd December last ; cannot describe what grief its contents have caused him, seeing that human perversity is such that it rejoices in calumny and misinterpretation of the best sentiments. All that is done for the love of Christ and of his Church is immediately traduced by malignant people into so many attempts against the Holy See and the Catholic Faith. All their efforts, however, will, We trust, prove vain, as Your Holiness will gather from what the Bishop of Traietto (Utrecht) has done in our name, “pro publica tranquillitate, proque Ecclesiæ dignitate.”

We cannot but lament having lived to a time, when instead of our strenuous efforts for the increase and support of the Catholic Church being successful, We are sometimes compelled, much against our will and with sorrow at heart (*gementes*), to help to the detriment of the said Church in order to avoid greater evils. Hence it is that very often the common weal, the good of the state, the affairs of the Faith, and in general the temporalities (*bona*) of the Church are in such plight, and with such opposing interests, that either these last must make way for the Church, or else the Church must do without them ; and as We think it wiser to seek God and the welfare of Christianity before temporal good of any kind, We shall not hesitate for the glory of Christ and the common welfare of Christians to despoil ourselves of all our kingdoms, and dominions, which, after all, we received from Him. This idea being fixed and immoveable in our mind, We could not but approve and confirm the alienation of the temporal goods of the Church of Utrecht, inasmuch as We considered it advantageous for the affairs of the Faith, and for the promotion of public peace, “ut alioqui incommoda multa, multaque damna à nobis nostrisque subditis, ac clero et populo Traiectensi toleranda ferendaque fuissent” for the city of Utrecht is so situated that if the people of Ghelders, with whom We are always at war, (*diuturnum bellum a Geldrensibus teneretur*) were to take possession of it, the whole of Belgian Gaul would be disturbed, “cumque superiori auto (aucto?) Traiectum à Geldrensibus caperetur, quod reliquum

* Mary, sister of Charles, and widow of Louis, King of Hungary, slain at Mehatz, the 26th of August 1526.

1529.

erat eius dominii facilè occupaturi. Nos tum ab episcopo, tum à præfectis atque proceribus eius Provinciæ suppetias efflagitantibus admoniti," took up arms against the people of Ghelders, and not without considerable expense and risk, put them to flight, and recovered the city and greater part of the country occupied by the enemy. The citizens, however, when matters being pacified and arranged, "de rependenda nobis pro eo officio gratia agerent, viderentque se neque Dominum à Geldrensibus deffendere, neque parem nobis gratiam rependere posse ut totum dominium in potestatem nostram traderent id nobis ultro, neque rogati neque admoniti, obtulerunt." We, therefore, accepted the sovereignty of Utrecht, and joined that province to our other estates, as it seemed to us far more desirable that a bishop should lose his property "quod ipse ultro ac libentissime fecit" than the whole province be exposed to the evils of war. We have purged the province from Lutherans and other disturbers of the peace, "atque nostra opera, nostroque beneficio clero et populo Traiectensi in pace vivere concessimus, ecclesiamque suæ dignitati, atque auctoritati restituiimus, profligatis his qui in Lutheranam factionem eam pertrahere conabantur; quod si Lutheranam pestem fovere, aut Lutheranis rem gratam facere est, quid, obsecro, erit eos persequi è medioque tollere?" Our aunt of the Low Countries will further explain the causes of what is called by our enemies Church spoliation, "neque verè neque rectè de his admonita illas litteras ad nos dedit quasi factum veluti impium detestantes, ita nunc, facti ratione perspecta, id idsum veluti pium, sanctum, atque necessarium vehementer laudet et approbet."—Çaragoça, 19th April 1529.

19 April. 670. The SAME to DON IÑIGO.

K. u. K. Hans-
Hof- u. Staats. Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 225.

Reverend Father in Christ, &c.,—Three of your letters have lately come to hand, dated respectively the 16th of January, 4th of February, and 15th of March. We thank you for the zeal which you display for our service, as well as for your assiduity in informing us of events in that country, and the progress of the negotiations intrusted to your care. We did not expect less from your wisdom and discretion.

Respecting the business of the Queen of England, our aunt, about which you write, you must know that a protest has been entered on her behalf by one of her chaplains, and that she herself has written to us, the English ambassadors having asked at the same time that We should transmit to her the original brief of dispensation in our possession. Our answer to such application and protest you will see by the enclosed papers and instruments drawn up for the purpose, in conformity with justice to the Queen, and with her right to have her case tried at Rome, and not elsewhere, by our most Holy Father, &c.

The English ambassadors at first showed discontent at this our answer, alleging that it might perchance be the cause of

1529.

provoking and irritating the King, their master, more and more; but having replied to them that We deemed this the fittest course to pursue, not only for the preservation and defence of the Queen's rights, but also to prevent future generations from saying that We refused without legitimate cause to surrender or send the said brief, or that We otherwise neglected to defend her so just cause, they (the ambassadors) being satisfied with our answer, and apparently desirous that the matter should be peaceably discussed, observed that the King, their master, yields much sooner to good and friendly treatment than to rigour and fear. We told them that it was our wish to deal in this manner, and that for that very purpose We were on the point of selecting a person to go to England as our ambassador, which measure, as it would appear, has not been unpleasant to them.

The said ambassadors having also made a request to have the brief privately shown to them, this was done, and an authentic copy of it made, properly revised and collated with the original, in order to show that We omit nothing that is likely to preserve the friendship of their King, and that if he will but attend to the letter of the brief his scruples will at once vanish.

We also told the ambassadors that We were about to send [to England] a special ambassador who might persuade the King in the mildest and most friendly terms to desist from his purpose, and replace you in case you were in a position to depart and come to us.

Your last despatch was duly received, and agreeably with your suggestions We told the English ambassadors the means proposed for your return [to Spain], provided the Bishop of Worcester (Ghinucci) still decided to go back, and good security was offered that you should not be molested on the way. This they promised to procure by their next despatch. You will do the same on your side, and ask for a safe-conduct for your passage through France, as We are about to do for the person whom We intend sending to England.

We are sorry to hear of the bad state of your health, and although your presence in that capital is still very useful, We consent to your leaving and coming to us as soon as you can, for We much desire your complete recovery.

We hear that the English ambassadors would like to follow our Court. This, however, We have declined to grant, and are about to send them to Valladolid under some good plea (*con buenas palabras*); there they may reside, and shall be well treated, until We hear from you, and see how things turn out in England and France.

The said ambassadors have often spoken to us concerning the prorogation of the truce, and importuned us to give them an answer. We have replied that We shall always be glad to

* "Para que conste que ninguna cosa queremos dexar [de hacer] que [omitien-dola] contamine esta amistad."

1529.

treat of truce or peace with the King, their master, individually, and of general peace with all; but that truce with the King of France alone does not in any way suit our purpose. Their reply is that they have no mandate to treat of peace or truce in particular, but merely of the renewal of the present one, and they have again pressed us to send our powers to that effect. Our answer has been that We are about to enclose to our aunt, Madame [Margaret], of the Low Countries, copies of all the papers relating thereto, that she may act in that business as she thinks most convenient for our interests. Should she require special powers from us, they shall be transmitted in due course, as well as a memorandum of our wishes and intentions in a business naturally mixed up with commercial and other affairs, on the subject of which We have already written to her, and now write again by Rozimboz and secretary Des Barres. The Princess, therefore, will inform you of what more is requisite for our service and for the good issue of the negotiation in general, which We have no doubt you will conduct with your usual prudence and discretion.—Saragossa,* 19th April 1529.

Indorsed: "Minute of letter from the Emperor to his ambassador in London, Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 5.

19 April. **671.** The SAME to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA, LEYVA, and CARACCILOLO.
S. Evt. P. de Italia.
Leg. 1,454, f. 106.

Empowers Federigo de Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, Antonio de Leyva, commander-in-chief of the Imperial army in Lombardy, and Marino Caracciolo, president of Milan, to treat of peace with the Venetians.—Saragossa, 19th April 1529.

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.

21 April. **672.** MIÇER MAI, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the EMPEROR.
S. E. Rom.
L. 848, f. 35.
P. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 175.

A Lutheran friar was lately arrested at Sienna, on whom papers and correspondence with his comrades of Germany were found. As he had friends in Sienna who wished to shelter and protect him, he (Mai) did, at the Pope's own request, write twice to that city to have him arrested or expelled therefrom. Has lately sent thither, on the same errand, Villaverde, a very worthy man, once secretary of the late Archbishop [of Saragossa], Don Alonso [de Aragon]. Cardinal Cortona died yesterday without confession.† The Pope

* According to the Itinerary above quoted, the Emperor left Saragossa on the 17th, and therefore, though the original draft of this and the three following letters, may have been written and dated at the city, they were all probably signed at Lerida, or some other town on the road to Barcelona.

† The death of this Cardinal (Silvio Passerino da Cortona) has already been mentioned as having taken place one year before, in February 1528, and the bishopric of Barcelona having been bestowed upon Don Luis de Cardona. See Perez's letter to the Emperor, No. 315, p. 569; but it is a mistake, for Ciaconius says distinctly that he died in 1529.

1529.

has given all his moveable property (*spolio*), amounting to about 20,000 ducats, to his nephew (Giulio?).—Rome, 21st April 1529.

Spanish. Original. pp. 1½.

22 April. 673. LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

M. Re, Ac. d. Hist.
Salazar, A. 44,
f. 92.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 176.

Since his last despatch of the 26th ulto. news has come that the confederates, after holding a sort of joint parliament (*parlamento*) at Lodi on the 15th inst., have resolved to attack Milan with their united forces. In consequence thereof, Leyva and Doria have ordered the four companies (*banderas*) of Spanish infantry under the command of Count Lodovico Beljoyoso to come from Genoa. They arrived on the 3rd, and encamped at certain villages called Armato and Castell San Joan, three leagues from Milan, on the river Pò, where barges and boats had been prepared for their crossing. Though this was done as secretly as possible, both the Duke Francesco Sforza and Mons. de St. Pol, who were in the neighbourhood, got intelligence of it, and the consequence was that some of the barges were taken, and others burnt by the enemy, there being no force near them to prevent it. It must be said that he (Soria), to whom this service had been intrusted, had previously inquired from the Papal officers whether any force was required to guard the barges. Was answered that as the barges were in the territory of the Church it was not likely that they would be seized by the confederates, and therefore he (Soria) only sent thither one of his own servants, now a prisoner in the Duke's hands. Meanwhile St. Pol, hearing that a number of Spaniards were marching to the relief of Milan, detached about 200 men-at-arms and light horse, besides a strong body of foot, to prevent their crossing the Pò. He (Soria), ignorant of all this, had gone to visit Count Beljoyoso, and prepare provisions and shoes for the Spaniards, most of whom were barefooted. He was at a village called Castell San Joan (San Giovanni), when a company of St. Pol's horse came up suddenly under a captain named Mussiur Dambre, who, they said, was soon to be followed by the whole force. Had, however, time enough to despatch a messenger to Belgiojoso, to prepare him for an attack of the confederates. And so he did, for though the French began skirmishing with our Spaniards, so as to allow the Venetians and the men of Francesco Sforza to come up and occupy the fords of the river, they could not accomplish their object, for after an engagement which lasted nearly three hours, night came on, and the enemy returned to the suburbs of Castell St. Joan (San Giovanni), where he (Soria) actually was; whilst Belgiojoso, who had fortunately found a few of the barges that had escaped the enemy, was enabled to cross the river during the night, and meeting on the following morning some troops detached by Leyva to his relief, entered Milan without losing one man.

1529.

Intends remaining where he is until further orders come from Spain, for although Leyva wishes him to go to Milan, the Prince of Orange has written to say that he had better remain at Piacenza, a neutral ground just now, and a place where he (Soria) can be of more use.

Now that His Imperial Majesty's journey is officially announced, it is important that the state of affairs in Italy, the forces of the confederates and their plans of campaign, should be properly estimated and described. Count St. Pol is at Alessandria. His forces muster 300 horse, and about 3,000 foot only; the men-at-arms scarcely amount to 80. They say that he expects 2,000 Germans, but whence these are to come, and where to join him, is not stated. As it is, he has neither money nor provisions to give them. Though he is continually urging the Venetians and Sforzini to attack Milan, they refuse, and require him to go first. Meanwhile, although each of the leaguers pretends to have his contingent of troops in good order, neither has one half of the men he is bound by treaty to keep, and as money and provisions are generally deficient, the probability of their joining in an attack upon Milan is very doubtful. Should they, however, attempt it, Leyva is likely to prove a match for them.

(*Cipher* :) The Duke Francesco [Sforza] is at Lodi with about 2,000 infantry and 200 horse, but as his revenue must now be very scanty, and he cannot possibly have saved money, he will be unable to accomplish great things. He, himself, is not over active in body, though in much better health than he was; in addition to which, some people suspect that he is now secretly treating with the Emperor's ministers. He (Soria) knows nothing about this; all he knows is that the Duke is not an Imperialist at heart, and that if he and the rest of the Italian potentates court the Emperor's friendship just now, it is only out of fear of his intended journey. Let this take pace as soon as possible, this very summer, and His Imperial Majesty will find nobody strong enough by land or sea to oppose his landing; the League will be broken up, Italy pacified, &c.; otherwise the confederates may have time to fortify themselves, for the report is that the Venetians are fitting out galleys, and threatening to bring the Turk to Puglia and Friuli, which may well be believed, considering their proverbial want of faith (*inconsequencia*), their dread of the Emperor, and the ill-will they have always manifested towards him. They are, moreover, thinking of fortifying their frontier towns against an attack from the Imperialists, and fancy that it will be long ere they are dispossessed of such places as Crema, Trezzo, Verona, Padua, and Treviso. But if at any time before next harvest the Venetian territory were to be vigorously invaded by a body of Germans, he (Soria) has no doubt that all their boasting would vanish in smoke. As it is, the Signory is in want of money, though when pushed to extremities they know well how to find it among their citizens and merchants.

1529.

(*Common writing* :) Their forces at present consist of 500 men-at-arms, and as many light horse, besides 4,000 foot. These are at present commanded by Janus Campofragoso, as it is believed that the Duke of Urbino will no longer serve under them. No sooner did they hear of the arrival of the Spaniards at Milan than they ordered the bridge they had on the Adda to be cut.

(*Cipher* :) Most people think that the Venetians are not at all anxious for the taking of Milan, and that, on the contrary, they are glad to see it in its present state, in order to keep off the war from their own territory. On the other hand the King of France himself does not wish Milan to be very closely invested, that he may in the meantime negotiate for peace, turn to his own profit St. Pol's military operations, and flatter the confederates by making them believe that he has a powerful army at his own disposal, and is about to increase it for their profit. In short the confederates distrust each other, though everyone of them boasts and brags to the utmost individually.

(*Common writing* :) On the 17th inst. Teodoro Triulzio passed through this city (Piacenza) on his way to Venice. He goes thither on a mission of the King of France, the object of which is to persuade the Signory to restore Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope. Most probably he will be as unsuccessful as those who have preceded him.

(*Cipher* :) The same Triulzio has announced here to a confidential friend of his that the Pope is in treaty with the King of France to retire to Avignon, in the event of the Emperor coming in force to Italy. But as Ostia and Civittà Vecchia have been lately restored to him, it is not likely that he will now follow that advice unless it be for the sake of getting the French King to help him in the recovery of Ravenna and Cervia from the Venetians.

(*Common writing* :) Another gentleman of the King of France, named Catellion (Chastillon), passed through Piacenza at the beginning of this month on his way to Venice. He is reported to take with him 20,000 ducats, which, added to a similar sum from the Signory and some more from the Florentines, is to be employed in strengthening that part of Puglia which the confederates still hold.

The news from France is that King Francis has actually engaged 12,000 Germans for the invasion of Spain, and that great stores of provisions are collected for their supply. The King, moreover, has, they say, applied for 3,000 Italian hackbutiers; but should the money be forthcoming, which is very doubtful, there is no means in Italy at the present moment for recruiting such force, most able soldiers of these parts having died of pestilence and famine, without counting the thousands slain in battle.

About the Duke of Ferrara there is not much to be said. The King of France and the rest of the confederated powers wish him to take the command-in-chief of their armies, but

1529.

he refuses. His son, Don Hercules [d'Este], has lately sent to Florence some bands he has enlisted. He, himself, remains at Ferrara. His wife (Renée de France) has recovered from her illness. The Marquis of Mantua is in his capital, looking on and listening to all those who choose to speak to him, but without deciding one way or the other (*sin ningun pensamiento de guerra*). The Duke of Savoy (Carlo) and the Marquis of Monferrara wish for peace, or at least to see the war removed from their respective territories. The Marquis of Saluzzo enjoys his patrimonial estates in peace and without opposition; his brother, Mussiur [de Saluzzes], a thorough partisan of France, stays away in that country.

Count Galeotto della Concordia has become a "condottiere" in the service of the Signory, and Count Annibale di Novellara has also taken service under the French.

(*Cipher* :) The two last-named noblemen being vassals of the Emperor, they ought to be punished as they deserve.

Genoa has a force of 2,000 foot and 100 light horse, quite sufficient at present for its defence.

Since writing the above, news has come from Venice that four of the Signory's galleys, sent to the relief of Monopoli in Puglia, had foundered at sea with all their crews, and that the Venetian proveditor had been drowned among the rest. No less than 24 other vessels belonging to the Signory, which had sailed for the same coast for the purpose of revictualling Barletta, Trani, and other cities, had met with a similar fate. The Signory had lately appointed as their proveditor-general of the sea Micer Hieronimo Pesaro, who will shortly leave for Corfu to fit out the Venetian fleet.

Has this moment received detailed news from Milan. It appears that Leyva, having secretly left that city at the head of some infantry and artillery, took on the 20th inst. the castles of Binasco and Charela (Ciarela), and sent a trumpeter to Reguardo summoning the garrison to surrender. The Duke Francesco and the Venetians had in consequence of this movement reinforced the garrison of Pavia. Advices from Naples of the 8th inst. state that the taking of Monopoli was expected every hour, and that the Imperial army would very shortly leave to come to these parts.—Piacenza, 22nd April 1529.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 8.

23 April. 674. The EMPEROR to the QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u. Staats Arch.
Wien. Rep. P. C.
Fasc. 225.

Most Serene Queen, our dearest and most beloved Aunt,—
We have received your letter of January last, brought by your chaplain, who will also be the bearer of this our answer.

Respecting the protest entered into in your name by the said chaplain, and seconded by the ambassadors of our dearest and most beloved uncle and brother, your husband, We have acted and replied as you will see by the enclosed papers drawn

1529.

up and prepared for the purpose, and in the manner which common reason and justice, as well as the protection and defence of your own rights, dictate. As a case of this sort must needs be referred to our most Holy Father and his Holy Apostolic See, We have earnestly requested him not to allow it to be tried elsewhere than at his Court, inasmuch as your honour, and that of all our relatives and friends, is deeply concerned in the issue.* You may be sure, most Serene Queen, our dearest and most beloved aunt and sister, that I shall not fail in what I consider to be my duty.—[Fraga],† 23rd April 1529.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

23 April. 675. DON IÑIGO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 806,
f. 27.
B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 183.

The permission given him to quit a country where his health is so bad, has come just in time to save his life. The Emperor's orders shall be faithfully executed before his (Mendoza's) departure [for Spain], which will take place soon, as there is scarcely anything left for him to do in England.

His most Serene Highness the King wishes very much to see one of the two ambassadors residing at the Imperial Court, the Bishop of Worcester (Wigornienſe). If the Emperor be pleased to send him to the frontier of Perpignan, he (Mendoza) will go thither and be exchanged for him.—London, 23rd April 1529.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

27 April. 676. The PROTEST presented by the IMPERIAL AMBASSADORS to the POPE.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof- u. Staats. Arch.
Wien, Rep. P.C.
Fasc. 225, No. 42, °.

Dr. Michael Maius, knight of Barcelona, the Emperor's ambassador at Rome, and D. Andreas de Burgo, count of Castelleoni,‡ also ambassador from the king of Bohemia and Hungary, Archduke of Austria, &c., in the presence of the undersigned notary and witnesses summoned for the purpose, drew out and presented to [Pope Clement VII.], in behalf and in the name of their respective sovereigns, the following protest, requisition, intimation, &c.

* The paragraph stood originally thus : "Y que tanto toca á la honra de v. al. y de todos los que somos y nos tenemos por vuestros sobrinos y hijos;" but the Emperor corrected it in his own hand as follows : "Como semejante cosa como esta se debe tractar por lo que á v. al. toca y á todos vuestros parientes y amigos."

† On the 23rd of April the Emperor was on his way to Barcelona, where he arrived on the 28th. According to the Itinerary published by Bradford, the Emperor on the 18th [of April] went to Bergeleros (?), on the 19th to Franqua, the 20th to Larida, &c. I conclude, therefore, that the minute was written at Fraga, which is some miles from Lerida, on the road to Barcelona.

‡ Comes Castrileonis, or Castel Leone, a town in Lombardy.

1529.

Go on to state the futility of the reason alleged for the divorce. Beg the Pope to have the case adjudicated to his Court, since, were it to be tried in England, Queen Katherine would never obtain justice. "Acta fuerunt hæc Romæ, in palatio Apostolico, in camera Sanctissimi, D. N. Papæ, Presentibus ibidem Magnificis et nobilibus viris Dominis Jacobo de Salviatis, patritio Florentino, et Gasparo Marradas Valentino, milite Militiæ Sancti Jacobi de Spata, testibus ad premissa vocatis et rogatis. Notarius Alfonsus de Cuevas Cæs. sacerdos et sollicitator."

Indorsed: "Copia del protesto Angliæ."*

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 9.

27 April. 677.

PETITION presented to the POPE by the Imperial Ambassadors respecting the DIVORCE CASE.

K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u.StaatsArch.
Wien. Rep. C.
Fasc. 224, No. 4.

At Rome, on Tuesday, the 27th of April, Richard Mai, Knight, doctor in law and theology, and Andrea del Burgo, Count of Castel Leone (Comes Castrileonis), councillor and orator to His Serene Highness Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia, humbly petitioned His Holiness the Pope [Clement VII.] to summon (*advocare*) the divorce case to be tried at his Papal Court.—Rome, 27th April 1529.

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 1½.

Indorsed: "Demande faite au Pape par les ministres de l'Empereur d'évoquer à Rome l'affaire du divorce."

28 April. 678.

JAMES, EARL OF DESMOND, to the EMPEROR.

Arch. d. Royme.
de Belg.
Negot. d'Angl.
vol. i.

B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 194.

Has received the Emperor's letters brought by his ambassador [Gonçalo Fernandez], who landed, and was honourably entertained at the port "*villæ nostræ de Firma*." Thanks God and the Emperor for the attention he has promised to give to his affairs. Places entirely at his disposal his own person and landed estates, as well as the persons and estates of his relatives and adherents. Trusts that His Imperial Majesty will take them all under his protection. "*Valeat Vestra Sacratissima Majestas, et non valeat qui eam valere non desiderat, &c. Scriptum apud villam nostram de Firma (Fermoy), XXVII Luce Aprilis (Sunday), anno Domini Mo. VC. XXIX (sic).*"

Signed: "Vester humilis et fidelis servus et subditus Jacobus, comes Desmondie, dominus Desie et Ogonill, ac liber-tatis Kyerrigie, &c."

Addressed: "Invictissimo ac Sacratissimo Domino Karolo Dei gratia, et augusto domino nostro, cedula cum summa reverentia et subjectione se tradi jubet."

* There are in the Imperial Archives at Vienna two copies of this petition and protest, one indorsed as here stated, the other with the words, "Demande faite au Pape par les ministres de l'Empereur d'invocquer à Rome l'affaire du divorce."

1529.

Arch. d. Roy^{me},
de Belg.

Negot. d'Ang.

vol. i.

B. M. Add. 28,578,
f. 194.

679.

The SAME to the SAME, reporting on his available forces and the causes of his enmity towards England.

In the first place, I, James, Count of Desmond, am of Royal blood, as descended from King Brito, who conquered and subdued both great and small Britain, as likewise Ireland and Scotland.

The causes of my hostility to the King of England are as follows:

1. The first is an old prophecy, to which the English attach faith, namely, that the whole of their country will be conquered and subdued by one count of Desmond. This prophecy is recorded in the old chronicles and other writings of England, but by whom made I, the Count, have been unable to ascertain.

2. The second cause of my enmity towards them is that, from fear of the above-mentioned prophecy, the King of England gave my predecessors, who had already much power and great estates in Ireland, the government of this country (*potes-tatem suam*); but as Thomas, Count of Desmond, my grand-father, was peaceably attending the Royal Parliament of Ireland he was arrested, and without any crime whatsoever being imputed to him, and merely out of fear of the above-mentioned old prophecy the King had him tried and beheaded.

3. The third cause is, that when Richard [the Third], King of England, heard of the old enmity existing between his predecessors and mine, he came to Ireland with a large fleet, when my father helped him to subdue the whole country with the exception of a few towns.

4. The fourth, that the King of England, by reason of the above enmity, had Gerald, Count of Kyldare, my father's near relative, shut up in prison for a certain period of time, and when my father by force of arms rescued him, he gained his purpose, and obtained for his own kinsman the lieutenancy of Ireland.*

5. The fifth cause of enmity is, that just after the conclusion of the peace between my said father and the King of England, the former, was suddenly struck by a fit of paralysis, which incapacitated him to bear arms, I being at the time eight years old. No sooner was the King of England informed of this than he succeeded, owing to his great power, in forming a league between the English and the Irish for the purpose of attacking my paralytic father, which he did, waging incessant war upon us during four and twenty consecutive years, though by the grace of God unable to gain any advantage.

6. The sixth cause of enmity is, that peace being again concluded between me and the King of England, as I, on account of the said peace, had sent some of my own servants across the seas to the ports of Flanders and France,

* "Suumque propositum et locum Regis in Hybernia suo consanguineo obtinuit."

1529.

for the purpose of trading with those countries, the attorneys (*attornatores*) of the King of England robbed my men of 9,000 livres, and had them incarcerated, &c.

28 April. 680. PETITION of the EARL OF DESMOND.*

Arch. d. Roy^{me},
de Belg.
Negot. d'Ang.
Vol. I.

B. M. *Add.* 28,578,
f. 194.

Follows the petition (*supplicatio*) of the said Count [of Desmond].

I, the aforesaid Count, beg and entreat that in consideration of the above stated facts, of the wrongs and injuries inflicted upon me and mine by the kings of England, His most invincible, sacred, and august Majesty the Emperor be pleased to provide opportune redress, and I will faithfully place myself, with all my estates, vassals, relatives, and adherents, under the protection of the mighty Prince, chosen and appointed by God and men to be supreme lord of all the world, and to redress the wrongs of mankind.

To revenge the injuries inflicted by the kings of England upon my predecessors and upon myself, I possess the following means: I can bring into the field 16,500 infantry and 1,500 cavalry. I have besides several relatives and adherents, whose names are: the Prince Oberayn, who will also assist me, and can raise 600 horse and 1,000 foot; Theobald de Burgo, who can bring into the field 100 horse and 600 foot; Lord Richard Goer, Knight, with 400 horse and 200 foot; Lord Thomas Butler, with 60 horse and 240 foot; John Gerald, knight, with 80 horse and 440 foot; Gerald, junior, knight, with 40 horse and 200 foot; Thomas Comititis (?), knight, who can make up 60 horse and 200 foot; Andidus knight, with 40 horse and 300 foot; Lord Odonyll, Prince Ulidie, who can raise 800 horse and 4,000 foot; Knight de Walle, with 40 horse and 240 foot; Captain Ocunachuyz, 30 horse and 200 foot, besides some others not named.

I, Count James [Desmond], announce and declare to Your most Sacred and Imperial Majesty that there is a league and alliance sufficiently solid and firm between me and the King of Scotland, to whom all of us have frequently signified our intention by means of letters and embassies.

My present intention is, with God's favour and mercy, to employ all my resources, and those of my relatives and friends, and indeed my own person, against Peter Butler, the King of England's deputy in Ireland, and against those cities and towns which take part with the King, such as Lymerick, Waterford, Dublin, and others, whose names I omit for brevity's sake, as well as against their partisans and adherents.

With regard to the assistance which I shall be glad to receive from Your Imperial Majesty, I can name, firstly and above all, certain war material, and principally large guns, with which to batter walls and breach castles.*

* "Sunt aliqua instrumenta et præsertim lunbardi pro terra compellentes et pro castris rumpendis."

1529.

Should like to have them as soon as possible, that I may the better serve Your Majesty.

I promise under my faith duly to observe the commands and orders of Your Majesty, be friend of friends, and enemy of enemies, like a true and loyal subject. Should I ever do, or attempt to do, anything displeasing to Your Majesty, I place myself beforehand under correction and punishment. "Scripta sunt in oppido meo, videlicet villa de Firma, XXVIII. Luce Aprilis (Sunday), anno Domini Mo. Vc. XXIX. præsentibus Gundisalvo Ferdinandus (*sic*) Magistris Dionisio Mitdonle (*sic*) Artium et Medicinæ doctoris, Dionisio Cather, Mauricio Herly decano."

Signed: "Jacobus comes Desmoniaë."

Latin. Original. pp. 2.

29 April. **681.**

The EMPEROR to POPE CLEMENT VII.

S. E. L., 1,555,

f. 16.

B. M. *Add.* 28,578,

f. 196.

Is ready to follow his advice, and to commence war against the Infidel.—Zaragoza, 29th April 1529.

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.

1 May. **682.**

AGOSTINO GRIMALDO, Bishop of Grassa, to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,553,

f. 317.

B. M. *Add.* 28,578,

f. 213.

The news of the Emperor's journey has caused great agitation among the confederates, and therefore it cannot but be beneficial to all those who are sincerely attached to the Empire. Once in Italy, the Emperor will soon put down all his enemies, reform the Church, convoke a general council, extinguish the flames of the Lutheran heresy, defeat the intrigues and plots that might be devised against such measures, and unite the forces of Christendom to fight the Turk, who, but for the Emperor's coming, would certainly invade Italy at the instigation of some of the confederates. Indeed, it is a known fact that one of Soliman's ambassadors has lately passed through on his way to France, conducted by a Venetian nobleman.

With regard to Italy itself, the Emperor's faithful subjects and servants, among whose number he (Grimaldo) counts himself, are so impoverished by war and famine, that were the journey to be put off for one year more, His Imperial Majesty would find nothing but desolation and ruin everywhere.

It is to be presumed that the first thing to be done after the Emperor's landing in Italy will be to assemble the Spaniards in his suite, the lansquenets coming from Germany, and the forces from Lombardy and Naples, which junction of troops could not, in his (the bishop's) opinion, be effected without great difficulty if the landing takes place, as seems probable, at Genoa; for, considering that all the towns and fortresses on this side of the Pò are in the hands of the enemy, the confederates are sure to make the greatest efforts to prevent the descent of the Germans. Besides which, the

1529.

King of France is daily boasting that he will come down himself with a powerful army, and, if so, the enemy might before the arrival of the said Germans so destroy and waste the land about the Pò that the auxiliary forces could find no provisions on their way, which would be a thing of the utmost consequence for the success of the future campaign.

Does not presume to tender his advice on such matters, but in his opinion the Germans, immediately after their descent into Italy, ought to be directed towards Piedmont, where they will find abundance of provisions and anything else they may want. The Emperor himself should land here [at Monaco] whence, through well-known mountain passes, one half-day's march will be sufficient to effect a junction with Leyva. If this plan be followed the King of France will not venture to come, as he will thus find the Imperialists masters of the mountain passes. The latter might pick up in their march from four to five thousand excellent hackbutiers, who would be delighted to serve under the Emperor; and as the country is very fertile, ample provision might be made for the road, after laying waste what remained lest the enemy should get hold of it.—Monagues (Monaco), 1st May 1529.

Signed: "Aug[ustinus] E[piscopus] de Grassis."

Addressed: "A l'Empereur."

Indorsed: "Monigo. 1529."

French. Original. pp. 4.

6 May. **683.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to FERDINAND, King of Bohemia.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 171, 211 v°.

Don Pedro de Cordoba, on his return from his Portuguese mission, showed him in writing the answer given by King João to His Highness' message. As this has since gone by Doctor Gabriel Sanchez, who sailed with Monforte, he (Salinas) needs not allude to it further than to say that Cordoba has remained at Toledo for the purpose of passing the Easter festivities (*la Pascua*) with his wife, but he writes that he will come soon to Saragossa, and do anything necessary for His Highness' best service.

A letter is wanted for the confessor (Loaysa), who has been very friendly in this and other matters.

In consequence of the indisposition of Miçer Andrea del Burgo at Rome, the Emperor has ordered Miçer Mai to take charge of his affairs in that capital.—Çaragoça, 13th April 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

6 May. **684.** The SAME to SECRETARY CASTILLEJO.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist.
C. 171, f. 212.

Wrote from Saragossa on the 13th ulto. by Mercado, the groom of the Chamber. Has nothing new to report except that the Emperor left on the 19th, and was full eleven days on the

1529.

road. Before parting he left orders for the High Chancellor (Gattinara), the Bishop of Osma, his confessor, Don Garcia de Padilla, and Cobos to resume the negotiations, so many times broken off, respecting the Spice Islands, as it was suspected that it was a stratagem of the Portuguese ambassador and the rest of the commissioners of that nation to wait for the departure of the [Imperial] fleet for the South Seas. The agreement was signed at last, on what terms and conditions he (Salinas) cannot say, but certain it is that the Emperor has thereby been enabled to recall part of his Indian fleet to take to Italy with him.

The Emperor arrived in this city on the 30th ulto., and found that the fitting out of the 24 galleys had been completed. To-morrow, the 7th, some of them will be launched, and as everything is quite ready, the whole fleet, consisting of 30 large galleys, and numerous transports and smaller vessels, will soon put to sea. Ten thousand infantry, who were to be here at the end of April, are now marching towards Cartagena, there to embark, so that by the end of this month, or beginning of the next, it is confidently expected that the Emperor will set sail. True, many people think that the expedition may still be postponed or countermanded, as the report is that pestilence and famine prevail in Italy, and therefore that it would be very imprudent for the Emperor to cross over at such a time. Many of the grandees have been summoned, and some have come already, the Duke [of Alba] and the High Admiral [Enriquez] among the rest; with what intention it is not known, but apparently to oppose rather than to encourage the Emperor's journey under such unfavourable circumstances.—Barcelona, 6th May 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

1529.

 ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO BOTH PARTS.

PART I.

- p. 13. The date of Charles' first visit to England is erroneously given. It was in June 1522 (not 1523) that he spent a few days at Greenwich and London.
- p. 17. "Antonio de Cysenros, the courier, &c." His real name was *Cisneros*; a native, no doubt, of the village of that name in the province of Palencia, in Old Castille.
- p. 40. "A great misfortune has happened at Genoa." Probably the defeat and capture of Don Hugo de Moncada, who was taken prisoner by Lorenzo da Ceri in January or February 1525, between Savona and Genoa. Soria's letter giving an account of the affair is not in the Academy's volume, and was probably intercepted. Guicciardini mentions the event in his *Storia d' Italia*, lib. xv.
- p. 45. The English gentleman mentioned in the Emperor's letter to Praet, of the 12th February (No. 16), as having visited the French camp before Pavia, and been in close communication with King Francis, can be no other than Sir Gregory Casale, who about this time was sent to the Venetians for the purpose of urging them to assist the Emperor.
- p. 51. Who the courier was who, according to Praet's testimony, was the bearer of his official correspondence, when stopped by order of the Cardinal, is not stated. He is said to have been an *Englishman*, by birth, though in the employment of Margaret. Among those who did service between England and the Low Countries at the time, and even as late at Don Iñigo's embassy, two *Richards* are mentioned; one surnamed *Boullengier*, and also *le Florentin*; the other *Cocque*, who might well be the one alluded to in this paragraph, inasmuch as a Richard Coke or Cooke was in 1524 attached to the English Legation in Spain. *State Papers*, vol. vi., p. 311.
- p. 139. "The gentleman sent by the English King to that of France," mentioned in Soria's despatch of the 20th April, and whose name that diplomat was unable to ascertain, could be no other than John Jockin, or Giovanni Gioachino da Passano, who, accompanied by the Chancellor of Alençon, Jean Brinon, returned about this time to London.
- p. 150. No. 88 has been headed by mistake, "The same to the same," as if addressed by Sessa to the Emperor, whereas it is a despatch from Lannoy.
- p. 157. Guasto's letter (No. 93), to the Emperor is out of place, and erroneously dated, as it was evidently written after Pescara's death in 1526. It occurs again, though differently worded, at p. 693, No. 422.

1529.

- p. 165. "No objection was offered by the Cardinal to the 4th and 5th articles, &c." The Convention or "Concordia" of Madrid not having been signed and made public until the 14th of January 1526, Margaret's commissioners in London, in their objections to the Cardinal, could only allude to some separate memorandum sent to them from Flanders, stating the specific claims put forward by that country. In such a memorandum the articles relating to the indemnities to be paid, or restitution of lands to be made, to Flemish subjects might have been numbered 4th and 5th, whereas in the Madrid Convention they bear respectively the numbers xxix, xxxi, and xxxii.

Nor are the names of the personages mentioned in the paragraph correctly given by Le Sauch: Flourenge is the title of Robert de la Mark, lord of that town in Gascony; *Saint Valier* is Jean de Poitiers, seigneur de St. Vallier; whilst *Pointhievre* can be no other than "le Sieur de Penthievre," another of Bourbon's adherents. It must be added, however, that in the text of the *Concordia*, as published by Sandoval (*Hist. del Emperador Carlos V.*), the above proper names, and indeed almost all those which are not purely Castillian, are so corrupted as to be hardly recognizable at times.

- p. 259. Pescara has taken possession, &c. The fact is recorded by Guicciardini and others, and especially by Lodovico della Chiesa. This latter historian, however, confounds the two expeditions made by Pescara to the marquisate of Saluzzo, namely, that of the year 1522, also recorded by Guicciardini, lib. xiv., and this last one of September 1525, six months after the battle of Pavia. He makes Hernando Marin, the well known abbot of Najera, a bishop of *Nazzaret*, and misrepresents altogether the objects and events of both expeditions.
- p. 285. Recommends a petition of Clemente Albane's; *Albanés*, or a native of Albania is meant.
- p. 325. "They have confined to prison one Aldelo Placito." Malavolti, in his *Historia de' fatti e guerre de' Senesi*, Venice, 1599, 4to., gives the names of those who suffered in consequence of this new revolution at Siena. "Molti cittadini (he says), quali tenevano por poco confidente a quel governo, se bene ritenuti dal timore, non ne facevano alcuna dimostratione, tra' quali furono Aldello et Domenico Placidi, Micer Giulio Santi, Giulio Pannelini, e Ippolito Begliarmati," *Parte III.*, fol. 126 *verso*.
- p. 327. Though the above-mentioned Lodovico della Chiesa in his scarce *Historia di Piemonte*, Torino, 1608, 4to., and other Italian writers of the preceding century occasionally call this Duke of Savoy *Carlo Emanuele*, it is a mistake. His name was *Carlo* only. He was the second son of Philippe *Le Bon*, and of Margaret de Bourbon. In 1504, after the death of his brother Philibert, without male children, he inherited the estate. He died in 1533, in the 66th year of his age, having been married to Beatrix of Portugal, daughter of King Dom Manuel and niece of the Emperor Charles.

1529.

- p. 328. In a note at the bottom of this page the name of the Doge's ambassador in Spain is erroneously given. Francesco Viglia, Villa or *Billia*, as he signs himself, was Milanese agent at the court of Charles. It was he who, in 1525, procured and sent to his master the deed of investiture of the Duchy of Milan, in obtaining which he must, with his master's consent, have promised a bribe to Secretary Pero Garcia, for the affidavit under No. 318, p. 551, signed by Billia himself states the fact of certain offers of money and annual pension having been made, but refused. The Duke had then in Spain another agent named Giulino, Gilino, or *Giuliano*, whose prefix was Camillo, and is often mistaken by the writers of this time for *Giuliano della Spezzia*, a representative in Spain of the Doge of Genoa.
- p. 329. "Lumigiano" is an error for Via Lunigiana, as the district between Reggio and that part of Tuscany called Il Fivizzanese is known to the present day.
- p. 363. Note. *Gaparo* is a misprint for "Gasparo."
- p. 435. "I am about to send Paulo di Rezzo to the Marquis." This Paulo, or Pagolo, one of Clement's most favourite chamberlains, and employed by him on several secret missions to Pescara, to Francis and to the Emperor, was not a native of Reggio or Rezzo, as pronounced in the Venetian dialect, but of Arezzo, the town in the states of the Church, whence came Guido Reni, and the celebrated Pietro Aretino. Paolo d' Arezzo was easily converted by Spaniards into "Paolo da Rezzo," whence arose the mistake of making him a native of Reggio, as Antonio de Herrera, Illescas, and other Spanish historians have frequently done.
- p. 553. At the end of the "Summary of the treaty of Madrid," as preserved in the Imperial Archives of Vienna (*Rep. P. Fasc. C. 224, No. 3*), the names of the two sons of Francis to be kept as hostages for the fulfilment by their father of the stipulated conditions, are incorrectly given. The Dauphin's was *François*; born the 28th February 1518. Created Duke of Bretagne in 1533, he died before his father on the 12th of August 1536, of poison administered to him by his valet Montecuculo, a native of Ferrara. His brother, *Henri*, Duke of Orleans, born the 31st of March 1518, became subsequently King of France. Francis had a third son born 12th January 1521, who in 1540 became Duke of Orleans, Angoulême, and Bourbonnais.
- p. 560. In the fourth paragraph of the Emperor's letter to the Abbot of Najera (No. 336), instead of *Giovanni and Francesco di Galara* the true reading ought to be Luigi and Gian Francesco di Galara, as in p. 514.
- p. 626. "Where the said King of Hungary [Ladislas] generally holds his Court." Instead of *holds* the text ought to read *held*, for Ladislas VI. died in 1516, and was succeeded by his son Louis II., at whose death, in 1526, Ferdinand of Austria had himself proclaimed King of Bohemia and Hungary.

- 1529.
- p. 641. In the bull *in Cœna Domini* promulgated this year, &c. In 1768 Don Juan Luis Lopez, Marquis del Risco, and councillor of Aragon, published by order of Charles III. an elaborate and learned account of all the attempts made for nearly four centuries and a half to alter and increase the articles of that bull. The title of the work is *Historia legal de la bula llamada in Cœna Domini, dividida en tres partes en que se refieren su origen, aumento y estado, &c.*, Madrid, Gabriel Ramirez, MDCCLXVIII. fol.
- p. 645. No. 388 has been headed by mistake Alonso Sanchez, Imperial Ambassador in *Genoa*, instead of Venice, where he resided since 1521.
- p. 646. "On the 26th Cappin arrived [in Venice]." These last words ought to be effaced and substituted by "at the court of France," where that Papal Nuncio is said to have arrived in April.
- p. 683. Count Felix of Werdenberg has been called of Wurtemberg by mistake.
- p. 705. "The news that came the other day of the castle of Mus having been taken," &c. No mention is made in the Abbot's despatch of the 18th (No. 432), of the taking of Mus by the Imperialists, but in another of the same date, mostly written in cipher, which I happen to possess in my own collection of original papers for the reign of Charles V., the following paragraph is to be found referring to that affair: "There was in the castle of Mus, situated on the frontiers of the Grisons and Switzers, a bad tyrant, who, though he held that force in the name of the Duke [of Milan], obeyed no one and was quite independent. Aware of this fact, and also that the said governor was preparing to visit a bathing place close to Verona, the Marquis and Antonio de Leyva laid a plan to get possession of the fortress by means of some of the garrison, to whom a sum of money and other grants were promised, provided they should deliver it into the hands of Captain Villaturiel, the governor of Lecco, another very strong castle in the neighbourhood. It has been God's pleasure that the place should fall into our hands; for a messenger has just arrived from the spot announcing that the plan has been successful. I need scarcely add that should the Castellan fall into the hands of our men, he ought to be immediately put to death, in just retaliation for the many crimes and atrocities he has committed there, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the Lacco Maggiore. The castle is exceedingly strong and of the utmost importance, being situated, as I said before, in the confines of the Grisons and Switzers." The Castellan of Mus or Musso, alluded to in this passage was Giangiacopo de' Medici, who some time before the battle of Pavia was appointed governor of that castle in the room of Count Gerardo del Arco. His having surprised and taken Chiavenna, on the lake of Como, is supposed by Bugati and other Italian historians to have contributed in a great measure to the defeat of the French at Pavia, for at the request of the elders of the Grisons, 6,000 of their men suddenly abandoned the French camp and returned

1529.

home. — *Historia universale di M. Gasparo Bugati*, Venetia, MDLXX, 4to., p.

p. 706. "To one Tiberio de Soria, &c." Soria is evidently a mistake for *Loria* or *Lauria*.

p. 718. In the first note at the bottom of the page "busidess" is a misprint for "business."

p. 730. Giberto's letter to Messer Capino (No. 449), as given by Porcacchi (ed. Zirletti, Venetia, 1581), is dated the 9th April 1526. Capino, or as others call him, *Dom Chiapino*, was gentleman in waiting to the Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga). He was employed by the Pope on various missions to Louise de Savoie, and to the Emperor. At this time, in June 1526, he was residing in France, as Papal Nuncio, having gone thither for the avowed purpose of complimenting Francis upon his delivery, but in reality to lay, in conjunction with the Venetian secretary, Andrea Rosso, the basis of the disastrous "Clementine League."

There is, however, a good deal of confusion in the reports of the Imperial Ambassadors about Capino and his doings, for on the 16th of March both the Duke of Sessa and Commander Herrera advise his appointment in the room of Paulo Vettori, the captain of the Papal galleys, who upon his arrival at Florence fell suddenly ill and died (Nos. 363-4). On the 17th of April the Duke reports him at Rome as having returned from his mission to the Switzers, and on the 23rd (No. 395, p. 656), he gives the substance of that Nuncio's conference with Francis, as communicated by the Pope to him. See also Sanchez' letter of the 18th, p. 646. These flagrant contradictions can hardly be reconciled, except by supposing Sessa's despatch of the 17th of April to be a duplicate with additions of that of the 16th of March, which, as our readers must have observed, was a frequent practice among the Imperial ambassadors and agents of that day. Capino might well have returned to Rome from a former mission to Louise de Savoie in March, passing through the Swiss and Venetian territories, and be then and there appointed to succeed Vettori, but he could nowise be at Rome in April since his arrival at Montdemarsan on the 6th, in company with Andrea Rosso, is officially recorded. See the latter's despatch of April the 10th, to the Doge and Signory of Venice, in Rawdon Brown, vol. iii., p. 537, and Sanchez' letter of the 27th, wrongly dated the 7th (p. 665).

p. 732. Note. The date of Porcacchi's first edition has been left in blank by mere oversight. It ought to be filled in thus: 1565. It is the oldest I have seen, though the title differs materially from subsequent reprints. It is a volume in 8vo., with the following title: *Lettere di XIII. huomini illustri; alle quali oltra tutte l'altre fin qui stam-pate, di nouo ne sono state aggiunte molte da Thomasso Porcacchi. In Venetia, presso Georgio de' Cavalli, MDLXV.* There is another edition also of Venice, appresso gli Heredi di Giovan Maria Bonelli, MDLXXI. In 1575 Giordano Zirletti published his collection of *Lettere di Principi, &c.*, in three volumes, small 4to., including all those collected by Porcacchi and many more, but

1529. without mentioning that author's name. Several editions have been made since, the best and most correct being that of Venice, 1581. I have seen another volume, entitled *Della nuova Scielta di lettere di diversi nobilissimi huomini & eccellentissimi ingegni scritte in diuerse materie. Fatta da tutti i Libri sin hora stampati*, Venetia, 1582, 8vo., which I believe to be a reprint of the *Scielta* of Bernardino Pino, issued from the Aldine Press in 1574. However this may be, Zirletti's three volumes contain many letters to and from Clement VII., the Bishop of Bayeux (Lodovico conte di Canossa), Gianmatheo Giberto, Gian Battista Sanga, Cardinals Santacroce, Farnese, Campeggio, &c., not to be found in other collections.
- p. 768. "Kasr al Kiber" in the note at the bottom of the page is a misprint for Kasr Al-Kebir, a town on the coast of Morocco.
- p. 773. Hurtado's account of the loss of Lodi differs materially from that of Guicciardini. According to this latter historian, it was Lodovico Vistarino himself, who, having approached the city at night, seized one of the gates where six men only were keeping guard, thus giving time for Scosso, the Pope's captain, and Malatesta Baglione to arrive with their respective forces. Vianoli (*Historia Veneta*, vol. ii., p. 128) merely says, "Lodi per opera d' un suo cittadino tosto cade nelle mani della Lega, e fù messa a sacco."
- p. 785. No. 453 is wrongly headed, and ought to be "From Giberto to Prothonotary Umberto di Gambara."
- p. 789. Who this Mons. de Vara, Grand Steward of King Francis, can be I have in vain tried to ascertain. Francis' Grand Steward at this time was Montmorency; but perhaps Mons. de Varennes, Bourbon's chief steward, is meant.
- p. 792. "This letter was written, signed, and sealed when Ponperant and Montpesan arrived, &c." I have purposely given the text of this passage at the bottom of the page, because there is evidently some mistake. Mons. de Ponperant is certainly mentioned by French writers among Bourbon's adherents, but who *Montpesan* can be I have been unable to ascertain.
- p. 903. In Soria's despatch of the 17th Sept. (No. 549), the Marquis of Saluzzo is erroneously called *Luigi*, whereas his proper name was *Michaele Antonio*. He was the eldest son of *Lodovico* by his second wife, Margaret de Foix-Candalle, his father, the marquis, having left no male children by his first Joanna, daughter of Guglielmo V. Marquis of Monferrato. At the death of Michaele Antonio, in consequence of wounds received at the taking of Aversa, his brother *Giovanni Luigi*, who, being of a weak constitution, had been early destined to the Church, and confined by his mother and brother to the castle of Vercelli, succeeded to the estate; but after a few months of insecure rule, his brother *Francesco*, who had accompanied Michaele Antonio in all his campaigns, and was perhaps more fit for the command in those troubled times, obtained the supreme command, owing to a popular rising encouraged by the Imperialists.
- p. 915. *Majestati* in the fourth paragraph is a misprint for "Majestate;" *totuis* for "totius."

1529.

p. 916. *Contigeri* is a misprint for "contigerit."

p. 917. No. 550. The paragraph relating to Sienna and the revolutions which distracted that city and republic during the first 20 years of the XVI. century is rather obscure and requires illustration. Pandolfo Petrucci, the first of his family who held there the office of first magistrate, died on the 21st of May 1512, and was succeeded by his eldest son Borghese, in the Emperor's letter called *Borgherino* or *Borghesino* by mistake. This Borghese, second tyrant of Siena, as the native historians call him, was obliged in 1515 to fly from that city in consequence of a rebellion, and to make room for his kinsman Raffaello, Bishop of Cornetto, and Castellan of Sant Agnolo (Angelo ?), who, assisted by Pope Leo X., whose favour he enjoyed, was duly elected "Magistro della Balìa," or supreme lord at Siena. His rule, however, was not of long duration, for having been suddenly recalled by Pope Adrian, the command of the place was given to his nephew, Francesco, who again, in 1522, made room for his brother, Fabio di Pandolfo Borghese, married to Katherine, daughter of Galeotto de' Medici. All these particulars are borrowed from Jovio, Guicciardini, and others, and especially from Orlando Malavolti.—*Historia de' fatti e guerre de' Senesi*, Venetia, 1599, 4to., Part III., pp. 117-24.

p. 945. "An ambassador from the Turk." His name is not given in the valuable correspondence published by Rawdon Brown from the Venetian Archives; but Vianoli calls him Ibrahim Bei: "il quale (he says) Solimano haueua prima spedito à Venetia Ibrain Beí suo Ambasciatore a raggluagiare dei successi delle sue arme in Vngheria, e di avere confermato nel Trono la fluttuante fortuna del Rè Giovanni [Sepusio] amico della Republica e poi, l'haueua con vn' altro Chiaz inuitata a mandare suoi Ambasciadori ad assistere alle solemni feste del taglio di due figliuoli." *Hist. Veneta*, 1674, vol. ii., p. 151.

p. 1021. In Perez' despatch of the 28th November (No. 622), Giacomo or Jacopo de' Salviati is called by mistake "cardinal," when he was a layman and prior or governor of Rome. The Cardinal's name was Giovanni, the same who from 1524 to 1526 was Papal Legate in Spain, and through whose exertions the agreement between the Pope and the Colonnese was concluded, though not carried into effect, one of the terms being that "Philippo Strozzi and one son of Jacopo, the Prior of Rome, should be given as hostages for the fulfilment of the stipulated conditions, to be redeemed only on the payment by Jacopo of 30,000 ducats within two months."

p. 1028. The French gentleman sent to Spain on this occasion by the Queen Regent (Louise de Savoie), to ascertain the state of Francis' health after his dangerous illness at Madrid, cannot be other than Guillaume du Bellay, frequently mentioned in these despatches under his title of *sieur de Langey*. Owing, no doubt, to some mistake of the deciphering clerk—and I must say that they are very frequent in the Spanish correspondence of these times—Langes was turned into Danges, and with the omission of the line over the *n* written Dages. That it was Guillaume himself

1529.

who went to Spain on this mission cannot be doubted, since the fact is recorded in the *Memoires de Martin et Guillaume du Bellai-Langei*, first published in 1560 at Paris, by their brother, René de Bellay, Bishop of Mans.

- p. 1035. In the note at the foot of the page *Liponti* is a misprint for "Siponti," as Manfredonia was called in old times. *Sepontinus* is the title usually given to Antonio Ciocchi di Monte, Archbishop of that see.
- p. 1037. "Instead of Francesco, *Duke* of Mantua, read "Marquis," for Mantua, Piacenza, and their territories were not erected into a dukedom until 1530.
- p. 1060. "Paolo de Rizo (Rezzo) the Pope's chamberlain" ought to be changed into Paolo d'Arezzo as at page 435. See also above, p. 999.

PART II.

- p. 44. Moreta or Morleto, or La Morette, as he is more usually called, is not Charles du Bellay, as erroneously stated, but "Charles de Soliers, sieur de Morette," one of the French hostages (1519), and at this time (1526), Francis' ambassador in England.
- p. 58. The signs of reference at the bottom of the page have been omitted. One was for the letter itself; the other for Ponte Nuro, at the end of the first paragraph.
- p. 60. Note. "Ducro" is a misprint for Duero, the river on which Aranda, a large town of Castille, in the province of Burgos, is situated.
- p. 62. *Suo* Majestas, read *Sua* Majestas.
- p. 63. Muntiis et Oratoribus, read Nuntiis.
- p. 100. The Prince of Navarre alluded to in Salinas' despatch (No. 36) is the same Henri d'Albret prisoner at Pavia, whose flight from the castle where he was confined has been already recorded at pp. 519, 532, &c., of Part I. It is by error that he is here called *Jean d'Albret*. This last was the name of his father, the Count of Penthievre and Perigord, Viscount of Limoges, &c., son of Alain, Lord of Albret, who by his marriage with Catherine de Foix became king of Navarre in 1482. Henri left only one daughter named *Jeanne*, who married Antoine de Bourbon, father of Henri IV., king of France.
- p. 150. *Calmitra* is a misprint for galnitra, which in Spanish is "salnitre" or salitre.
- p. 151. Talamon, a sea-port town on the coast of Tuscany has been wrongly spelt Salamon.
- p. 162. (No. 96) The commandership of the Order of Calatrava bestowed on this occasion upon Antonio de Leyva was Hiniesta or Iniesta, not Inestre, as in the text.
- p. 199. "The Cardinals of Siena (Petrucci), la Minerva (Vio Caetano), &c." Raffaele Petrucci, whom Leo X. appointed to the command of

1529.

Siena after the expulsion from that city of his two relatives, Borghese and Alphonso Petrucci, died in 1522. Though a native of Siena he was not archbishop of that see, but bishop of Grossetto, and subsequently "Cardinal Sanctorum Gabinii et Susanæ." It was Giovanni Piccolomini who, in 1527, was archbishop and cardinal of Siena, and therefore the paragraph ought to begin as follows: "The Cardinal of Siena (Piccolomini)," &c. The same correction is to be made at page 202 (No. 71), where the Cardinal of Siena is again called "Petrucci" by mistake.

- p. 204. "Similer" in the note is a contraction for "similiter."
- p. 353. In De Veyre's despatch to the Emperor (No. 212), an individual named Hanibal *Pinotetti* is recommended for the archbishopric of Constanza. Such, at least, is the reading in Dr. Lanz' *Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V.*; Leipzig, 1844, vol. i., p. 255, from whom that document is borrowed. I am, however, inclined to think that instead of Pinotetti Annibale Pignatelli ought to be read, and that the name of the see is *Cosenza*, not Constanza, as in the text. Indeed, in Lannoy's despatch of the 30th August 1527 (No. 171) Annibale Pignatello, who was probably the brother of *Hectore*, duca di Monte Leone, and the uncle of *Camillo*, Count of Burrello, is described as wishing to retire after a long life spent in the Imperial service, and recommended for the archiepiscopal see of Cosenza, then vacant, in Naples; besides which, at pp. 763 and 951 of this second part he is invariably called *Pignatello*.
- p. 619. In the second paragraph "King Dom Luiz" is a mistake for the "Infante Dom Luiz."
- p. 621. Sanchez' letter (No. 372) has been headed by mistake "The same to the same."
- p. 701. Of the celebrated marauder here called Berticello or Verticello some account is given by Gonzalo de Illescas in *Historia Pontifical*, Burgos, 1578 fol. That author, who calls him *Vertillo*, *el Cossario*, adds that notwithstanding his eminent services on this occasion, and the promise of full pardon granted by the Imperial authorities at Naples, he was ultimately arrested at Capua and hung.
- p. 707. In the letter of the Duke of Amalfi to the Emperor, No. 454, where it is said "a letter of the Prince," *to* or *for* ought to be substituted.
- p. 718. "A captain of the name of Romain and a native of Rome." He can be no other than Simone Tebaldi, alias Romano, who, according to Guicciardini, lib. xix., and Paolo Jovio, lib. xxvi., was slain at Cosenza.
- p. 768. In Secretary Perez' despatch of the 15th of August 1528 (No. 529), a French colonel named *Candale* is mentioned as having been taken prisoner at the rout of Aversa, and having subsequently died of his wounds at Naples. Guicciardini, who calls him *Ciandale* and *nipote del Marchese di Saluzzo*, confirms the statement in his *Historia d'Italia*, lib. x., p. 44, of the London edition. His true name must have been Foix-Candalle, for Margaret, daughter of Jean de Foix, Count of Candalle, and of Margaret de la Pole-Suffolk, married Lodovico II., 11th Marquis

1529.

of Saluzzo, whose son, Michael Antonio, was actually serving under Lautrec. See *Genealogies Historiques*, Paris, 1736, vol. ii., p. 164. Perhaps the Mons. de Chyandelle, whose seignorial estate at Masserano was claimed by the Fieschi (Part I., p. 1052), is one and the same person as the *Ciandale* of Guicciardini, for in the above-quoted *Genealogies*, pp. 178-9, the fact is recorded of a Count of the family of Candalle disputing with the Fieschi of Genoa the estate of Masserano.

- p. 808. No. 565. As the death of Don Alvaro de Zuñiga, second Duke of Bejar, has been recorded elsewhere (p. 770), the letter dated Bejar, 6th October 1528, must be from his son and heir, Don Alvaro II. (?), who died in 1532.
- p. 833. The headings of the two declarations (Nos. 582 and 583), made at Toledo by the Secretary of Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond, have been omitted.
- p. 920. "One Don Miguel de Silva residing in Portugal." He was at this time Bishop of Viseu, in Portugal, and most likely a brother of Alphonso.
- p. 930. The letter said to have come from Count Baldassar Castiglione about the disturbed state of Germany, and preparations made by the Turk again to invade Hungary, must have been written at the time that the Emperor was asking for a service in money from the Cortes assembled at Valladolid, for Castiglione died, as stated in pp. 898 and 920, in February 1529.
- p. 985. "Cardinal Cortonna died yesterday without confession." After the death of Pietro degli Accolti, the bishopric of Barcelona was conferred by Clement VII. upon Silvio Passerino di Cortona, who, as recorded by Mai, died at Tipherno on the 20th of April 1529. This latter was succeeded by Don Luis de Cardona, son of Don Ramon Folch, Duke of Cardona. Neither Accolti nor Passerino are counted by the Spanish writers among the bishops of Barcelona, owing no doubt to their being foreigners, and their having been appointed without previous presentation. Thus Aymeric in his *Nomina et acta Episcoporum Barcinonensium* (Barcelona, 1760, 4to.), omits them altogether, and gives the series as follows: *Guilielmus Raymundus de Vich*, native of Valencia, from the 21st of March 1521 to his death on the 25th of July 1520; *Ludovicus de Cardona* from the 29th of August 1529 to the 4th of May 1531, when he was promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Tarragona, &c.

Passerino, who was governor of Sant Angelo under Adrian VI., was created cardinal by Clement. He died at Rome on the 7th of February 1529.



GENERAL INDEX.

A.

- Aarschot, marquis of, *v.* Croy (Philippe).
 Abatys, Abbatis, a Frenchman; on a mission to the duke Francesco Sforza, ii. 318.
 Abia (Abbea?) fortified by the duke of Urbino, ii. 497.
 Abbeville, town of France (dep. Somme).
 preparations for the defence of, 209.
 Wolsey and king Francis to meet at (1528), ii. 228.
 Abbiategrasso, also called Biagrasa, now Abbiategrosso, in Lombardy.
 taken by Leyva, ii. 452, 695.
 Abruzzi, invaded by the "fuorusciti," of Aquila, 995.
 invaded by the confederates, ii. 507-8.
 occupied by the French under Lautrec, ii. 663.
 infested by robbers and *fuorusciti* from all parts of Italy, ii. 856.
 reduced by the prince of Orange, ii. 927.
 Acciajoli Acciajuoli, or Roberto, a Florentine, papal nuncio in France, 661, 682.
 Accolti, Benedict degli, bishop of Sabino, Cadiz, and Cremona, and cardinal of *Ancona*, summoned, "Il Vecchio."
 hostage for the payment by the pope of 150,000 ducats to the Germans, ii. 200, 499.
 Accolti, Pietro degli, archbishop of Ravenna, cardinal of *Ancona*.
 appointed by Clement to answer Perez' defence of the Colonnese, 1007.
 escapes from Rome, ii. 499.
 Acuarole Uberto, *v.* Acciajoli.
 Acuña, Antonio de, bishop of Zamora, 188, 626-7, 729, ii. 392.
 confession and death, 368.
 brief of absolution for those concerned in his sentence and execution, 691, 729.
 granted by Clement after much delay, 1052.
 D. Pedro de, dangerously ill, ii. 853.
 Acuña y Portugal Doña Luisa de, duchess of Najera, ii. 262.
 Adda, river, 58.
 the Germans under Coradino advance as far as the, 319.
 the confederates in full retreat upon the, 1006.
 the marquis of Saluzzo takes positions on the, 1037.
 Francesco d', banker at Milan, ii. 903.
 Adige, L'Adige, Ladice, the Germans purpose crossing the river, between Vicenza and Verona, 820, 1013, 1033.
 Admonitory letters against the Colonnese.
 published and sold in the streets of Rome, ii. 8, 42-3.
 Ferramosca and Lannoy mentioned in them, ii. 12, 43.
 Adorni, family and faction of the, in Genoa, opposed to the Fregosi, 60, 427.
 meet together and agree to proclaim the union, ii. 10, 389, 735, 1001.
 Adorno, Antoniotto, doge of Genoa, 26.
 Soria's reports on, 60, 139.
 refuses to have his galleys manned by Spanish infantry, and to hoist the imperial flag, 668.
 favours the proposed union of the Fregosi and Adorni, 735.
 expelled from Genoa, ii. 448.
 letters to the emperor, 130, 164, 211, 316, 372, 501, 527, 570, 593, 599, 620, 638.
 to his ambassador in Spain, 204, 606, 613.
 death of (12 Sept. 1528), ii. 787.
 Bernabé or Barnabó, nephew of the preceding :
 recovers Tortona and takes Vigisolo, 993.
 recommended to the emperor, ii. 787.
 suspected of being in treaty with the French, ii. 801-2.
 letter to the emperor (1528), ii. 554.
 Adrian VI., pope, alluded, *Int.* xxi, 105, 905, 908.
 Aferramosca, *v.* Ferramosca.
 Afeyta, *v.* Affayta.

- Affayta, Lodovico di, Cremonese banker at Venice :
-, receives orders not to pay to Sanchez the balance of his account, 596, 745-749.
- Affo, Ireneo, his "Life of Luigi Gonzaga," Parma, 1780, 4to., 792, 1037.
- Agaccio, Burtino, notary at Milan, ii. 371.
- Agamonte, *v.* Egmont.
- Agostini, physician to cardinal Wolsey :
-, French ambassador lodging at the house of, 23.
-, presents sent to, by Jean Jockin on New Year's day to, 11.
- Aguilar, Tello de, ii. 300.
-, two brothers of the count of; land of Civittà Vecchia, 394.
- Aguilera, *v.* Nuñez de Aguilera.
- Aguirre, Domingo de, imperial messenger, ii. 704, 718, 725.
-, Lorenzo, courier, 165.
- Aguorreta, Miguel de, servant of Don Hugo de Moncada :
-, appointed by Chalon to be lieutenant-governor of Castil del Ovo, ii. 752.
-, letter to the emperor, ii. 505.
- Aigny, sieur d', privy councillor in Flanders 36, *v.* Caulier.
- Aigremont, *v.* Fitz-Walter.
- Aigues Mortes, town of Languedoc, 368.
- Aire, bishop of, *v.* Grammont (Charles de).
- Aix in Provence, 602, 612, 621.
-, bishop of, *v.* Grammont (Charles).
- Alagna, in the Campania, *v.* Anagna.
- Alarcon, Bernaldino de, imperial messenger, ii. 169, 170.
-, Christoval de, captain of light horse, sent on a deputation to Spain, 1011.
-, Isabella, daughter of Hernando; married to Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, ii. 869.
-, Hernando de, marquis de *La Val Siciliana* (1525); at Pavia, 43, 57, 104.
-, accompanies Francis to Spain, 179.
-, lands with troops at Terracina, ii. 11.
-, report of his death at Frosinone, ii. 71.
-, in Rome, soon after the sack, ii. 227.
-, appointed governor of St. Angelo, ii. 234, 236, 243.
-, the command of the imperial forces offered to, ii. 323.
-, not accepted, *ibid.*
-, brilliant services in Naples, ii. 704, 770, 773.
-, letters to the emperor, ii. 151, 248, 256, 258, 442-3, 478.
-, instructions to captain Gayoso, ii. 251.
- Alarcon, Hernando de, notice of, *Int.* ii. xxxii.
-, Lope de, brother of the preceding :
-, recommended for the archbishopric of Cosenza, ii. 464.
-, bishop of Bitonto in Naples, *ibid.*
-, Sancho de, nephew of Hernando, ii. 464.
- Alba, duke of, *v.* Alvarez de Toledo.
- Albanés, Clemente, postmaster at Rome :
-, petition of, recommended by Sessa, 499, ii. 998.
- Albanian infantry sent by the French to Boulogne-sur-Mer, 146.
-, light horse under Lautrec, ii. 540, 695.
- Albany, duke of, *v.* Stuart (John).
- Albarda, meaning of the word, 698, *note.*
- Alba Regia (Stuhl Weissenburg), in Hungary, 966.
-, bishop of, *v.* Statilio.
- Alberti, F. Leandro, his *Descrittione di tutta L'Italia*; quoted 702, 820.
- Albi, county of, overrun by the marquis de Saluzzo, ii. 610.
- Albizi, Antonio Francesco de', a Florentine.
-, deputed to receive Lautrec, ii. 342.
-, sent to Ferrara (1528), ii. 604.
- Albondin, village 12 miles from Ferrara :
-, German lansquenets at, 1034.
- Alboracense, name given by the Spaniards to Wolsey, archbishop of York (Evorum), 410, *note.*
- Albornoz, Bernaldino de, imperial messenger, 118; ii. 88, 155, 201, 209, 694.
- Albret, Henri d', styled king of Navarre, called also *Labret* and *Labrit*; prisoner at the battle of Pavia, 56.
-, confined in the castle of that city, 58.
-, presses Pescara to fix his ransom, 268, 515.
-, which the emperor will not allow, 323, 423.
-, makes his escape, 519, 532, 534, 539, 542, 544, 569.
-, in great favour at the court of France, 616-7.
-, his marriage to M^{me} d'Alençon spoken of, *ibid.*
-, destined by Francis for an invasion of Navarre, ii. 793.
-, brother of, lands near Naples with reinforcements and money, ii. 768.
-, is made prisoner after the rout of Aversa, ii. 778.
-, and dies of the plague at Naples, ii. 791.
- Alburquerque, duke of, *v.* Fernandez de la Cueva.
- Alcaçar, Simon de, "corregidor" or mayor of La Coruña, ii. 629.

- Alcaudete (misspelt *Alcaudeto*), count of, *v.* Cordoba y Velasco.
- Aldana, colonel, sent to Calabria at the head of Spanish infantry (1528), ii. 672, 768.
-, Cosme de, ii. 768.
-, Francisco de, ii. 768, *note*.
- Alençon, duke of, *v.* Valois.
-, chancellor of the duchy of, *v.* Brinon.
-, duchess of, *v.* Angoulême.
-, Anne d', marchioness of Montferrato, ii. 873.
- Alessandria, della Paglia, governor of, *v.* Pecchio.
-, besieged by the confederates, ii. 382.
-, surrenders to Lautrech (12th Sept. 1527), ii. 386, 391, 393, 424.
-, terms of the capitulation of, ii. 388, 390.
-, St. Pol retreats to, ii. 837.
-, to be attacked by Belgioioso, ii. 906.
- Alfang, Alfange, Alhange, Antonio de, Spanish captain, ii. 697.
- Alguer (Alghieri in Sardinia), bishop of, *v.* Cassador and Solis.
- Aliban, *v.* Albany.
- Alicante, seaport town in the eastern coast of Spain :
-, the viceroy's fleet at, 995.
-, Spanish infantry recruited at, among the Moriscos, *Int.* ii. xiii.
- Allen, Dr. John, Wolsey's chaplain, 23.
- Almansa, on the borders of Valencia, ii. 232.
-, letter dated from, ii. 358.
- Almayno, Thomas de, or *del Mayno*, governor of Cremona, 394.
-, ... sent by Francesco Sforza to Spain for the purpose of obtaining the investiture of Milan, 383, 450.
-, ... appointed on a new mission to the emperor, 472.
-, ... objects to go by sea, 519.
-, ... cannot obtain a safe-conduct through France, 540.
-, ... in the Novarese, in favour of Francesco Sforza, 1000.
- Almazan, Miguel Perez de, secretary to the catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, ii. 659.
-, ... paper attributed to, ii. 401.
- Almeirim, in Portugal, the court at, ii. 576.
-, letters dated from, 293, 322, 371, 379, 387-9, 403, 606.
- Alsace, Lutherans in the (1525), 90.
- and Lorraine invaded by the peasants, 174.
- Almoner to Henry VIII., *v.* Clerk.
- to Bourbon, *v.* Montbardon.
- Altamira, count of, *v.* Moscoso Osorio.
- Altobello Averoldi, bishop of Pola, papal nuncio in Venice, 43, 45, 712, 730, 746, 1054.
- Altobello Averoldi, bishop of Pola, papal nuncio in Venice, letter from Gianmatheo Giberto to, 455.
-, ... appointed legate of Bologna, ii. 43, 45, 320, 382.
-, ... nuncio in Venice, ii. 543.
- Alva, Fr. Pedro Ramiro or Ramirez de, prior of San Geronimo, at Granada, 639.
-, ... presented for the archbishopric of that city, 1046.
- Alvares, Hernan or Fernan, treasurer to the king of Portugal, 370 ; ii. 618, 621.
- Alvarez Osorio, D. Pedro, marquis of *Astorga*, count of *Trastamara*, ii. 138, 161, 262, 312, 689, 694.
-, ... instructions to his kinsman, D. Francisco Osorio, ii. 107.
-, ... opinion of, concerning a general council, 263.
-, ... letters to the emperor (1527), ii. 108, 204.
- Alvarez de Toledo, D. Fadrique, duke of *Alba*, of Charles' privy council, ii. 100, 996.
- stands godfather to Philip, prince of Spain, 220.
-, ... D. Fernando, his son, *ibid.*
-, ... D. Francisco, count of *Oropesa* ii. 282.
- Alventos, count of, *v.* Cardona (Ramon).
- Amalfi, duke of, *v.* Piccolomini.
- Amandroclo, Swiss captain, *v.* Amantocle.
- Amantocle (?) Swiss captain :
-, slain at Caia, ii. 310.
- Amatrice, town in the ult. Abruzzo, *v.* Lama-trice.
- Ambassadors, agents, &c. :
-, *Austrian*, in Rome, *v.* Burgo and Salamanca.
-, in Spain, *v.* Salinas.
-, in Venice, *v.* Burgo and Salamanca.
-, *English*, at Ferrara, *v.* Gregorio da Casale.
-, in France, *v.* Fitz William and Dr. Taylor.
-, the latter and Thomas Cheyne.
- in the Low Countries :
-, *v.* Knight and Wingfield.
-, at Rome, *v.* Clerk, Casale, Gardyner, Russell, Vannes.
-, in Spain, *v.* Ghinucci, Lee, Sampson, Tunstall, Wingfield.
-, in Venice, *v.* Casale, Pace, Russell.
-, *Ferrarese*, in Milan :
-, one from the duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este), *v.* Casella.
-, ... in Rome ; a chamberlain of the duke Alfonso sent to the pope at Orbietto, ii. 521.
-, ... Casella (Matheo).
-, ... to Spain, *v.* Pio.
-, ... at the court of Charles in 1529, ii. 873, 901.

Ambassadors, agents, &c. :

-, *Florentine* in Ferrara :
-, Antonio Francesco de' Albizi.
-, Francesco Valori.
-, in Spain, Giovanni Cursio.
-, *French*, in England :
-, Brinon, D' Aubigny, Jean Jocequin.
-, prolonged stay of, complained of, 87, 91.
-, Wolsey promises to dismiss the, *ibid.*
-, bishop of Tarbes, viscount of Turenne, Antoine Le Viste, Jean Jockin (Feb 26, 1527), ii. 87, 101.
-, Anne de Montmorency.
-, in Ferrara, Giovanni Gioachino lord of Vaux, v. Jockin.
-, in Rome, Bellay, Robadanges.
-, in Spain, Montmorency, Jehan de Calvimont, Gilbert Bayard, and the bishop of Tarbes, (1528).
-, in Venice, bishop of Bayeux, Bellay (Jean du).
-, *Genoese* in Spain, Giuliano della Spezia, Jacopo Centurione.
-, of the *Low Countries* in England, v. Bourgogne, Laurens, Le Sauch.
-, letters and instructions to the, 27.
-, sieur de Carmonailles.
-, Jonglet.
-, Theimseke.
-, *Mantuan* in Spain, v. Malatesti and Soardino.
-, in Venice; negociates with the emperor's ministers, ii. 738, 900.
-, *Milanese* in England, v. Scarpinello.
-, in Venice, v. Taverna.
-, in Spain, v. Archinto.
-, Barbanara and Visconti.
-, Castiglione (Giovan Andrea) and Crivelli.
-, *papal*, v. Nuncio and Legates.
-, *Portuguese* in Rome :
-, v. Don Martin de Portugal.
-, in Spain, v. Azevedo.
-, *Scotch* in England :
-, Cassilis, bishop Cockburn, and Abbot Myll.
-, proposals made by, 4, 6, 9.
-, *Imperial* to the German princes, v. Mendoza and the provost of Waldkirch.
-, to Austria, v. Mendoza (Antonio).
-, in Rome, duke of Sessa and Giovanni Bartholomeo Gattinara, Miguel de Herrera, Lope Hurtado, Hugo de Moncada, secretary Perez, Fr. Francisco de Los Angeles, Ferramosca, de Veyre, and Muxetula.

Ambassadors, agents, &c. :

-, Mai.
-, in Venice :
-, prothonotary Caracciolo and Alonso Sanchez.
-, *Imperial* and *Spanish* in England :
-, Praët, Bourgogne, Laurens, Le Sauch, Cilly, Peñalosa.
-, instructions to, 28.
-, Jonglet, Theimseke, Mendoza.
-, in France, v. Praët, Perrenot de Granvelle.
-, in Danemark, v. Scepperus.
-, in Genoa, v. Lope de Soria, Suarez de Figueroa.
-, to Poland, v. Scepperus.
-, in Portugal, v. Poupet de Lachaulx, Juan de Çuñiga.
-, to Savoy :
-, Lope Hurtado [de Mendoza].
-, to Scotland, v. Scepperus.
-, *Siennese* in Spain, v. Girolamo Severino.
-, about to leave for Spain, ii. 322.
-, *Turkish*, in Venice :
-, one (Ibrahim Bey?) to announce Soleyman's victory over the king of Hungary, 945.
-, *Venetian* in England, Contarini, Orio, Spinelli, Veniero.
-, *Venetian* to Ferrara :
-, Gasparo Contarini.
-, to Florence, Foscari.
-, in France, v. Giustiniani, Rosso.
-, in Milan, Marco Antonio Veniero.
-, in Rome, Contarini, Marco Foscari, Domenico Veniero.
-, in Spain, Contarini, Cornaro, Navagero, Priuli.
- Ambrun, v. Embrun.
- Amburgo, v. Hamburg.
- Amusco in Rioja (Spain), letter dated from, 44.
- Anagna (Anagni) in the Campania of Rome; also called *Anania* and *Nania* :
-, the Colonnese take possession of, 795.
-, to be restored to the pope, on condition of Porto Ercole and Talamon being given to the Siennese, 851.
- Anatolia, the pasha of, revolts against Solyman, ii. 221, 261.
- Anania (Nania), v. Anagna.
- Ancona, the Venetians try to possess themselves of, ii. 560.
-, the pope announces his intention to remove his court from Orvietto to, ii. 559, 562, 567, 700.
-, Lautrec at, ii. 581.
-, cardinal of, v. Accolti.
- Andidus, Irish knight, ii. 993.
- Andres y Uztarroz, royal historiographer for Aragon, *Int.* vi.

- Andria (Naples), ii. 812.
, letters dated from, ii. 567, 665-6.
- Andrinopolis (Adrianople) in Turkey; earthquake at, ii. 665.
- Anfa or Anfo, *v.* Rocca d' Anfa.
- Angoulême, Charles duke of, *v.* Alençon.
, (Marguerite d'), duchess d' Alençon, widow of Charles de Bourbon :
, departure of, for Spain, 252, 287, 305, 331.
, reception at Toledo, 362, 366.
, unsuccessful in her mission, 419.
, marries Henri d' Albret, 616.
- Anguillara, comte dell', *v.* Orsino (Virginio).
- Angus, Archibald or Archimbauld, earl of, *v.* Douglas.
- Anna, daughter of Wladislas, king of Hungary, and wife to Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, 611, 932, 1050-1.
- Anne, *v.* Boleyn.
- Antibo (Antibes), on the coast of Provence :
, Doria's galleys at, 611, 652, 684, 694, 821-2.
- Antichrist, surname given to Charles by president Brinon, ii. 443.
- Anton Curt (Hampton Court), letter dated from (1528), 593, (1529), ii. 617.
- Antonio Micer, Genoese agent in Spain, ii. 839.
, instructions to, ii. 198.
, (de Guevara?), chaplain to the emperor, 1004.
- Antwerp, 244, 251 ; ii. 572, 688.
- "Apologia dissuasoria Madrici conventionis ;" published in France :
, Charles' reply to the, 905, 1024.
- Aponte, captain of Spanish light horse, 164.
, enters Savoy with his men, and ravages the country, 687.
- Appiano, Giacomo, lord or prince of Piombino, ii. 767.
, ..., reported death of (1529), ii. 828, 836.
, ..., Beatrice, daughter of, first wife of Vespasiano Colonna, ii. 767, *note*.
- Apuglia, Apulia, *v.* Puglia.
- Aquapendente, and Castro in the Romagna, fortified by the confederates (1528), ii. 535.
- Aquila in the ult. Abruzzo :
, bishopric of, exchanged for that of Sienna, 239.
, the "fuorusciti" of, find shelter at Rome, 995.
, and prepare to invade the Abruzzi, ii. 75.
, rising at, ii. 77, 92.
, count Montorio expelled from, by his two sons, ii. 87, 92, 94, 770.
, at the disposal of the pope, who sends thither a vice-legate, ii. 92.
, the marquis of Saluzzo in the neighbourhood of, ii. 558.
- Aquila in the ult. Abruzzo :
, taken and sacked by the confederates, ii. 631.
, recovered by the prince of Orange, ii. 910, 927, 938.
, letters dated from, ii. 870.
- Aquileia, patriarch of, *v.* Gonzaga.
, ..., *v.* Grimano.
- Aquino, Lanzilao d', marquis of *Corata*, taken prisoner at Monopoli, ii. 658.
- Araceli (Ara Coeli), a monastery in Rome :
, Fr. Francisco de Los Angeles residing at, ii. 7, 42, 93, 308, 583.
, ..., cardinal of, *v.* Numali.
, ..., letter dated from, ii. 588.
- Aragon, viceroy of [duke of Calabria] :
, the emperor's orders to the, to have certain witnesses examined respecting the charges brought against his secretary Lallemand (1528), ii. 689
, cortes of, 210 ; ii. 627, 637.
, the emperor attends the cortes of, for the purpose of obtaining a subsidy against the Turk, ii. 627, 737.
, D. Alonso de, archbishop of Saragossa, 288, 456 ; ii. 920, 985.
, ..., D. Fernando, duke of Calabria, and viceroy of Valencia, third husband of Germaine de Foix, 692, *note*.
, Maestro Ferrando de, a physician at Rome, ii. 961.
, ..., son of, consistorial advocate, employed by Mai in the divorce case, *ibid*.
, D. Juan de, count of Ribagorza, viceroy of Naples (1507-9), 847, *note*.
, y Navarra, D. Juan, bishop of Huesca, ii. 232.
- Aragona, Joanna or Juana d', *Int.* ii. xxxv, *note*.
- Arana or Harana, a servant of Leyva :
, on messages to the emperor, 268, 281, 512, 582-3, 586.
, detained in France, 611.
- Aranda de Duero in Castille :
, ..., count of, *v.* Gurrea and Ximenez de Urrea.
- Araxio (Arassio) in the Genoese ; Spanish and German infantry under Vargas ravage the, 328.
- Area, Genoese carak, captured by Andrea Doria close to Savona, 289, 297-8.
- Archinto, Filippo, sent by the Milanese to Spain (1527), ii. 280, 286, 295.
- Archo, Arco, count Gerardo dell, castellan of Mus, 743, *note* ; ii. 1000.
- Arcos, duke of, *v.* Ponce de Leon.
- Ardeche, river of France, 81.
- Ardenan (Ardennes), the forest of, ii. 960.
- Ardres in France, ii. 407.
- Arduyn (Arduino, Hardouin ?), a Piedmontese, murdered, 986.
- Arellano, *v.* Rodriguez de.
- Arevalo, Pedro de, imperial messenger, ii. 837.
- Areyzmacurta, on the frontier of France and Spain, 619.

- Arezzo, Paolo or Pagolo da, the pope's chamberlain; sent on a mission to Pescara, 435, 452, 466, 470, 838.
, to Spain passing through France, 930.
, with full powers to treat about peace, 949, 1060; ii. 2.
, returns, ii. 77, 133.
, is killed at the taking of Rome, ii. 219.
, erroneously supposed to be a native of Reggio, ii. 999.
 Argelensis, Gaspar, also called *Argillense*, suspected by Marin of having taken part in Morone's conspiracy, 397.
, his appointment as papal nuncio to Austria objected to, ii. 956.
 Argentina, *v.* Strasburgh.
 Argillense, *v.* Argelensis.
 Ariano, in Naples, conference at, between Don Hugo and the prince of Orange, ii. 636-7, 647, 650.
 Arienzo, fief of, in Naples, ii. 720.
 Arimini, *v.* Rimini.
 Armagnac, seneschal d', *v.* Galliot.
 Armato, a village of Lombardy, close to Milan; the confederated army encamped at, ii. 986.
 Armellino, cardinal, 529.
, the archbishopric of Tarento given by the pope to, ii. 505.
, death of, reported (1527), ii. 466.
, bishop of Perugia, ii. 950.
 Arnault, written *Harnao*, servant of the prince of Orange, ii. 625.
 Arneth, Ritter von, director of the imperial archives in Vienna, *Int.* iii.
 Arqua in the Tortonese; extortions committed at, by one of the imperial captains, 407.
 Arques (also written Harques), Pas de Calais, France:
, Don Iñigo de Mendoza detained at, 1016, 1058; ii. 102.
, letter dated from, 620.
 Arquinto, *v.* Archinto.
 Arras, conferences of, *Int.* xix.
 Arrati, French captain in the service of the emperor at Naples, accused of being in correspondence with Lautrec, ii. 706, 725.
 Artieda, captain Miguel de, ii. 233.
 Artillery, supplied by the duke of Ferrara to the Germans under Fruntsperg, ii. 91.
, to the imperial army under Bourbon, ii. 88, 91, 95, 130.
, left behind by Bourbon during his rapid march on Rome, ii. 163.
 Artois, county of, in France, 81, 96, 130.
 Arzila, port of Africa, the Portuguese forbidden the trade with, ii. 617.
 Asaiz, *v.* Aix.
 Ascia, Assia, *v.* Hesse.
 Ascoli, the French under Lautrec arrive at, ii. 636.
, prince of, *v.* Leyva.
, bishop of, *v.* Ghinucci.
 Ascoytia, Pedro de, *v.* Azcoytia.
 Asparroz, André de Foix, seigneur d', brother of Lautrec; taken prisoner in Navarre, 616.
 Astesano, or county of Asti, ravaged by the imperialists, 704, 724.
, invaded by the French, ii. 299.
, the surrender of, to be one of the terms of the peace with France, ii. 612.
 Asti, city of, in Sardinia; the imperial troops quartered at, and in the Monferrato, 44, 288.
, governor of (Viglia?), suspected, ii. 307.
, arrival of St. Pol at, ii. 743, 754, 759.
, count of, *v.* Lannoy.
 Astorga, marquis of, *v.* Alvarez y Osorio.
, bishop of, *v.* Osorio.
 Astudillo, Juan de, servant of the marquis of Pescara, in command of Novara, ii. 307.
 Ataide, Atayde, D. Antonio de, Portuguese nobleman, 369.
 Atela, marquis of, *v.* Leyva.
 Atellano, Scipione, diplomatic agent of the duke of Milan, sent to the Grisons, 357-8.
 Atri (Abruzzo ult.) opens its gates to Federico Gaetano, ii. 720.
, duke of, asks permission to retire to his estates, ii. 693.
, one of his sons applies for a cardinal's hat, ii. 498.
 Auberrin, also called *Daubeni* and *Daubenin* (D'Aubigny), French captain; prisoner before Naples, ii. 699, 711.
 Aubigny, Mons. d', brother-in-law of the chancellor d' Alençon (Brinon), the French ambassador in London, *v.* Stuart.
 Auch, bishop of, *v.* Castelnau.
 Augsburg (Augusta Vindelicorum), in Bavaria; news from, 894, 896, 897, 899, 932; ii. 646, 683.
, bankers of, dishonour bills drawn by the imperial treasury, 897, 899.
, letters dated from, 930, 938.
 Augusta, *v.* Augsburg.
 Austria, the inhabitants of, leave their homes for fear of the Turk, 897.
, military preparations for the defence of, 950.
, Antonio de, imperial notary at Pavia; declaration of Girolamo Morone attested by (5th Dec. 1525), 392.
, Jorge de, bastard son of the emperor Maximilian, recommended by the pope for the duchy of Milan, 325, 912; ii. 817.

Austria, Margaret of, natural daughter of the emperor, to be married to Alessandro de' Medici (1529), ii. 755.

....., dowager of Savoy and governess of the Low Countries, *v.* Margaret.

....., *v.* Ferdinand.

....., *v.* Maximilian.

Autun, bishop of, *v.* Hurault.

Auvergne, duke and prince of, *v.* Bourbon (Charles).

Avalos, Maestro, on a message to Rome, 1020 ; ii. 893, 959.

....., *v.* Davalos.

Avellanas, benefice of Las, in Catalonia, 189.

Avellino, bishop of, taken prisoner, ii. 772.

Ave Maria, a French Franciscan friar, on a mission to Spain, ii. 335.

Avendaño, also written Mendaño, Spanish captain recommended, ii. 464.

Averasturi, Johannes de, imperial solicitor at Rome, ii. 200.

Averoldi, *v.* Altobello.

Aversa (Naples), ii. 393.

....., death of Lannoy at, ii. 412, 448.

....., Capua, Nola, and, surrender to Lautrec, ii. 666.

....., the French after their defeat retreat to, 770.

....., surrenders to the imperialists, ii. 773, 778, 781-4.

Avignon, in France, 950.

....., Henry and Wolsey advise Clement to meet them at, and take measures against the emperor's projected journey to Italy, ii. 886.

....., the cardinals to meet at, in the event of Clement's death, ii. 888, 946.

Avila, a city of Spain, 240.

....., bishop of, 263, 269.

..... y Carvajal, Don Martin de, son of Dr. [Galindez] de Carvajal, 418.

Aymont, bailli d', news brought by a servant of the (1528), ii. 552.

Aymeric, his "Nomina et Acta Episcoporum Barcinonensium" quoted, ii. 1006.

Ayosso, count Annibale d', appointed field-master to the imperial army by Bourbon, ii. 57.

Azcoytia, Pedro de, Spanish courier, ii. 660, 680, 739, 814, 816-7, 864, 905, 925.

Azemila, meaning of the word, ii. 38.

Azevedo, Antonio de, Portuguese ambassador in Spain, ii. 371, 576, 617, 663.

B.

Babari (?) on the Adda, 1037.

Babri, Babari, *v.* Waury and Rupt, 249, 1037.

Bačan, *v.* Bazan.

Badajoz, bishop of, *v.* Mesa.

....., pension on the bishopric of, assigned to Wolsey; payment of, recommended by Praet, 8.

Badajoz, pension on the bishopric of, to be increased by others in Castille or Aragon, ii. 483.

Baeza, *v.* Sanchez de Baeza.

Baglione, Braccio, brother of Malatesta, at Perugia, ii. 960.

....., Malatesta, general of the papal infantry, 762, 831 ; ii. 45, 692.

....., attacks Cremona, 831.

....., peace between, and Pandolfo Malatesta, through the intervention of Francis, ii. 960.

....., Lodi surprised by, ii. 1002.

....., Orazio, Italian condottiere.

....., Clement sets free, and gives him the command of his infantry, ii. 6, 42, 67, 236.

....., appointed captain-general of the Florentines, ii. 663, 693, 696.

....., killed before Naples, ii. 693.

....., his body taken to Perugia, ii. 694.

Bagnorea (Rom. Stat.), bishop of, *v.* Solis.

Baia, Baja, Naples, ii. 427, 450.

Bailliage des Bois, in Hainault, vacant by Lannoy's death; applied for by Pierre de Veyre, ii. 411.

Balançon, sieur de, *v.* Rye.

Balcrigue *v.* Valtkerke.

Ballon, Malatesta and Orazio, *v.* Baglione.

Baltolina, *v.* Val Tellina.

Bamberg, bishop of, *v.* Redwitz.

Bande Nere, or the Black Bands, so called from their wearing mourning after the death of their commander Giovannino de' Medici; defend Frosinone, ii. 40.

....., sent to the defence of Florence, ii. 157.

....., dismissed from the pope's service; quit Rome after sacking some houses, *ibid.*

Bannissis or Bannisio (Jacopo de), secretary to Maximilian, and archbishop of Bari, 150, 161, 249, 266, 461, *note*.

....., called also *Bannismes*, 150, *note*.

....., letter to the emperor, 261.

Bannismes ? *v.* Bannisiis.

Baptista, Giovan, secretary to doge Adorno, 1053.

Barahona, Luis, imperial messenger, ii. 317, 530, 871, 873, 879, 898, 903.

Barba, Bernardino della, papal nuncio in Milan, 556, 584.

....., suspected of having encouraged the rebellion in that city, 683.

....., leaves suddenly for Rome, 695-6, 721.

....., Soria writes in favourable terms of, ii. 755.

....., in Piacenza as papal commissary, 875.

Barbadasi, Marchione, imperial advocate in Rome; death of, 456.

- Barbanara, Dr. Mercurino, appointed by the city of Milan to go on a mission to the emperor, 596.
- Barbarino (Barberino), in Tuscany, Bourbon's march to Sasso and, ii. 130.
- Barbesieux, also written *Barbigios* and *Barbesós*, v. Rochefoucauld.
- Barcelona, the bishopric of, given by the pope to cardinal Cortona, 262, 269, 274.
-, asked by Sessa for his brother Don Juan de Cordoba, or for the archbishop of Monreale (Cardona), 263.
-, letters dated from, ii. 516, 684.
-, fleet to be fitted out at, for the emperor's passage to Italy, ii. 757.
-, bishops of, v. Cardona (Luis), Silvio Passerino and Vich.
- Barco, Dr., corregidor of Almansa, letter to the emperor (1528), ii. 358.
- Bari, town in Naples :
-, surrenders to the confederates, ii. 747, 800.
-, duke of, v. Sforza (Francesco).
-, archbishop of, v. Bannisis, Merino.
- Barletta (Bari, Naples) :
-, besieged and taken by the Venetians, ii. 657.
-, the imperialists try to recover Trani and, ii. 856.
-, relieved by Renzo da Ceri, ii. 857.
-, prior of, v. Martinengo (Gabriele).
- Barnaby, Thomas, English merchant; safe-conduct refused to, 34.
- Baron, Dr., letter to the emperor, ii. 507.
- Barragan, Spanish captain, 164.
- Barres (Guillaume des), ambassador of Charles V. at the court of France :
-, sent on various missions, 483.
-, Margaret's instructions to, ii. 373.
- Barthelemi, Dr., ii. 830.
- Bartholomeo, agent of the Colonnese in Spain, credentials to, 541.
- Bartolini, Onofrio, archbishop of Pisa, to be one of the hostages for the pope, ii. 232, 237.
- Barze? close to Voghera. The Spanish infantry under Sarmiento arrive at, ii. 875.
- Basil, V. (Vasilius), duke of Muscovy, ii. 579.
-, letter to, ii. 331.
- Basset (or Baset) Giraldo, secretary to the ambassador Lope de Soria, ii. 209.
- Bastard galleys of Venice to be fitted out, ii. 176.
- Bastida, Mössen, governor of Castellamare, recommended by the prince of Orange, ii. 698.
- Basto, v. Guasto.
- Basurto, Alonso, Spanish captain at Naples, ii. 697.
- Basyng, Roger, sent on a mission to Spain (1525), 172.
- Bath, bishop of, v. Clerk.
- Batoniense, v. Clerk, bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*.
- Bauberi (?), chamberlain to the prince of Orange :
- sent on a mission to Spain, 237, 250.
-, Waury, Bauri, &c., 740 ; ii. 625.
- Baubery, Baury, and v. Waury, ii. 740.
- Bavaria, Lewis, duke of, 888 ; ii. 796.
-, in command of the German cavalry, 952, 1053 ; ii. 796.
-, William, competitor for the crown of Hungary, 1053 ; ii. 796.
- Baya, v. Baia.
- Bayard, Gilbert, generally called *L'Eslu Bayart*, chamberlain and secretary of king Francis ; his embassy to Charles, ii. 48, 50, 374.
-, signs the marriage contract between Francis and Eleonor, ii. 62, 283, 285.
-, takes leave of the emperor a Burgos, ii. 548.
- Bayeux, bishop of, v. Canossa.
-, bailli of, on a mission from Francis to the pope, ii. 838.
- Bayna, Bayno, v. Vayna.
- Bayonne, in France, king Francis to be conveyed by Lannoy as far as, 562.
-, imperial courier arrested at, 763.
-, bishop of, v. Bellay (Jean).
- Bazan, D. Alvaro de, Spanish admiral in the Mediterranean, ii. 447, 757.
- Bearn, prince of, v. Albret.
- Beatrice, daughter of Emanuel king of Portugal, infanta of Spain, and duchess of Savoy, 313-5, 585, 884.
-, why called infanta of Spain, 610, 655.
-, tries to maintain her husband's alliance with the emperor, 223-4, 790.
- Beauce, province of France, to be invaded, 128 132.
- Beaurain, v. Croy.
- Bechon, a port in Sardinia, the imperial galleys touch at, 948.
- Beccaria, also written Becharia, Marco di, ii. 421.
-, Matheo and Giovanni Georgio, citizens of Pavia, their petition, 277.
- Becharia, v. Beccaria.
- Begliarmati, Ippolito, a Siennese, ii. 998.
- Behovie, a town of Guipuscoa, 619.
- Bejar, duke of, v. Zúñiga.
- Belchite, in Aragon ; archdeaconry of, given by Clement VII. to cardinal Rangone, 274.
-, to secretary Soria, ii. 66, 78.
- Belgioioso, count Alberigo or Alberico di, in the emperor's service, ii. 307, 345, 421, *note*.
-, count Lodovico di, defends Pavia, against Lautrec, ii. 280, 307, 360.

- Belgioioso, count Lodovico di, obliged to capitulate, ii. 419-20.
, ..., defeated between Pavia and Milan, ii. 426-7.
, ..., sent by Leyva to the relief of Genoa, ii. 678, 880, 906.
- Belgrade, in Servia, taken by the Turks, 1013.
- Beljoyosso, *v.* Belgioioso.
- Belinçona (Belinzona in Switzerland), 855.
- Bellai, Bellay, Guillaume du, sieur de Langeay, chamberlain to Francis, 1028; ii. 38, 93.
, ..., French ambassador in Rome, ii. 236, 259, 288, 1003.
, ..., Jean du, bishop of Bayonne, French ambassador in Venice, ii. 677.
, ..., Martin, 1003.
, ..., René du, *ibid.*
- Bellona, La, ii. 631.
- Belluno, Ciudad di (Venice), ii. 357.
- Beltran, Joan, 1004.
, Geronimo?, 1052.
- Belvedere, palace of the, at Rome, Fr. Francisco de Los Angeles, lodged at, 1020, 1021, 1033; ii. 42, 87, 93, 827.
- Benaфра, Benaфра, Benaфro (Venafro?), Antonio di, a Neapolitan, letter to the emperor, 242.
, ..., sent on a mission to Rome, 403-4, 406.
, ..., count of (Pandone?), French partisan in Naples, arrested by his own vassals and delivered to the imperialists, ii. 783.
- Benalcazar, Luis de, Spanish captain, ii. 697.
- Benarea, *v.* Bagnorea.
- Benedetto, Micer, sent to Italy by archduke Ferdinand, 938.
- Benevento (Rom. Stat.), pawned by the pope to the Spaniards, ii. 251, 312, 612.
, abandoned by the imperialists, ii. 664.
, recovered, ii. 774.
- Beni (Aubeni, Obeni, Dauberrin), Mons. de, *see* Aubigny.
- Benisaló (Valencia), arrival of Francis at, 254.
- Bennet, Dr. William, Wolsey's chaplain, and treasurer of St. Paul :
, ..., English ambassador to the pope (1529), ii. 893.
- Bentivoglio, family of the, called the "Bentivolas" by Lope de Soria, 760.
, ..., recalled by the Bolognese, 942.
, ..., released from prison by cardinal Cibo, ii. 296.
, ..., matters between the, and the Bolognese, settled through the intervention of the duke of Ferrara, ii. 382.
- Bentivoglio, Alessandro, in the service of the duke of Milan, takes Casalmaggiore, 49.
, ..., appointed one of the "conservatori" of Milan, 430.
- Bentivoglio, Alessandro, the rocca or castle of, taken from him by the castellan of Mus, ii. 281.
, ..., prothonotary, arrested on suspicion of his being in secret correspondence with the Bolognese, 1036.
- Bentivolla and *Bentivoille*, Alessandro, *v.* Bentivoglio.
- Bergamasco (Lombardy), 141, 831.
, ..., the confederates defeated by Leyvain the, ii. 621.
- Bergamo, the Venetians fall back on, ii. 695.
- Bergenroth, Gustav Adolph, notice of, *Int.* i. ii.
, ..., his collection of transcripts from Simancas, in the British Museum; quoted, 42, 560, 743; ii. 4, 797, 907.
- Bergues (Berghes), town of Flanders; English merchants forbidden to send goods to the fair of, ii. 182, 189-90, 193, 206.
, ..., general discontent produced by that measure, ii. 207.
- Berghes, Jean, marquis de, comte de *Wallain*, privy councillor in Flanders, 36, 212.
- Berlanga, marquis of, *v.* Tovar, Fernandez de Velasco.
- Bermeo, a seaport on the coast of Biscay, ii. 884.
- Bermudez, Pero, a gentleman of Galicia, 642.
- Bernaldino, count, ii. 176.
- Bernardino, Fr., vice-admiral of the French fleet, *v.* Ormesan and St. Brancard.
- Bersel, Bersil, *v.* Vercelli.
- Berticello, a celebrated Neapolitan robber, *v.* Verticello.
- Bertinberg, *v.* Wurtemberg.
- Bertran (?), called also *Betrian* and *Beltran*, an Aragonese servant of the prince of Orange :
, ..., appointed to superintend the works of the citadel at Aquila, ii. 927.
- Berzer, Bartholomew, banker at Augsburg, *v.* Welzer.
- Berzosa, collection at Simancas, ii. 698.
, ..., Clement's letter to the emperor in the, ii. 444.
- Besançon, in Burgundy, archbishopric of, solicited by Lachaulx for one of his sons, ii. 818.
- Bethencourt, Girart de, servant of the prince of Orange; sent on various messages to the emperor, ii. 625, 706.
- Betralla (Vetralla), the camp of the confederates at, raised (1527), ii. 234-5.
- Beurren, *v.* Buren and Egmont, frequently mistaken for *Beaurain*, ii. 668.
- Bevers, lord, *v.* Bèvres and Bourgoigne.
- Beyre, *v.* Veyre and Migliau.
- Biada, la, office so called, at Milan, ii. 421, *note*.
- Biagrassa, *v.* Abbiategrassa.
- Bibiena, Antonio di, cardinal of Sta. Maria in Porticu, 658.

- Bibiena, Micer Angelo di, nephew of cardinal Antonio Bibiena, abbot of Santa Maria of Ossera in Galicia, 658.
- Bichi, Alessandro, called also *Vic* and *Vichi*, murdered at Sienna, 138, 147, 159, 247.
-, a son of, follows Severino at sea and tries to assassinate him, 264.
- Biella, also written *Viella* and *Viela* (town of Piedmont), to lodge and feed a number of imperial men-at-arms, 320-1.
- Billia, Chavalier Francesco di (Viglia or Villa), secretary to the duke of Milan, 304, 319, 323, 390, 551-2, 912, 999.
-, affidavit of, 318.
- Binasco, castle of, 448.
-, taken by Leyva, ii. 989.
- Birago, Cesare da, 465.
-, Galeazzo da, Milanese emigrant, 57.
-, asks to be employed under Leyva, 229; ii. 371.
-, Giovanni da, Italian condottiere in the service of the League, 57, 121, 803, 846.
-, occupies the Carmagnola, 777, 860, 864.
-, is to join the confederates before Alessandria, 851, 890.
-, cavalier, son of Galeazzo, ii. 371.
-, Pietro da, goes over to the imperialists, and defends Frusolone, ii. 307.
-, prisoner of the French at Alessandria, ii. 417, 419.
- Bisbal, Fernando de, takes service under the French, ii. 869.
- Bishops, the pope insists upon the bulls of imperial, being issued by *supplication* and not by *presentation*, ii. 928.
- Bisignano, prince of, governor of Tarento; assists in the defence of Calabria attacked by the French, ii. 711, 769.
-, deserts the emperor's banners and goes over to the enemy, ii. 868-9.
-, letter to the emperor, ii. 492.
- Bitelo, *v.* Vitelli.
- Bitonto (Naples), bishop of, *v.* Alarcon (Lope).
- Blancha Rosa, Rosa Biancha, &c., surname of Richard de la Pole.
- Blieul or Dublioul, L., secretary to Margaret, 36, 179.
-, letter countersigned by, 8.
- Blieul, Laurent de, seigneur de Sart, *v.* Du Blieul.
- Blois in France, the court at, 563.
- Bluemantle, English messenger, arrives in Spain, 7th April 1527 (1368), 146, note, 194, 206; ii. 227.
- Bobadilla, Francisco de, bishop of Salamanca, 160, 323, 326, 333, 394, 974.
- Bocadada (Bocca d'Adda) in the Cremonese, St. Pol crosses the Pò at, ii. 769.
- Boczuto (?), Troiano, his petition to the emperor, ii. 530.
- Boghera, *v.* Voghiera.
- Bohemia, kings of, *v.* Ferdinand, Louis.
-, list of candidates for the crown of, after the death of king Louis, 640, 644.
-, archduke Ferdinand elected king of, 996; ii. 44, 98.
-, a bishop from, sent by the pope to reduce the lansquenets under Fruntsperg, 1057.
- Bohemian ambassador in London furnishes information to Mendoza, ii. 230.
- Bohemians in league with the duke of Wurtemberg threaten Austria, 89.
-, gallant defence of Peterwardein by the, 895.
- Boiano (Naples), the Germans pass muster at, ii. 868.
-, Duca di, *v.* Pandone.
- Boil, Don Guillen, bishop of Gerona, 456; ii. 506-7, 635.
- Boleyn, Anne, forms an alliance with the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to ruin Wolsey, 886.
-, sent back to her father previous to the arrival of Campeggio in London, ii. 784, 789, 886.
-, preparations for her wedding, ii. 789.
-, to delay which cardinal Wolsey will do his utmost, as he is afraid of her, ii. 790, 846.
-, Thomas, viscount Rochfort, 211; ii. 886.
-, arrears of pension due to, by the emperor, 550.
- Bollenguer, Boulengier, *v.* Richard.
- Bologna, papal legate at, *v.* Cibo.
-, the cardinals to meet at, Verona, or Civittà Castellana in the event of Clement's death, ii. 946.
-, letters dated from, ii. 610.
-, reported revolt at, 942.
-, the Bentivogli again admitted into, *ibid.*
-, the pope intends fixing his residence at, 943.
-, Bourbon's army within one mile of Bologna, ii. 120.
-, fresh revolution in, ii. 312.
-, Lautrec in the Bolognese, ii. 533, 536, 538, 540.
-, Gian Jacopo da', ii. 978.
-, Pietro da, *ibid.*
- Bolognese, the passes in the, to be shut against the French army, 71.
- Bolzano, in Tyrol, muster of the Germans under Fruntsperg at, 569, 655, 851.
- Bonamenta (Buonamenta?), a servant of the datary Giberti, sent to Milan on a secret mission, 389.
- Bonaventura, *v.* Buonaventura.
- Bonifacio, straits of, between Corsica and Sardinia, 1006; ii. 346.

- Bonnels, chamberlain to the king of France, ii. 636.
- Bonnivet, *v.* Gouffier (Guillaume).
- Bonizzi, Niccolo, merchant in London (1525), 209.
- Bordeaux, the court of France at, 639.
- Bordier, Henri, "Les Archives de la France, Paris, 1855, 8vo.," *quoted, Int. vi.*
- Borghese, Petrucci, a citizen of Siena, 917, 1003; ii. 979.
- Borghesino, son of Pandolfo Petrucci, tyrant of Sienna, 917.
-, called *Borgherino* by mistake, ii. 1003.
- Borgho, di San Pietro, at Rome, fortified by order of the pope, ii. 169, 173.
-, taken by the imperialists, ii. 195-6.
-, the Spaniards occupy the, ii. 216, 219.
- Borgius, Hieronymus, Latin distichs of, 833.
- Borgo, baron del, a Sicilian in the papal service, sent by the pope on a mission to Zapolsky, the vavvod of Transylvania, 994, ii. 256.
-, accepts the command of the papal forces against the Colonnese, 994.
-, at Rome, in the service of the Medici, ii. 923.
-, spoken of as likely to go to Spain as nuncio, *ibid.*
-, Andrea del, *v.* Burgo.
- Borgoforte, Lombardy, the confederates defeated by Fruntsperg at, 1037; ii. 40.
- Borgoña, imperial herald, takes to France the answer to the challenge, ii. 738, 816; *v.* Bourgogne.
- Borja, Dr., sent on a mission to Germany, 102.
- Bornamisa, Hungarian noble, refuses to give up to Ferdinand the citadel of Possony or Presburg, ii. 279.
- Boron, *v.* Brown.
- Borrello, count of, *v.* Pignatello.
- Borromeo, count Carlo, the defence of Lacco Maggiore entrusted by Leyva to, ii. 280.
-, count Federigo, a Milanese, deserts to the French, ii. 320.
-, count Giovanni, in command of the forces of Francesco Sforza, ii. 280.
- Borsberg, Erasmus von, ii. 382.
-, letter of, containing news from Hungary, 193.
- Boscho (Lombardy), 49.
-, taken by Lautrec, ii. 36, 368, 399, 426.
- Bosnia, the Turks of, threaten to invade the estates of archduke Ferdinand, 89.
-, Sangiac of, 451.
- Bossio, Antonio, knight of St. John, ii. 786.
- Bossu, Mr. de, leaves Lyons for Spain, 561.
- Botticella, also written *Botigela*, Pietro Francesco, a Milanese, ii. 399, 421.
- Botton or Bouton, Claude de, sieur de Courbaron, *v.* Courtbaron.
- Bouclans or Bouclains, sieur de, *v.* Lallemand.
- Boullant, *v.* Boleyn.
- Boullengier (Bollenguer), 182, 190, 198, 373, *v.* also Richart.
- Boulogne-sur-Mer, the counties of Vernois and, demanded from France, 62.
-, garrison of, to be strengthened, 209.
-, to be ceded to England, together with Abbeville and Montreuil in consideration of Mary's marriage, ii. 130, 154, 208, 228.
-, negotiations for the cession of, ii. 208, 271, 273.
-, said to be the chief object of Wolsey's journey to France, ii. 275, 278.
- Bourbon, Charles, duke of, lord high constable of France, at Lodi, 22.
-, his campaign in France unsuccessful, 31, 32.
-, alluded, 63, 90, 100, 104, 194.
-, notice of, *Int. xxxiii*; ii. xii, xvii.
-, obliged to pawn his own jewels to pay the Germans, 254, 266.
-, goes to Spain, and lands at Barcelona (13th Oct. 1525), 360, 369, 384, 423.
-, returns and lands at Genoa (28th June 1526), 770.
-, falls into discredit owing to his long absence, 774.
-, the castle of Milan surrenders to, 802, 805, 815-6.
-, small importance attached by the pope and the Venetians to his movements, as he is known to have brought no money or troops from Spain, 793.
-, a steward of, sent by him to Burgundy, 790, 798.
-, enters Milan (6th July) 795.
-, defeats the confederates, 797.
-, disliked by the Spaniards, and on bad terms with Leyva, 840.
-, the investiture of Milan to be given to, in compensation for his not marrying Eleonor, the emperor's sister, 563, 882.
-, deed of investiture in his favour (6th Feb. 1526), 331.
-, his wanton expenditure, and frequent quarrels with the imperial treasurers, 901.
-, sends one of his secretaries (La Mothe?) to the pope, 1021.
-, decides to attack Clement after the landing of Lannoy, 1014.
-, joins the lansquenets under Fruntsperg and Sittig, ii. 9. 88.

- Bourbon, Charles, duke of, lord high constable of France, marches on Bologna and Florence, ii. 68.
-, sends a threatening message to the pope, and demands Modena, Lodi, and Cremona as security for the peace, ii. 11.
-, the Spaniards and Germans of his army rise in mutiny, 1011; ii. 90, 131.
-, plunder his tent and oblige him to take shelter in Fruntpersg's quarters, ii. 131-2.
-, receives orders from Spain to stop on his march, ii. 133.
-, the troops under his command oblige him to go on, ii. 134.
-, and march on the Bolognese, *ibid* 149.
-, intercepted letters from the viceroy imply a preconceived plan to attack Rome, and not to abide by the truce, ii. 147, 149.
-, on bad terms with Lannoy, *ibid*.
-, advised by the duke of Ferrara to advance on Rome, and oblige the pope to come to terms, ii. 130.
-, attacks Rome, and is killed before its walls (6th May 1527), ii. 196, 201, 209, 230.
-, his servants recommended to the emperor's charity, ii. 218.
-, much regretted by the army on account of his bravery, ii. 240.
-, leaves many debts, ii. 307.
-, body of, to be taken to Milan, ii. 308.
-, a nephew of, attempts to deliver one of the gates of Naples to the French, ii. 722.
-, his differences with Lannoy and Ferramosca, *Int.* xxxiii, ii.
-, letters to Lope de Soria, 132, 133, (1527); ii. 26.
-, Charles, duke of *Vendome*, governor of Picardy, quarrels with Lautrec, 150.
-, leaves for the frontiers of Flanders, 483.
-, mentioned, ii. 643.
-, François de, comte de St. Pol, prisoner at Pavia, 50.
-, recovers his liberty, 143, 160, 202.
-, mentioned in the treaty of Madrid, 165.
-, leaves for Picardy, 483.
-, expected in London, ii. 36.
-, in Italy, ii. 346, 734.
-, to be appointed lieutenant-general in Italy, 569, 610, 658, 793, 801.
-, arrives at Asti, ii. 754, 759.
-, attacks and takes Pavia, ii. 793, 799.
-, at variance with the duke of Urbino, ii. 759.
- Bourbon, François de, comte de St. Pol, supposed to have gone suddenly to France owing to the king's dangerous illness, ii. 768.
-, cardinal Louis de, ii. 362.
-, signs the petition of the cardinals assembled at Compiègne, ii. 386.
-, Margaret of, duchess of Savoy, ii. 998.
- Bourdeaux, second president of, *v.* Calvimont.
-, archbishop of, *v.* Foix (Jean de).
- Bourges, archbishop of, *v.* Tournon.
- Bourgogne, the government of, given to M. de Guise, 145.
-, duchy of, *v.* Burgundy.
-, county of, claimed by the emperor as part of his father's inheritance.
-, (Borgoña) king-at-arms of Charles. Takes his answer to the challenge of Francis, ii. 737, 790, 816.
-, Isabella of, mother of Præst, the ambassador, *Int.* xii.
- Bourgoigne, Adolf de, sieur de Bèvres, grand admiral of Flanders, ambassador in England, 36, 76, 85, 95-6, 102; *Int.* xvi.
-, instructions to, 28, 59.
-, letters to Margaret of Austria (1525), 33, 39, 40, 43, 46, 61, 62, 67, 72, 74, 75, 78, 79, 86, 97, 98.
-, to the emperor, 48, 111, 113, 114.
- Bouton, Jean, called also *Botton* and *Button*, sieur de Courtbaron, imperial ambassador in England, 1041, 1059.
-, letter to the emperor, 616.
-, Claude de, 1010.
- Boyano, *v.* Boiano.
- Bozano, Federigo da, *v.* Bozzolo and Gonzaga.
- Bozzolo, Federigo da, *v.* Gonzaga.
- Brabant (Low Countries), 81.
- Bracamonte, Alvaro de, sent on various missions to the emperor, 228, 231, 303, 319, 341.
-, captain Pedro de, 126, 225, 237; ii. 697.
- Braça, Olo de (?), ii. 458.
- Bracciano (Rom. Stat.), the abbot of Farfa at, ii. 426, 428.
- Bradford, William; his correspondence of Charles V. and translation of the emperor's Itinerary by Vandenesse; quoted. *Int.* ii. xvii; 14, 106, 197, 483, 547, 785, 864, 990.
- Bragadino, Lorenzo, Venetian ambassador in France, 822.
- Braganza, João duke of, ii. 617, 619.
-, Dom Theodosio, son of the above, 619.
- Brandenbroc, *v.* Brandenburg.
- Brandenburg, Albert of, archbishop, elector of Mainz (1514-31), and cardinal, ii. 682, 796, 815.
-, to be Wolsey's delegate in Germany, ii. 437.

- Brandenburg, Casimir, marquis of, and his brothers, expelled from Franconia by the revolted German peasants (1525), i. 174.
-, commands an army against the vayvod of Transylvania, ii. 278-9, 291.
-, Frederic? margrave and duke of, 1053.
-, Joachim I., marquis of (1495-1535), ii. 680, 796.
-, John, marquis of, marries Germaine de Foix, widow of Ferdinand, the Catholic, of Spain, ii. 692, *note*.
-, William (Guillaume), competitor for the crown of Bohemia, 1053.
- Brandon, Charles, duke of Suffolk, 31.
-, pension paid by the emperor to, 549.
-, present at a conference between Wolsey and the imperial ambassador Don Iñigo de Mendoza, ii. 107.
-, purchases armour, ii. 190.
- Bravo, Sancho, sent on a mission to Portugal, ii. 148.
- Breda, sieur de, *v.* Nassau.
- Bredan, Mons. de, imperial messenger, 127.
- Bregilles, Esq., Jean de ?, a messenger of Margaret of Austria, 107.
- Brego (Obregon?), a Spaniard, sent with a message from the pope to the emperor. 1049.
- Bremen, archbishop of, *v.* Brunswick-Wolfenbützel.
- Bresburg, *v.* Pressburg.
- Brescia (Lombardy), German reinforcements under Fruntsperg, marching into Lombardy by way of, 1018.
-, Venetian providitor sent to, ii. 665, 677.
-, Francesco Sforza at, in consequence of the plague having broken out at Cremona, 749.
- Bressano (Bresciano), 141, 831.
- Bresse (Burgundy, France), governor of, 660.
- Bressello, Brescello, on the river Pò, the confederates arrive at, 1002, 1031.
- Bretagne, the dauphin (François), duke of, son of king Francis, kept as hostage in Spain, 880.
-, admiral of, *v.* Saint Brancard.
-, duke of, *v.* Valois.
- Breton, French secretary, ii. 407.
- Brewer, Dr. J. S., quoted, 219, 750, 1010; ii. 3, 17, 35, 66, 146, 184, 201, 206, 207, 209, 424.
- Briana, Brianza, mountains, ii. 280.
- Briantuck, *v.* Tuke.
- Bribes, the offer of, a common practice in the XVI cent., *Int.* ii. xxix.
- made by Don Iñigo to Wolsey and others, 549; ii. 24, 483.
- approved of by Granvelle, ii. 144.
- to Lallemand and other members of the emperor's privy council in the name of the archduke, ii. 98.
- Bribes to Pero Garcia by the duke of Milan, 552; *Int.* ii.
- Briceño, Christoval, his death recorded, 1018.
- Bridewell, king Henry receives Campeggio at, ii. 839.
- Brief, papal, &c., of absolution to those concerned in the trial and execution of the bishop Acuña, 614.
-, much solicited at Rome, and obtained at last under certain restrictions, 691, 729, 1052.
-, of dispensation for the marriage of the emperor and of Isabella of Portugal, 262-3.
-, amendment to be made in the, at the emperor's request, 313, 370, 461.
-, of dispensation; two granted by Julius II. for the marriage of Katharine and Henry, ii. 789.
-, one, differing materially from the other, found in London, *ibid.*, 805.
-, an attested copy of the original to be procured from Rome, *ibid.*
-, objections raised in England against the second dispensation by Julius, ii. 849.
- Don Iñigo requested by Katharine to communicate the intelligence to the imperial ambassadors at Rome, *ibid.*
-, two said to have been granted. One of which attested copies could be found, in England and Spain; a second and fuller, the original of which was only in the emperor's hands, ii. 882.
-, Henry's treasurer to be sent to Spain to ascertain whether Charles has or has not in his possession the original dispensation by Julius, ii. 854-5, 877, 884.
-, Henry makes Katharine swear that she will do all she can to persuade her nephew to send the original brief to England, 877, 882.
-, Katharine's servant (Montoya) takes to Spain a letter to that effect, ii. 877, 884.
-, and a verbal message besides, telling the emperor not to attend to her wishes, as she has been compelled to write in that sense, ii. 884-5.
- exhibited and read at Burgos in the presence of the English ambassadors (1529), ii. 967.
- Brienne, count de, *v.* Luxembourg.
- Brindisi (Naples), holds out against the Venetians, ii. 677, 698.
-, warder of, recommended by the prince of Orange, ii. 698.
- Brinon, Jean, seigneur de Villaines d'Humières, president of the French regent's council, of Rouen in Normandy, chancellor of Alençon, *Int.* xiii; 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 14, 26, 27, 139; ii. 424.
-, arrives in London (20th June 1525); is lodged at Wolsey's treasurer's, 23, 26, 42.

- Brinon, Jean, Praët and his colleagues complain of the reception made to, 79.
, ..., instructions of the queen regent (Louise) to, ii. 211.
, ..., oration delivered by, in London, comparing the emperor to the anti-christ, ii. 443.
- Brion, Mons. de. *See* Chabot.
- Bristol, the agent of the Fuggers in London leaves for, 50.
- Brixen, Brixinon (Brixinium), in the Tyrol, ii. 806, 820, 832.
- Broke, John, English messenger, ii. 17.
- Brouage, a town of the province of Saintonge in France; salt to be delivered at, to English merchants, ii. 192.
- Brown, sir Anthony, grand equerry, or master of the horse, to Henry, ii. 443.
- Bruges, conferences at, between the emperor and Wolsey, 13.
, merchants of, refuse to admit woollen stuffs from England, 754.
- Brunswick, duke Henry of, commander-in-chief of the German auxiliary forces in Italy:
, ..., anxiously expected by the imperialists, ii. 570, 666-7.
, ..., arrives in Italy, ii. 675.
, ..., sends a declaration of war to Venice, ii. 675, 685.
, ..., the herald who took it arrested in the Veronese, ii. 678.
, ..., wastes his time in Lombardy, ii. 770, 774-5.
, ..., described in Soria's despatches as quite unfit for the command, ii. 760-2.
, ..., cannot manage his Germans, who threaten to go home unless paid every fortnight, ii. 675.
, ..., goes back to Germany with most of his men, ii. 774-5, 797.
, ..., letter to Andrea Gritti, ii. 419.
- Brunswick-Wolfenbittel, Christopher, archbishop of Bremen, ii. 576.
, ..., the emperor's letter to, and to other electors of Germany, 332.
- Brussels, archives of Burgundy at, *Int.* i., ii., xxxii.
, letters dated from, 54.
- Bryneford (Brentford), 62.
- Buccha, Manfredino, his petition to the emperor, ii. 530.
- Bucklance, *v.* Bouclans.
- Buda, ancient capital of Hungary, taken by the Turks, 899, 938, 944, 953, 960, 1013.
, abandoned by Zapolsky, ii. 425.
, recovered by Ferdinand, ii. 383, 596.
, provost of, sent on a mission to Italy, 956.
- Bugati, Gasparo, Italian historian, ii. 1000.
- Buldristan (?), German captain; sent on a message from the duke of Brunswick to Lope de Soria, ii. 761-2.
- Bultistan (?), German captain; his enmity towards Maximiano, another German captain, causes the loss of Boscho, ii. 368.
- Buonaventura, secretary to the duke of Ferrara, ii. 455.
, letter to Sanchez, ii. 237.
- Buon Porto, in the Modenese, the imperialists under Bourbon quartered at, 131.
- Buren (Bueren, Beurren), comte de, *v.* Egmont.
- Burgia, *v.* Borgo.
- Burgo, Micer Andrea del, count of *Castel Leone*, a Cremonese, the archduke's agent in Italy, 161.
, ..., detained by illness in Genoa, 279, 342.
, ..., sent on a mission to Venice, ii. 161, 283, 288, 299, 342, 552, 796.
, ..., to Ferrara, 155, 299, 310-1; ii. 387, 444, 533, *note*, 552, 557, 657, 775.
, ..., at La Mirandola with Soria, ii. 775.
, ..., leaves for Mantua, ii. 801.
, ..., at Rome, 866, 995.
, ..., in Naples, 924.
, ..., called also *Borgo*, ii. 923.
, ..., letters to the emperor, 161, 213, 215, 230, 231, 234, 246, 257, 299, 455.
, ..., to archbishop Centellas, ii. 362-3.
, ..., baron del, papal nuncio in Hungary, *v.* Borgo and Burgia.
, ..., Theobald de, ii. 993.
- Burgos, a city of old Castille, the emperor receives at, the ambassadors of France and England, ii. 548-51.
, letters dated from, 619-20, 222, 295-8, 308-9, 323-32.
, bishopric of, conferred upon Don Inigo de Mendoza, ii. 293.
, pension upon, to Nicolas Schomberg, 661.
, Pedro de, gentleman in Bourbon's service, sent on a mission to the archduke, 855.
- Burgues, Mons. de, name given to Don Inigo de Mendoza after his appointment to the see of Burgos, ii. 622-3.
- Burgundian fashion, cavalry armed in the, ii. 561, 593, 664, 899.
- Burgundy, duchy of, demanded by Charles, 62, 464, 740.
, ..., Francis will not consent to the cession of, 483.
, ..., conditions concerning the, very harsh and inadmissible, 562, 616.
, ..., Francis' refusal to ratify that part of the Madrid convention relating to, 658.

Burgus, Andreas, *v.* Burgo.
 Burrello, count, *v.* Pignatello.
 Burtino, *v.* Agaccio.
 Bury, marquis de Quarata, taken prisoner close to Monopoli, ii. 658.
 Busbaca, Busbaci, Busbaco, papal courier, takes to Charles the dispensation brief of his marriage with Isabella of Portugal, 283, 310, 411.
, detained at Lyons on his return, 430, 455, 459.
 Bussy, Pierre de, murdered by the German revolted peasants, 296.
 Bustamante, Spanish captain, on a mission to the emperor, 586.
, slain at Cremona, 934.
 Busto, Antonio di, appointed one of the "conservatori" of Milan, 430.
 Butler, lord Thomas, ii. 993.
, Peter, Henry's lieutenant-deputy in Ireland, ii. 993.
 Bysbal, *v.* Bisbal.

C.

Cabanillas, Cavanillas, Nicolas de, takes despatches from Leyva to Spain, ii. 936.
 Caballos *de Basto*, meaning of the expression, 698, *note*.
 Cabe (?) in the island of Corsica, *v.* Calvi.
 Cabot, Caboto, Sebastian, the pilot, discoveries made by, ii. 823.
 Cabra (?) , ii. 728.
, count of, *v.* Fernandez de Cordoba.
 Cabrera, Spanish family, ii. 618.
, a Spaniard, his business at Rome, 407.
 Cadell, John, an Englishman, his suit in chancery, 94.
 Cadiz in Spain, the bishopric of, given to a nephew of the archbishop of Cosenza, 456.
, ..., *v.* Accolti and Cosenza.
 Cadore, in Friuli, German lansquenets of the Lutheran sect arrive at, 809.
 Caia, village near Monza, in Lombardy, arrival of the Swiss reinforcements at, (1527), ii. 310.
 Calabresa, La, imperial galley, 611.
, goes over to the enemy at Salerno, ii. 671, 718.
 Calabria, the revenue of, estimated, 800.
, 24 Turkish sail for the coast of, 725.
, invaded and almost conquered by the confederates, ii. 720, 741, 868.
, recovered by the imperialists under Burrello, ii. 768.
 Calais, 75, 94, 680.
, treaty of, alluded to, 147.
, the staple of Flanders to be transferred to, or Montreuil, 94.
 Calais, lieutenant of the castle of, *v.* Wingfield.
, treasurer of, *v.* Sandys.
, marshal of, *v.* Wingfield (Robert).
, prisoners at, to be released, 212.
, to be the place of meeting between Henry and Francis, ii. 275.
 Calatrava, order of, the "Maestrasgos" or mastership of, ii. 336.
 Calepichats, baron of, a Calabrese nobleman, takes service with the French, ii. 868.
 Calvi, in Corsica, the imperial fleet under Lannoy to land at, 1005.
 Calvinmont, Jean de, second president of the parliament of Bordeaux, French ambassador in Spain, ii. 62, 283.
, ..., takes leave of the emperor at Burgos, ii. 548.
 Calvo, Agustin, or Agostino, banker at Naples, 645.
 Cama, Pedro de la, a native of Santiago in Galicia, ii. 338.
, ..., declaration made by, ii. 161.
 Cambray, meeting of Margaret and the queen mother of France at (1529), ii. *Int. i.* 784.
, negotiations for the peace of, ii. 749.
 Camerino, duke of, *v.* Varana.
, duchess of, *v.* Cibo.
, report of the sack of, by Sciarra Colonna, ii. 382, 393.
 Camillo, Gaetano, appointed governor of a town in Naples, ii. 858.
 Camisas benditas, blessed tunics; Leyva makes his men put on, for the surprise of the Switzers and Grisons at Carato, ii. 318.
 Campanone, Il, at Milan, attacked by the mob during the riots in June, 1526; 762.
 Campeggio, Lorenzo, cardinal of Sancta Anastasia, papal legate in Germany for the Lutheran affairs, 69.
, ..., thanked by the emperor for his good wishes, 1004.
, ..., in Rome after the sack as papal legate, ii. 436-7, 496, 498, 528.
, ..., sent to England for the divorce case, ii. 685, 719, 779.
, expected in London about Michaelmas, ii. 784.
, leaves Rome, ii. 723.
, arrives at Paris (12th September), ii. 788.
, his expenses to be defrayed by Henry, ii. 789.
, mandate to, for the divorce case, ii. 811, 822.
, his reception at Bridewell, Latin oration and reply made on the occasion, ii. 839-40.
, king Henry visits him at his residence, ii. 841.

- Campeggio, account of the interview, as related to D. Iñigo by one of his secretaries, ii. 842.
-, gives the queen the papal brief, and exhibits his credentials, ii. 840.
-, explains the reasons of his being sent to England as legate, and advises Katharine to retire to a convent, ii. 841, 887.
-, Katharine's answer to this proposal, *ibid.*
-, again visited by the king, ii. 841-2.
-, ... by the queen, and Don Iñigo's report of both interviews, 842-3.
-, his conference with Don Iñigo, ii. 843-4.
- urged by Henry to institute proceedings for the divorce case, ii. 849.
- ordered by the pope not to pronounce sentence, 893.
-, the revocation of, and Wolsey's legatine powers to be urgently solicited at Rome, 879.
-, very sorry that he ever came to England, ii. 886.
-, and Wolsey, at the request of Henry, send their secretaries to Rome, to urge that the divorce suit be tried in England, ii. 887.
-, (Thomas?), bishop of Feltri, papal legate in Venice, recalled, ii. 712, 963.
- Campidoglio, meeting in the, at Rome, ii. 162.
- Campillo, in Castille, letter dated from, ii. 411.
- Campo Basso, marchese di, ii. 763.
- Campo di Fiore at Rome, tumultuous meetings of the lansquenets at, ii. 237, 527, 539, 558.
-, the Germans erect a scaffold at, to execute several cardinals who were kept as hostages, ii. 476-7.
-, Fragoso Jamus, in command of the Venetian forces, ii. 287.
-, Cesare, takes Genoa, 347, 863.
- Basso, marquis de, ii. 763.
-, Hagon, a piazza or square in Rome; the Germans meet at, ii. 238.
- Candalle (also written *Ciandale* and *Chyandele*), Mons. de, French colonel, *Int.* ii. xxxvi.
-, ... taken prisoner before Naples (1528), ii. 768-9.
-, ... dies of his wounds, *ibid.* 1005.
- Canillas, Las, a castle in Calabria taken by Pero Gonzalez de Mendoza, ii. 869.
- Canossa, count Lodovico di, bishop of *Tricarico* and of *Bayeux*, French ambassador in Venice, 257, 261, 666, 703, 893.
-, ... to Ferrara for the settlement of the Italian League, 782.
-, ... a shrewd Italian and thorough Frenchman, 225.
- Canossa, count Lodovico di, letter to Giberto the datary, 630.
- Canterbury, arrival of the French ambassador at, 23.
-, archbishop of, v. Warham.
- Capellaco, meaning of the word, ii. 655.
- Capello (?) Galceran, a native of Valencia, 701.
- Capin, Capino, Cappino, also called *Chiapino* secretary to the marquis of Mantua. Sent by the pope on a mission to Francis, 582, 603, 605, 613, 640, 646, 656, 666, 683, 703, 711-2, 732, 979.
-, and to the Switzers, 932.
-, letter to, from Gian Matheo Giberto, 449.
- Capistrano, marquis of, v. Piccolomini (Alfonso).
- Capitanata of Puglia, Lautrec takes possession of the (1528), ii. 610, 663.
-, the government of the, given to an imperialist, ii. 835.
- Capo di Boy or *Bove*, papal troops to be removed from Valmontone to, close to Rome, ii. 38.
- Caponibus, Hyeronimus de (Girolamo Capponi?), signs the adhesion of Florence to the league (1527), ii. 163.
- Capponi, Niccolo, gonfaloniere of Florence, ii. 917.
-, Piero, reported death of, ii. 917, *note*.
- Capri in the gulf of Salerno, battle of, ii. 152, 751.
- Capua (Naples), surrenders to the league, ii. 654.
-, recovered by the imperialists, ii. 778.
-, archbishop of, v. Schomberg.
-, prior of, his death, ii. 161.
-, Annibale di, letter to the emperor (1528), ii. 460.
-, Federico di, dismissed from the imperial service, 570, 699.
-, Julio di, captain of men-at-arms, 49; ii. 698, 785.
-, to be thanked in the imperial name, 998.
- Caracciolo, Marino, prothonotary and imperial ambassador in Venice, 22, 342.
-, ... instructions to, 149.
-, ... to receive Morone's confession and examine witnesses, 857.
-, ... appointed chancellor and lord high justice of the duchy of Milan, ii. 256, 262, 295.
-, ... governs the city during Leyva's absence, ii. 281.
-, ... letters to the emperor from Venice (1525), 125-6, 137, 143, 152, 190, 205, 208, 216, 222, 224, 236-7, 240, 248, 252, 255-6, 274, 282, 284, 294, 302, 305.
-, ... (1526), 339-40, 343-4, 354, 356-7, 371, 384, 429-30, 444, 451, 462, 468, 498, 500, 522, 557, 597-8.

Caracciolo, Marino, from Milan and Pavia (1527-8), ii. 7, 11, 58, 92, 112, 122-3, 130, 132, 139, 165, 190, 199, 203, 217, 316, 494-5, 498, 502, 524, 568-9, 573, 591.

....., to Gattinara, 525, 547-9.

....., to the marquis de Pescara, 254.

....., notice of, *Int.* xxix.

....., Girolamo, *Int.* xxix, *note*.

....., Colantonio or Nicola Antonio, ii. 673.

....., Sergiano (Gian, Giovan), prince of *Melfi*, taken prisoner, ii. 647, 650.

....., deserts the imperial cause and goes over to the French, ii. 693, 698, 835.

....., notice of, *Int.* ii. xxxv.

Caracks, several, to be fitted out at Genoa against the emperor's projected journey to Italy (1526), 621.

....., for Bourbon's voyage to Spain, 249, 669.

Caraffa, Andrea, conte di *Santa Severina*, lieutenant-general of Naples (1525-6), 297, 694, 900.

....., death of (Nov. 1526), 1002.

....., Antonio, count of *Montorio*, prepares to invade Naples, assisted by the "fuorusciti," ii. 75-6, 92, 938.

....., Diomede, third count of Maddalone, ii. 799, 998.

....., another, sent to Spain on a deputation from Naples, ii. 865.

....., Ferrante, ii. 799.

....., Gian Pietro, cardinal archbishop of Chieti, ii. 950.

....., Gian Thomasso, count of Maddalone, a Neapolitan baron, ii. 663-4, 675.

....., his campaign in Calabria against the French, ii. 719-20.

....., letters to the emperor, ii. 404, 418, 466, 484, 590.

....., Roberto Bonifacio, marquis of Oria, ii.

....., Vincenzo, marquis of *Monte Sarchio*, the estate of, given to Leyva by Ferdinand the catholic of Spain, ii. 531.

....., to Vasto, ii. 856, 905.

Carato, villa di, the warder of Mus (Giangiacopo de' Medici) defeated at, ii. 317.

Cardinals, creation of, by Clement for the sole purpose of raising money, 444, 609, 1026, 1057; ii. 37, 160, 176, 507-8.

....., nine, appointed to prepare an answer to the emperor's letter of the 4th Oct. 1526, ii. 8.

....., three, made some days before the taking of Rome (May 1527), ii. 200.

....., cruel treatment of some of the, during the sack, ii. 197-8, 200, 239.

....., several given as hostages for the capitulation of Rome, 210, 231, 237, 489.

....., those retained by the Germans make their escape, ii. 253, 397, 488.

....., three more sent to Naples, ii. 394, 489.

Cardinals, the remainder, with Farnese at their head, assemble at Parma in France and write a letter to Clement, ii. 195.

..... constantly plotting against the emperor, ii. 414, 452.

....., liberation of those kept as hostages in Naples, ii. 893.

..... return to Rome, *ibid*.

....., four to be created in Naples on the payment of 20,000 ducats for each hat, ii. 472-4.

....., in the event of Clement's death propose making a new election out of that city, ii. 893, 896.

....., the emperor's assurance to the, that the election will not be interfered with provided it is legally made at Rome, ii. 896.

....., the imperial ambassador protests against the resolution taken by the, of abandoning Rome, ii. 947.

....., Mai's private opinion of each of the, ii. 947-54.

....., college or, letter to the emperor, asking for the liberation of its members kept as hostages in Naples, ii. 453.

Cardona, duke of, *v.* Aragon.

....., D. Juan de, lieutenant of the marquis de Pescara, slain at Pavia, 637.

....., D. Luis de, bishop of Barcelona, 257, 263, 269, 645; ii. 985.

....., bishop of Monreale in Sicily, 263; ii. 865.

....., Ramon de, count of *Alventos*, viceroy of Naples, alluded, 847, *note*; ii. 130, 630.

Carisca, meaning of the word, ii. 695.

Carlo III., duke of Savoy, tries to bring about peace between the emperor and Francis, 5.

....., money claimed from, for the expenses of the war in Italy, 106-7.

....., sends one of his secretaries to the emperor, 137.

....., announces his intention to visit Spain, 225, 248.

....., with a view, as it is said, of obtaining the release of Francis, 233.

....., in fear of an invasion from the Venetians sends to Milan for help, 585-6, 777.

....., protests against the quartering of troops in Savoy or Piedmont, 327, 585.

....., compounds with the imperial generals, 223, 250, 267.

....., gives Lautrec passage through his estates, 789; ii. 298.

....., letters to Lope Hurtado, 203.

....., wrongly called *Carlo Emanuele*, 327, 629, 998.

Carmagnola or Carmagnuola, (Piemont), the strong places in, to be garrisoned by the count of Geneva, 398, 812.

....., Pescara sends troops to, 428.

- Carmagnola or Carmagnuola, (Piemont), occupied by Giovanni da Birago, 777.
- Carmona, *v.* Cremona.
- Carmonailles, sieur de, "ecuyer tranchant" to Margaret of Austria, sent to England on a mission, 78, 91.
- Carniola, threatened invasion of, and Stiria by the Turks, 89.
- Carondelet, Jean de, archbishop of Palermo, president of the council of the Low Countries, 86.
- Carpentras, bishop of, *v.* Sadoletto.
- Carpi (Modena), the town and castle of, given in fief to Pescara, 105, 315.
-, and afterwards to the duke of Ferrara, 863; ii. 16, 881.
-, count of, *v.* Pio (Alberto).
-, Leonelo di, brother of Alberto Pio, count of, ii. 458, 590.
- Carpio, Alberto del, *v.* Pio.
- Carra, fief in the kingdom of Naples, ii. 720.
- Carrafa, *v.* Caraffa.
- Carreto d'Oria, Marco Antonio, prince of *Melfi*, ii. 727, *note*.
- Carroz, Mossen Luis, Spanish ambassador in Rome, ii. 948.
- Carrozo (Carroz?), captain of Neapolitan infantry, 799.
- Cartagena, seaport town in the eastern coast of Spain; Lannoy sails from, 967, 1002, 1004.
-, Spanish banker, Leyva's commandery pawned to, ii. 305.
- Carvajal, captain Alonso de, death of, 119.
-, ... his captaincy given to his brother, *ibid*.
-, ... Bernardino de, cardinal Santa Croce, *Int.* xxi.
-, ... Diego de, recommended by Lannoy, ii. 138, 353.
-, ... *v.* Galindez de Carvajal.
- Casal Maggiore, in the Cremonese, defeat of Lodovico Pallavicino at, 49.
-, taken by Alessandro Bentivoglio, *ibid*.
-, the duke of Urbino at, with his duchess, 1037.
- Casale, Francesco da, taken into the service of Venice, ii. 321.
-, prothonotary Giovanni da, English ambassador in Venice, ii. 321.
-, ... leaves Rome for Ferrara (1527), ii. 96.
-, ... an English gentleman with letters from, to his brother at Rome, arrested by the imperialists, ii. 133.
-, ... goes to Mantua for the purpose of holding a conference with the cardinals there assembled, ii. 388-9.
-, ... most active in the Ferrarese negotiations, ii. 452.
-, (Casal, Cassale, Cassalis), sir Gregory da, English ambassador in Rome (1525), brother of the preceding, 14-6.
- Casale, sir Gregory da, sent by Henry to Italy, 23, 40-1, 45, 48, 159, 172.
-, ... arrives at the imperial camp before Pavia, and holds a conference with Pescara and Lannoy, 44.
-, ... instructions to, 43, 64.
-, ... at Rome with sir John Russell, ii. 77, 226.
-, ... leaves for London, 258-9, 284.
-, ... in France, ii. 321, 362, 389.
-, ... at the camp of the confederates, ii. 389.
-, ... returns to Rome with Ghinucci, ii. 411, 432, 447, 453.
-, ... at Ferrara, ii. 446, 451.
- Casamare, abbacy of, outside of Rome, death of cardinal Vich at, 269.
-, ... the vacant abbacy of, to be given to Schomberg, 274.
- Casaneto, letter dated from, 555, 558.
- Case (Casale di Santevasio?) in the Vogherese, ii. 875.
- Casella, Matheo, Faventino, Ferrarese ambassador in Rome, offers made to, if his master will consent to join the league, ii. 10, 120.
-, ... letters to, from the duke Alfonso d'Este, ii. 6.
- Casimiro di Roma, Patre, his historical memoirs of the convent of Araceli quoted, 202.
- Cassador, auditor of the apostolic chamber, and bishop of Alghieri, i. 694, 974.
-, death of (1527), ii. 470, 496, 694.
- Cassalis, sir Gregory, *v.* Casale.
- Cassano upon Adda, in the duchy of Milan, 983, 1011.
-, fortified by the Venetians, 992; ii. 497.
-, abandoned by the confederates, ii. 695.
- Cassel, provost of, *v.* Theimseke.
- Cassilis, earl of, *v.* Kennedy.
- Castaldo y Gutierrez, captain Juan Bautista, sent to Spain on a mission (1526), 157, 450-1, 511, 515, 532, 581, 693, 698-700, 934.
-, ... letters to, from the marquis del Guasto, ii. 13, 427.
- Castelgiffredo, *v.* Gonzaga (Luigi).
- Castellaço, near Alessandria, French bands arrive at (September 1526), 903, 904.
-, taken by the Switzers, ii. 310.
- Castellamare, in Naples, taken by Lautrec, ii. 770.
-, given in fief to Philippino Doria, 700.
-, governor of, *v.* Bastida.
-, bishop of, *v.* Centellas.
-, the French and Venetian fleets anchor at, 776.
- Castel Leone, Lombardy, count of, *v.* Burgo.
- Castelletto, near Alessandria, taken from the confederates by count Gianbattista Lodrone, ii. 280, 288.
-, of Genoa, surrenders to the French, ii. 393.

- Castello Honorate (Naples?), the imperialists under count Maddolone quartered at, ii. 720.
- di San Giorio (Naples), ii. 663.
- Castellone, close to Gaeta, threatened by the confederated fleet, ii. 720.
- Castell San Giovanni, on the frontier of Pavia, the defences of, to be strengthened by order of the pope, 675.
-, in the Bolognese, the imperialists under Bourbon at, ii. 88, 90, 96, 131, 163.
-, or San Joan, in the Piacentino, ii. 764.
-, another (?), 764.
-, letter dated from, 45.
- Castelnau-Clermont-Lodève cardinal of Sancta Praxedis, bishop of Auch, 639.
-, one of Herrera's ciphered despatches falls into the hands of, *ibid.*
- Castelvetro (Castelvetro?), count of, *v.* Tagliavia.
-, abbacy of, ii. 963.
- Castiglione [del Lago?], in the Perugino:
-, taken by Marcello Colonna, ii. 527.
-, count Baldassar, prothonotary and apostolic nuncio in Spain, 83, 905, 930, 999, 1029; ii. 62.
-, letter to the emperor, ii. 52.
-, death of, ii. 898, 923, 1006.
-, Giovan Andrea, sent by the Milanese on a mission to Spain (1526), 672.
-, Lodovico, nephew of Baldassar, ii. 898.
- Castil Capuano, or Castello di Capuana, in Naples, residence of cardinal Colonna, 996.
- Castileone, Castiglione, Girolamo, letter to the emperor, ii. 265.
- Castilla or Costilla, imperial herald, ii. 338, 380-1, 547.
- Castille, cortes of, Charles attends the, 210.
-, advise the emperor to take wife, 45, 129, 210.
-, grant subsidies, 1060; ii. 59, 99.
- Castil del Ovo, at Naples, lieutenant-governor of, ii. 752.
- Castillejo, Christoval de, one of Ferdinand's secretaries, 1051; ii. 73, 99, 221, 336, 424, 683, 995.
- Castillole (Castiglione?), in Piedmont, 631.
- Castilnovo, the districts of, and Tortona abandoned by the confederates, ii. 46.
-, of Naples, Marramao confined in, 741.
-, plague breaks out at, ii. 768.
-, the princess of Salerno and the countess of Nola at, ii. 776.
-, warder of, sent to Spain with letters (1528), ii. 833.
-, in the duchy of Ferrara, ii. 291.
- Castil Pandolfo (Rom. Stat.), taken, ii. 56.
-, Chalón at, ii. 267.
-, San Joan, *v.* Castel San Giovanni.
- Castione in the Mantuano, the duke of Urbino retained by illness at, ii. 90.
-, captain Giovan Girolamo di, Milanese emigrant, ii. 380.
-, Girolamo, president of the Milanese senate, ii. 126, *note*, 596.
- Castras, village in Lombardy, the French defeated by the imperialists at, 49.
- Castriotto Hernando, marquis of Civittà Sant Angelo, 43.
-, slain at Pavia, 57.
-, body of, conveyed to Naples, 637.
-, marquis de la Toyalda, brother of Hernando, recommended by Lannoy, 57.
- Castro, D. Alonso de, Spanish ecclesiastic residing at Rome, 413.
-, Hernando de, a Portuguese, ii. 621.
-, Juan de, secretary to archduke Ferdinand, 807, 843-4, 894-5, 932, 936, 944, 1051.
-, at Trent in command of a company, 987.
-, in Milan, 267.
-, letters to Sanchez, 563, 590, 594, 636.
-, D. Pedro de, 844.
-, in the service of the archduke, ii. 690, 694, 782.
-, different from the preceding, another prisoner at Burgos, ii. 457.
-, (Rom. Stat.), surprised by the confederates, ii. 527.
-, Cicano, Lannoy marches on, ii. 67.
-, near Forlì, interview of Lannoy with Bourbon, Guasto, and the duke of Ferrara at, ii. 198.
-, Villa[ri], in Calabria, ii. 778.
-, duke of, assists in the defence of that province, ii. 868.
-, goes over to the enemy, ii. 869.
- Catalonia in Spain, irregulars of, to be employed in the invasion of Languedoc, 37.
-, a powerful fleet of galleys to be prepared in the ports of, for the purpose of attacking the Turks in Africa, ii. 253.
-, the coasts of Roussillon and, to be guarded against a French inroad, 189.
-, German lansquenets under Rogendorff in, 267, 274; ii. 817.
-, viceroy of, *v.* Portugal (Fadrique).
- Catalina, queen of Portugal, *v.* Katharine.
- Catançan (Tançan, Tensane?), Mons. de, a native of the Bourbonnois, appointed governor of the castle of Milan (1526), 816-7.
-, his fidelity suspected, ii. 259, 312.
-, deposed by Leyva, ii. 306.
- Catelion, *v.* Chastillon.
- Cather, Dionisius, an Irishman, subscribes the petition of the earl of Desmond to the emperor, ii. 994.

- Catta, French captain, in the suite of Bourbon, imprisoned and executed by order of the prince of Orange, ii. 722.
- Caulier Jehan, sieur d'Aigny, *Int.* xix.
- Cave (Cava?), in Naples, taken from the Colonnese, 1007.
- Cayazzo, *v.* Gaiazzo.
- Cayetano (Gaetano?), Camillo, ii. 858.
- Cayras, *v.* Velas.
- Çapata, *v.* Zapata.
- Çaragoça, *v.* Zaragoza.
- Celano, count of, *v.* Piccolomini (Alfonso).
- Cenete (written Zenet, Zenette), marquis of, *v.* Nassau.
-, marchioness of, *v.* Mendoza (Doña Mencía).
- Centellas, Juan de, archbishop of Castellamare, ii. 343, 383, 592, 607, 974.
-, letter to the emperor, ii. 164.
-, from Andrea del Burgo to, ii. 362.
- Centurion, Estevan, a native of Jaen, in Spain, 922.
- Centurione, Agostino, Genoese banker, ii. 673, 688, 783.
-, Jacopo, Genoese ambassador to the emperor, 137.
-, Martino, sent by the Genoese on a mission to Spain, ii. 257, 289, 919.
-, the emperor's instructions to, on his return to Italy, ii. 509.
-, reserve claimed for, denied by the pope, ii. 931.
-, Stephano, Genoese banker, ii. 754, 773-4, 783, 873, 920.
- Ceperano, Cepperano, Cheprano, Chiprano, Ceperano, in the Rom. Stat., the Colonnese encamped at, ii. 11, 37, 43, 67, 76, 87, 91, 92, 132.
- Cequin, Francisco, claims of a son of, upon the archduke, ii. 205.
- Cerbellon, Bernaldino, taken prisoner at Genoa, ii. 347.
-, Felipe, in guard of the pope at St. Angelo, ii. 244, 287, 430, 489.
-, to cross the Pò at the head of some Spanish infantry, ii. 875.
- Cerdaña (Cerdagne), county of, 189.
- Ceri (Chery or Cheres), Renzo da, 1048, *v.* Orsino da Ceri.
- Certosa, La, a Carthusian monastery close to Pavia, 42.
- Cerveglione, *v.* Cerbellon.
- Cervia, Rom. Stat., retained by Venice together with Ravenna, ii. 221, 538.
-, negotiations for the restitution of, to the pope, ii. 917.
- Cesare — ? , condottiere in the service of the Colonnese? takes possession of Nania, 795.
- Cesarini, Cesarino, cardinal Alessandro, 567, 824.
- Cesarini, Cesarino, his suit at law against Ascanio Colonna, 610.
-, the emperor's thanks to be conveyed to, 663-4, 998, 1004.
-, promotes with Farnese and Orsino, a meeting of the Romans in Campidoglio, ii. 162.
-, appointed civil governor of Rome, 950; ii. 42.
-, ill-treated by the Germans during the sack of Rome, ii. 198, 202.
-, Giovan Giorgio, 998.
- Cesena, bishop of (Spiriti?), one of the pope's chamberlains, sent on a mission to Brunswick, ii. 678-9, 699.
-, made prisoner in the Veronese with four of his suite, 692-699.
- Cesis, cardinal Paolo, ii. 214.
-, hostage for the capitulation of Rome, 611; ii. 932.
- Cevà, marquisate of, in Piedmont, the imperial army quartered in the, 288, 320-1, 398, 670.
- Chabot, Philippe de, sieur de Brion, admiral of France, his mission to Spain, 103, 105, 146, 151.
-, Francis' favourite, 738.
-, sent again to the emperor, 826; ii. 283, *note*.
- Chalante (Escalantè?), countess of, beheaded at Milan, ii. 986.
- Chalon, Philibert de, prince of Orange, prisoner in France, 99, 560.
-, recovers his liberty, 563.
-, joins the Germans in Italy, ii. 15.
-, Bourbon gives him the command of the light cavalry, ii. 71.
-, falls into an ambush near Piacenza, and has a miraculous escape, ii. 68, 72.
-, appointed to treat with the pope, ii. 147.
-, assumes the command after the death of Bourbon, ii. 212, 215.
-, threatens to quit Rome if Lannoy is sent for, ii. 217.
-, shows a decided leaning towards the soldiers of his nation, ii. 226.
-, in consequence of which he is not popular with the Spaniards, *ibid.*
-, wounded in the face whilst inspecting the trenches at Rome, ii. 233, 235, 241, 250.
-, represented as too young and unexperienced to hold the command, ii. 217-8, 227, 323.
-, goes to Siena, ii. 312.
-, unable to keep his Germans in order, ii. 348.
-, obliged to quit Rome in consequence of their undiscipline and excesses, ii. 267.

Chalon, Philibert de, prince of Orange, treats with, and ultimately persuades them to go out of Rome, ii. 268.

....., appointed commander-in-chief of the imperial army, ii. 520.

....., stands on ceremonies with Guasto, and offers to serve under him, ii. 523.

....., the steward or "Maestro de Casa" of, taken prisoner between Siena and Rome, ii. 423.

....., marches on Naples, of which he is appointed viceroy, ii. 585.

....., meets Lautrec at Troia, and is defeated, ii. 663, 675.

....., his gallant defence of Naples, ii. 670, 687, 693, 699.

....., struck by the plague, ii. 741, 770, 773.

....., goes to Salerno, ii. 869.

....., retakes Aquila and La Matrice, ii. 927.

....., on his way back to Naples meets with a storm of wind and rain, *ibid.*

....., prepares to march against Florence, ii. 913.

....., a brother of, bishop of Geneva, cardinal's hat refused to, ii. 250.

....., letters to the emperor, ii. 449, 456, 597.

....., notice of, ii. xxxii.

Chamari, Chamery, *v.* Chambery.

Chamberlains, one of Francis' (Bellay-Langeai?), sent on a mission to the pope, 1048; ii. 93.

....., papal, sent to accompany Lannoy, wounded, ii. 149-50.

....., on his return to Rome prevented from re-entering Sant Angelo, ii. 227.

Chambery, in Savoy, 313, 791, 801.

....., letters dated from, 481, 483, 494, 516.

Chantilly, sieur de, *v.* Montmorency.

Chappuys, Eustace, measures to prevent an alliance between England and France proposed by (Dec. 1527), ii. 252.

Charela (Ciarella), taken by Leyva, ii. 889.

Charles V., emperor, king of Spain, visits England, *Int.* xiii.

England.

....., proposes to invade France by the Pyrenees, 18.

....., asks Henry to lend him money, 19.

....., to anticipate the period of his marriage to princess Mary, 186.

....., promises to make war on France, provided Henry advances him 400,000 ducats, 195.

....., sends Peñalosa to England to ask for the hand of princess Mary, on the plea that the Cortes of his several kingdoms wish him to be married immediately, 45, 129, 183, 191, 186, 259.

Charles V., emperor, king of Spain, which request Henry refuses to grant, as he is not bound to deliver her before she is twelve, 191.

....., the settlement of his debts to Henry delayed under various pretences, ii. 3, 193, 324, 809.

....., the news of Henry's proposed divorce conveyed to, by one of the queen's servants, ii. 276-7.

....., wishes to be informed of all the particulars of the divorce case that he may stir in favour of Katharine, ii. 863.

....., writes to the pope and to his ambassadors at Rome thereupon, ii. 881.

....., Letters to king Henry, 50, 168, 377-8; ii. 4, 226, 544, 579.

....., to Wolsey, 51, 169; ii. 5, 14, 128, 176, 227, 545.

....., to queen Katharine, ii. 166, 537, 674.

....., to Brian Tuke, ii. 15.

....., Letters and instructions to his ambassadors:

....., to Praet, 16, 17, 52, 55, 100, 101, 102.

....., to the same during his embassy to France, 273, 327.

....., to Bourgoigne, Laurens, and Le Sauch, 56, 101, 174.

....., Letters and instructions to Don Iñigo de Mendoza (1526), 534, 632, 645. (1527) ii. 16, 81, 118, 131, 209, 210, 279, (1528), 308, 483, 602, (1529), 622-3, 670.

....., to Montfort, ii. 309.

....., answer to the ambassadors of the league in general, and to the French and English in particular (1527), ii. 24.

Scotland.

....., Letter to James, king of Scotland, ii. 580.

....., to the archdeacon of St. Andrew's, ii. 327.

....., to Douglas, earl of Angus, ii. 328.

Italy.

....., letters to, congratulatory on the battle of Pavia, 35-37.

....., journey to Italy strongly recommended by the imperial generals and agents, 56, 241, 1026.

....., not to take place until a general peace is concluded, 302.

....., disapproved by Clement, 639.

....., delayed for various reasons, 636.

....., to be prevented at any risk, 647.

....., exculpatory letter to knight-commander Aguilera after the sack of St. Peter by the Colonnese, 612.

- Charles V., emperor, king of Spain, has no effect upon Clement, who continues his preparations to attack the Colonnese, 1007.
-, answers the pope's brief of the 23rd of June 1526; 905.
-, wherein he exculpates himself and accuses Clement, 907-22.
-, has his letters to the pope and cardinals read in consistory, 1039.
-, makes his excuses for the sack of Rome, which, he says, was entirely the work of an undisciplined soldiery, ii. 308.
-, manifesto of, after the taking and sack of Rome, ii. 134.
-, appointment of commissioners to treat with the pope, ii. 147.
-, declaration about Milan, ii. 250 641.
-, Letters to the pope (1525), 65, 145, 148, 328, 550-2; (1527), ii. 144, 243, 269; (1528), 543; (1529), 669, 681.
-, to the Roman senate (1527); ii. 124.
-, to his ambassadors at Rome, (Sessa and Gattinara) conjointly, 68-9, 109-110.
-, to the college of cardinals, 579, 603; ii. 135, 137, 270.
-, to the cardinals, his friends, ii. 136, 278.
-, to cardinal Salviati, ii. 126.
-, to the Roman nobles, ii. 138.
-, to Gian Matheo Giberto, ii. 267.
-, to Lannoy, 49, 568; ii. 149.
-, to the duke of Sessa, 68-9, 109-110, 144, 170, 184, 245-6, 333-4, 376, 401, 420, 425, 531.
-, to the abbot of Najera, 151, 247, 289, 336-7, 402, 409, 421, 492, 609, 610; ii. 22, 52, 150, 154.
-, to Soria (1527), ii. 72, 74, 89, 90, 106, 242.
-, to knight commander Herrera, 333, 335, 400.
-, to Mr. de Veyre, 411.
-, to Caracciolo at Milan, ii. 98, 105, 303, 671.
-, to secretary Perez (1526), 611; (1527) ii. 23, 68, 88, 95, 103, 115, 239, 306, 354.
-, to Don Hugo de Moncada, 457, 511; ii. 353.
-, to knight commander Aguilera, 612.
-, to Bourbon, 49, 508.
-, to Leyva, ii. 671.
-, to the city of Milan, 411.
-, to the duke of Ferrara, 99.
-, to Alonso Sanchez at Venice, 104, 153, 305, 503.
-, to Muxetula at Rome, ii. 626.
-, to the prince of Orange, 268, 353.
- Charles V., emperor, king of Spain, Letters to cardinal Santa Croce, ii. 627.
-, to Gianmatheo Giberto, ii. 267.
-, letters and instructions to Micer Mai, ii. 493, 637-8.
-, to knight-commander Figueroa, ii. 644.
-, journey of, to Italy, for the purpose of being crowned, again talked of, ii. 922.
-, much dreaded by the confederates, and principally by the pope, 539.
-, who offers to visit the emperor in Spain, ii. 922.
-, preparations for, at Barcelona, ii. 898, 905.
-, opinions of his councillors respecting a proposed visit to France, ii. 893.
-, makes his will before setting out for Italy, ii. 969.
- France.
-, the news of the victory at Pavia conveyed to, 56, 102.
-, how received by him, 159.
-, his demands from Francis considered exorbitant, 27, 62.
-, approves, if he does not absolutely order, the removal of his prisoner to Spain, *Int.* xxxii.
-, proposes to hold a congress in Spain, 225.
-, declaration of war by France, ii. 510.
-, answer made by, to the French ambassadors, ii. 314, 548.
-, Letters to king Francis, 326.
-, articles for the peace with France sent to Don Inigo de Mendoza for inspection, ii. 128.
-, to Granvelle, ii. 319.
-, his answer to the personal challenge of Francis, ii. 636.
- Germany.
-, letter to Ferdinand of Austria, 625.
-, to the archbishop of Maintz, and other electors of the empire, 624.
-, to D. Antonio de Mendoza, 639, 643.
-, to Bona Sforza, queen of Poland, ii. 330.
-, to the duke of Muscovy, 331.
- Portugal.
-, negotiations for his marriage to Isabella of Portugal, 369-70, 458.
-, dispensation briefs for the same to be obtained at Rome, 461-3.
-, to be amended in consequence of certain scruples of the Portuguese theologians, 313, 370-1, 461.
-, letters to, from the king of Portugal, *v.* João.

Spain.

- Charles V., emperor, king of Spain, enters Valencia, and is received with great pomp, ii. 737.
-, high chancellor of, *v.* Gattinara.
-, first equerry of, *v.* Ferramosca and Lannoy.
-, lord high chamberlain of, *v.* Nassau.
-, lord chief steward of, *v.* Gorrevod.
-, comptroller, (contrarelator), ii. 86, 118, 155.
-, letters to the constable of Castille, ii. 619-20.
-, to the mayor of La Coruña, ii. 629.
-, to the viceroy of Aragon, ii. 609.
-, places whence his letters were dated: Burgos, Granada, Madrid, Valencia, Somosierra, Seville, Toledo, Valladolid, Zaragoza, &c.
- Charlotte, daughter of Francis I., offered to Charles V. in marriage, 906.
- Chasco Ciasco, Paolo, *v.* Luzzasco.
- Charpaignes, Mr. de, sent to Spain by the queen regent of France, 495.
- Chastillon, French gentleman, sent on a mission to Venice, ii. 988.
- Chateau and Chasteau, a servant of Mons de Beaurain, employed as imperial courier, 1059; ii. 101.
-, bearer of instructions to Don Inigo, ii. 48, 79, 114, 151, 432.
- Chatellet, prison of the, in Paris, the imperial ambassador (Nicolas Perrenot), consigned to the, ii. 608, 636.
- Cherivato (Cervivato?) bishop of, the pope's chamberlain, accompanies Ferramosca in his mission to Lannoy, ii. 55.
- Chiapino, *v.* Capin.
- Chiarella, La, on the river Pò, 1001.
-, taken by Leyva, ii. 315.
- Chiavenna, in the Valtellina, ii. 342, 357.
-, castle of, taken by Giangiacopo de' Medici, ii. 1000.
-, the Grisons refuse to treat with the duke of Milan, unless the castle of, is restored to them, 357.
- negotiations to that effect, 358.
-, the castellan of Mus defeats the Grisons at, 361.
-, besieged, 398, 475.
- Chiecher (?), Micer Lodovico, appointed to the command of a force at Milan (1526), 757.
- Chieregate? *v.* Cherivato.
- Chiesa, Lodovico della, his "Historia di Piemonte," quoted, ii. 998.
- Chieti, bishop of, *v.* Felice and Trophimo.
- Chio (written Xio), island of, 725.
- Chiprano, *v.* Cepperano.
- Chirazzo, Arrigo, marquis of, *Int.* ii. xxxv.

- Chiusa, La, mountain pass close to the Adige :
 the Germans under Fruntsperg force (1265), 820.
-, Brunswick's Germans reported to be at, ii. 679.
-, (Chiusi, in Tuscany), the confederates fail in their attack upon, ii. 499.
- Christiern II., king of Denmark, ii. 146, 577, 682, 815.
-, proposed marriage of one of his daughters to the duke of Richmond, ii. 146, 187.
- Christierna or Christine, princess, daughter of the preceding, married to Francesco Sforza, ii. 146, *note*.
- Chucharo, *v.* Suchero.
- Church, reformation of the, strongly recommended by Lope de Soria (1527), 210.
- Chyandelle (?), Mons. de, 768, 1052; ii. 1005.
-, *v.* Candalle.
- Ciaconius (Alfonso Chacon), his *Vita et Gesta Pontificum*, quoted, ii. 985.
- Ciagno, Hieronimo, ii. 625.
- Ciappino, *v.* Capino.
- Ciaro (?) on the coast of Genoa, 902.
- Cibo (Cybò) di Massa, Caterina, widow of Gian Maria Varana, duca di Camerino, ii. 393, *note*, 472.
-, her daughter (Julia) to be married to a son of Ascanio Colonna, ii. 431, 472.
-, ultimately espouses Ferrante Gonzaga, ii. 431.
-, Innocenzio, cardinal of S. Cosmo e Damiano, papal legate in Bologna, 119, 1035; ii. 296, 387, 393, 445, 546.
-, sent by Clement on a mission to that city, ii. 604.
-, Lorenzo, marquis of *Massa*, captain of the papal body guard, 1035.
- Cigliano, Luigi, a lieutenant of, surprises Lodi, 773.
- Cilly, (Scilly, Silly), Claude de, imperial ambassador in England, 36, 45, 101-2, 116, 123, 128-9, 132.
-, instructions to, 9.
- Ciocchi di Monte, *v.* Monte.
- Cipion, *v.* Scipione.
- Ciprano, *v.* Cepperano.
- Cirinola, "Dogana delle Pecore" at, 610.
- Cis, Hernando, steward to D. Hugo de Moncada, *v.* Yciz.
- Cisneros, written *Cysneros*, Antonio de, imperial courier, 17, 18; ii. 997.
- Citadella, near Piacenza, Lautrec and cardinal Farnese hold a conference at, ii. 452.
- Citi Marco, *v.* Sittig.
- Città Indivina, also called *Civittà di Vina* and *Civittà Lavinia* in the Rom. Stat., ii. 626.

- Città Indivina, Portuense, or Porto, in the Rom. States, to be given up as security for the capitulation of Rome, ii. 232.
- Ciudad, Rodrigo, pension on the bishopric of, granted to the abbot of Najera, 220, 224; ii. 423.
- Cividal (Cidad, Cività), di Friuli, 810, *note*; ii. 342.
- Civittà Lavinia in the Rom. Stat., ii. 233, 247.
-, owing chiefly to the rapacity of the Spanish captains, ii. 909, 958, 965.
-, effected at last.
- Castellana (Rom. Stat.), to be given up as security for the capitulation of Rome, ii. 524.
-, delivery of, much delayed, and ultimately not accomplished, 528, 545, 559, 582, 595; ii. 946.
- Ci[vi]ttà Nova, *v.* Neustadt.
- Civittà di Penna, duke of, *v.* Medici (Alessandro).
- Civittà Sant Angelo, marquis of, *v.* Castriotto.
- Civittà Vecchia, the Venetian and papal galleys meet at, for the purpose of attacking Genoa, 895.
-, also the French fleet under Doria and Navarro, 1036.
-, bishop of, *v.* Felice.
-, pledged to the emperor for the fulfilment of the terms of the capitulation of Rome, ii. 234, 528, 671.
-, the surrender of, delayed on account of Doria's claims, ii. 234.
-, Don Alonso de Cordoba appointed governor of, ii. 671.
-, invested by the French, ii. 688.
-, the restitution of, much delayed notwithstanding the emperor's express orders, 909, 931, 942, 944, 947.
- Civitella, Rom. Stat., 591.
- Ciz, *v.* Yciz.
- Claramonte, Mons. de, 842.
- Claretto, Thomasso, a servant of cardinal Gaddis, ii. 829.
- Clarence, *v.* Clarencieux.
- Clarencieux, the herald, or king-at-arms of Henry, 83, 142, 184, 191.
- declares war to the emperor in his master's name, 550, 737.
- Clark and Clarke, *v.* Clerk.
- Claude of France, daughter of Louis XII. and wife of Francis, duke of Angouleme, subsequently king of France, 67, 911.
-, first promised in marriage to Charles, 911.
- Claudio (Claude?), secretary to the queen regent of France, sent to Venice on a mission, 359.
- Clavero, captain governor of the castle of Pavia, removed and replaced by Nofre del Monte, 532.
- Clavijo, messenger, sent to Spain by archduke Ferdinand, ii. 381, 547, 925.
- Clement VII., pope (1525), grants passage through his estates to the French, under the duke of Albany, i.
-, takes decidedly the part of France, 41.
-, endeavours to bring on a truce between Charles and Francis, *ibid.*
-, draft of treaty proposed by, after the battle of Pavia, 105, 115, 119.
-, and the emperor's answer to it, 188.
-, sends Salviati to Toledo as legate, 158, 203.
-, helps the archduke with money, 187.
-, has the league proclaimed at Rome, 149, 158.
-, unwilling to accept unconditionally the emperor's terms, 181.
-, as the settlement of some of his claims is postponed, 202.
-, wants to know whether Rezzo and Rubiera are to be restored to him before he ratifies the treaty of league with the emperor, 237.
-, as unless he gets complete satisfaction on that point he is sure to join the Italian confederation, *ibid.*
-, considers himself ill-used in the negotiations, 202.
-, in bad health, 204, 287.
-, explanation given by, to Sessa of his armaments in the Mantuan, 256.
-, solicited by England, the Venetians and others to join in a league against the emperor, 227, 257.
-, complains of the preference given to the duke of Ferrara, and of the quartering of imperial troops on the territory of the Church, 202, 257, 286.
-, favours the idea of an Italian league against the emperor as proposed by England and Venice, 409-10.
-, the league called *Holy* and *Clementine* after his name (1526), formed for the express purpose of delivering Italy from the imperialists, 501, 503, 524.
-, and the Venetians send to congratulate Francis upon his liberation, 605-6.
-, a suspension of hostilities agreed between Sessa, and, for the purpose of detaching him from the league, 586, 608.
-, still negotiating with Sessa, Hurtado, and other imperial agents, though in close and secret correspondence with the leaguers, 607.
-, objects to several clauses of the treaty proposed, but offers to sign it when the emperor comes to Italy, 606-8.

1526.

- Clement VII., pope, makes great demonstrations of joy at the conclusion of the peace between the emperor and France, 613.
-, shows an inclination to keep on good terms with the emperor, 639, 640.
-, suspected by Sessa of not being in earnest, 641.
-, works secretly for the formation of the Italian league against the emperor, 311, 316.
-, sends to France a draft of treaty to be approved and signed, 689.
-, prepares to invade Naples, 799, 801.
-, makes war against Don Hugo and the Colonnese, 837, 850.
-, issues admonitory letters against cardinal Pompeo and all his relatives in which Lannoy, Ferramosca, and the members of the collateral council of Naples are also comprised, 931; ii. 7, 42-3.
-, carries on war in the frontiers of Naples whilst the confederates invade Lombardy, 67, 71.
-, who notwithstanding the truce surprise Rome and sack St. Peter, 930, 937, 940.
-, complains of the Romans, none of whom stirred in his defence, 931.
-, capitulates with Don Hugo, 948.
-, yet determines to have his revenge of the Colonnese at a future time, 948, 975, 978.
-, infringes the capitulation and prosecutes war against them, 973, 981.
-, announces his intention of visiting the emperor and king Francis at their respective courts, ii. 950.
-, negotiates with Lannoy and signs an armistice, ii. 87.
-, announces his intention to quit Rome and take shelter in Venice the moment he hears of the estates of the Church being invaded by Lannoy or Bourbon, 1032-3.
-, levies troops in Perugia and in the Romagna, 1034.
-, orders the Borgo [of Rome] to be fortified, 1034.

1527.

-, negotiates with Lannoy and Ferramosca, ii. 12, 57.
-, announces his intention to visit the emperor in Spain, ii. 54.
-, his "mastro di casa," a bishop, on a mission to Bourbon, ii. 136.
-, complains of the imperial generals, and principally of the latter, ii. 160.
-, entrusts the defence of Rome to Renzo da Ceri, ii. 196.

Clement VII., pope, the truce made between Don Hugo and, disregarded by Bourbon, ii. 90, 120, 126.

-, whose army takes and sacks Rome, ii. 195-200.
-, no reliance to be placed in his words, for he is fickle by nature, ii. 204.
-, takes refuge in Sant Angelo with 13 of his cardinals, ii. 212.
-, besieged by the imperialists, ii. 213.
-, to be taken to Naples or Gaeta with most of his cardinals, ii. 216.
-, offers to capitulate and surrender the castle unless the confederated army comes to his relief within a week's time, ii. 225.
-, sends a message to Lannoy through one of his chamberlains (Giralamo?), ii. 225, 227.
-, who on his return to Rome is prevented by the Germans from entering Sant Angelo, *ibid.*
-, on the approach of the confederates delays signing the capitulation, and asks for a further term of six days, ii. 214.
-, which is refused by the prince of Orange, ii. 215.
-, hearing, however, of the retreat of the confederates resumes the negotiations, ii. 236.
-, finally signs the capitulation, and delivers hostages, ii. 231.
-, promising besides to give in pledge Civit  Vecchia, Ostia, &c., ii. 232.
-, terms of the agreement, ii. 84.
-, quits Sant Angelo in disguise, (6th Dec. 1527), ii. 498.
-, intends to go to Ancona first in order to be closer to Venice, 559, 562, 567, 569.
-, but fixes his residence at Orbieto, ii. 506, 648, 755.
-, fears entertained of his breaking his engagements, and joining the league, ii. 536.
-, tries to dissuade Doria from taking service under the emperor, ii. 770.

1528.

-, refuses to ratify the convention of Ferrara, on the plea that cardinal Cibo had no power from him to treat with the duke, ii. 546.
-, solicited by Lautrec to declare in favour of France, ii. 666.
-, refuses on the plea that the leaguers have seized some of his towns, ii. 667.
-, a chamberlain of, with a message to Don Hugo at Naples, ii. 671.

- Clement VII., pope, about to grant Henry's divorce, and send Campeggio to England for that purpose, ii. 672.
-, willing to abandon Parma and Piacenza provided Modena and Reggio, as well as Ravenna and Cervia, be given back to him, ii. 678.
-, one of his chamberlains goes to Naples to announce the investment of Civittà Vecchia by the French, ii. 688.
-, sends bishop Sangro to Spain to ask for the release of the cardinals kept as hostages in Naples, ii. 707.
-, removes to Civittà Castellana on his way to Rome, ii. 791, 807.
-, sends one of his chamberlains to London with orders (as it is believed) of suspending all proceedings in the divorce case, ii. 877, 881.
- 1529.
-, strongly recommended by Henry and Wolsey to go to Avignon in France, ii. 883, 886.
-, dangerously ill, 892, 896, 910.
-, pretends to be worse than he really is, ii. 892, 911.
-, some suspicion is entertained of his having been poisoned, ii. 910.
-, death of, reported in England, ii. 888-9, 896.
-, in such an event the cardinals propose meeting out of Rome, and proceeding to a new election, ii. 893, 896, 945-6.
-, the measure strongly opposed by Mai as injurious to the emperor's interests, ii. 931.
-, in his conferences with Mai affects not to care for the recovery of Florence, and other possessions of the Church, ii. 924.
-, declares his intention to remain strictly neutral, *ibid.*
-, and to visit the emperor passing through France, ii. 897, 922, 930, 932, 949.
-, taking with him two bishops, two priests, and two deacons, all cardinals, ii. 917.
-, the real object of his visit believed by Mai and Santa Croce to be no other than to prevent the emperor's journey to Italy, ii. 922.
-, his nuncio expelled from Naples, ii. 932.
-, cardinal Monte to remain as legate in Rome during his absence, ii. 950.
-, appoints a nuncio (Girolamo, bishop of Vassone) to reside at Barcelona, and conclude a treaty with the emperor, ii. 965.
- Clement VII., pope, letters to Charles V. (1525), 35, 107, 194-5, 301; (1526) 474, 602; (1527) ii. 111, 117; (1528) ii. 288, 337, 444, 452-3.
-, to Gattinara (1525), 34, 71, 353; (1528) ii. 338.
-, to archduke Ferdinand, ii. 574.
-, a niece of (Catherine de' Medici) to marry Hippolito de' Medici, 264.
-, nuncios and legates in England: Melchior, Lang.
- Giovanni Battista Sanga.
- Umberto di Gambara.
- Cardinal Campeggio.
-, in Spain, Castiglione, the bishop of Vassone and Salviati.
-, in Venice, Gambara.
-, in France, Paolo d' Arezzo.
-, at Cambray and in Austria, *v.* Campeggio.
- Clerk, Dr. John, bishop of Bath and Wells, English ambassador at Rome, 7, 10, 21, 42, 66.
-, signs the draft of a treaty of alliance proposed by Clement to Charles, 115.
-, on a mission to France, 1016.
- Clesis, or Clesio, Bernardo, archbishop of Trent, 173, 297, 347, 666, 783.
-, letters to Alonso Sanchez, 102, 178, 181, 182; ii. 423, 518, 544.
- Clèves, Messire Philippe de, of the emperor's privy council in Flanders, 36.
- Cobos, Covos, Francisco de los, first secretary to the emperor, ii. 254, 614, 913.
-, absolved from excommunication, 1052.
-, appointed to succeed Lallemand as secretary, ii. 883, 996.
-, letter to, ii. 358.
- Cockburn, Robert, bishop of Ross, 1508-24; and Dunkeld, 1524-27; Scottish ambassador in England, 1, 4.
- Cocque, Richard, le Florentin? imperial courier 53, 275, 343; ii. 997.
-, *v.* Coke and Cooke.
- Codignola, *v.* Cotignola.
- Codillero, a place in Galicia, 338.
- Codogno in Lombardy, 792.
- Cognac, town of France, the court of France at, 706-7, 714, 720, 740.
-, letters dated from, 423, 434.
- Coimbra, *v.* Coymbra.
- Coira in the land of the Grisons, 359.
-, letter dated from, 232.
- Coke, Richard, imperial messenger, 51; ii. 997.
- Colibre, seaport in Roussillon, ii. 407, 757.
- Colino, servant of the grand steward, 789.
- Coll, Mossen, a son of, sent to Spain with letters, ii. 505, 791, 833.
- Collubreniers (eulveriniers), meaning of the word, 43, 49.

- Colonna, Alessandro, brother of Stephano, his overtures to Micer Mai, ii. 950.
 , Ascanio, 305, 605.
 , ... , his differences with cardinal Cesarini, and consequent excommunication by the pope, 610.
 , ... , which is raised owing to the influence of Sessa, *ibid.*
 , ... , serves under Moncada, 779.
 , ... , to be sent to the relief of Siena, 898.
 , ... , serves in Naples, 927, 941, 949.
 , ... , prisoner at the naval battle of Salerno, ii. 152, 671, 674, 679.
 , ... , ransomed, 754.
 , ... , (1526) letters to the emperor, 476, (1527) ; ii. 255, (1528) 496, 517, 527, 542, 588.
 , ... , to his kinsman Tiberio, 542.
 , Camillo, nephew of Pompeo, taken prisoner at Salerno, ii. 674.
 , Isabella, daughter of Vespasiano, 951 ; ii. 626.
 , ... , said to have been promised by her father to a son of Giovanni de' Medici, ii. 626, 672.
 , ... , or rather to Ippolito before he was created cardinal, *ibid.*
 , ... , furnishes the abbot of Farfa with artillery, 767.
 , ... , Vespasiano's Neapolitan estates to be restored to, 866.
 , Julio, 554.
 , ... , letter to the emperor, 323.
 , Marcello, agent of the, in Spain, ii. 527, 626.
 , Marcio, nephew of cardinal Pompeo, taken prisoner by the confederates, ii. 741, 767.
 , Pirro, dies at Naples (Oct. 1528), ii. 827.
 , cardinal Pompeo, vice-chancellor of the papal court, congratulatory letter to the emperor after the victory at Pavia, 25.
 , ... , entertainment given by, at his palace in Rome, 149, 152.
 , ... , renounces the archbishopric of Rosano, 239.
 , ... , exchanges that of Siena for Aquila, *ibid.*
 , ... , discontented with the pope, 356.
 , ... , quits Rome and retires to his family estates, 410, 441, 663.
 , ... , proposes to the emperor to expel Clement from Rome, 742.
 , ... , helps with most of the Colonnese to the first sack of Rome by Don Hugo, 779, 897-8, 949.
 , ... , deprived in consequence of all his honours and dignities, 1056.
 , ... , his arrival at Rome soon after the sack by Bourbon, considered a godsend by the imperialists, ii. 202.
- Colonna, cardinal Pompeo, as with his two brothers (Ascanio and Vespasiano) he is of great use to the emperor, ii. 216, 226-7.
 , ... , shelters in his palace some of the cardinals, ii. 199.
 , ... , whom he afterwards assists in their escape, ii. 488.
 , ... , hated by the German lansquenets in consequence, ii. 476.
 , ... , states his opinion that the pope is not to be trusted on any account, ii. 204.
 , ... , proposed by the imperialists to be Clement's legate in spiritual matters, ii. 209, 249, 263.
 , ... , not accepted by the pope, *ibid.*
 , ... , leaves Rome for a time on account of the plague, ii. 252.
 , ... , suspected by Perez and others of stirring up the Germans against Clement, ii. 395.
 , ... , again absents himself on pretence of visiting his brother Ascanio, but in reality to escape from the wrath of the Germans, ii. 534.
 , ... , in Naples, ii. 610.
 , ... , quarrels with Chalon, and retires to Gaeta, ii. 678.
 , ... , which he defends against the French, ii. 767.
 , ... , letters to the emperor, 25 ; ii. 255, 482.
 , ... , to Campeggio, ii. 416.
 , Prospero, imperial general alluded to, 907 ; ii. 626.
 , ... , [da Cività de Vina,] Prospero, uncle of Ascanio, ii. 626.
 , Sciarra, sacks Camerino, ii. 382.
 , ... , marries the dowager duchess of that place, ii. 430.
 , ... , a daughter of, by his first marriage betrothed to a son of Ascanio, *ibid.*
 , ... , defeats the abbot of Farfa at Subiaco, ii. 748.
 , ... , does besides all the harm he can to the Orsini and the estates of the Church, ii. 807.
 , ... , seizes Pagliano, which he claims as his inheritance from Pirro, ii. 827.
 , [Giovanni?] Stefano di Prenestina, takes part for the pope, 799, 951.
 , ... , claims Prenestina as his own, ii. 559-61.
 , ... , in the service of the league, ii. 582.
 , Tiberio, ii. 785.
 , Vespasiano, 779, 793, 999.
 , ... , in Rome after the sack, ii. 213-216.
 , ... , letter to the emperor, 520.
 , ... , to Gattinara, 541.
 , ... , death of (14th March 1528), ii. 626, 672.

- Colonna, Vespasiano, widow of, *v.* Gonzaga (Giulia).
-, Vittoria, widow of the marquis de Pescara (Don Hernando), 511, 569.
-, ..., letter to the emperor, 473-4.
-, ..., daughter of Ascanio, married to the marquis de Villafranca, 560.
- Colonne, in Calabria, 403.
- Colonnese, their long-standing enmity to the Orsini, ii. 827.
-, agent of the, in Spain, *v.* Marcello.
-, collect their forces and threaten Rome, 771, 779, 779-8.
-, attack the Orsini at Anania, 780.
-, sign a truce for the purpose of taking the pope unawares, 946.
-, monitory letters against the, 931; ii. 7.
-, enter Rome and sack St. Peter, 940-1.
-, profess to be sorry for the damage caused, 943.
-, their case tried at Rome, 1016.
-, attacked again by the Orsini, 1054.
-, retaliate and seize some of their castles, ii. 68.
-, their conduct at the second sack of Rome, ii. 202, 227.
-, not to be punished for their former misdemeanours, and to be included in the treaty of peace with the pope, 948, 975, 978.
- Comaccio (Comacchio), the duke of Ferrara to be allowed to take salt at, ii. 450.
- Comacre (Comacle, Commercy?), secretary to the king of France, his mission to Spain, ii. 324, 374.
- Comitis (?), Thomas, ii. 993.
- Commercy, French secretary, *v.* Comacre.
- Como, in Lombardy, 398.
-, the city and castle of, to be the residence of Francesco Sforza after his capitulation at Milan, 806, 816.
-, the Spanish governor of, refuses to admit Sforza, 818, 827, 840.
-, the garrison of, not paid for several months, ii. 305.
-, held by the imperialists, ii. 300, 449.
-, taken by the confederates, ii. 742.
-, cardinal of, ii. 349.
- Compendio, *v.* Compiègne.
- Compiègne, in France, meeting of cardinals at, ii. 384.
-, letter dated from, ii. 211.
- Concordia, bishop of, *v.* Chiaregato.
-, conte di, *v.* Pico della Mirandola.
-, conte Galeato della, a condottiere in the service of Venice, ii. 989.
- Confederates, the commanders of the, assemble at Viterbo for the purpose of the pope, ii. 215, 217.
-, encamp at Marignano, 785.
-, attempt of the, to introduce succour into the castle of Milan, unsuccessful, 791.
- Confederates fall back on Marignano, 797.
- Confignone, agent of the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.), sent on a mission to Lope Hurtado, 327.
- Constabile, Antonio di, sent by the duke of Ferrara to hold a conference with Marino Caracciolo, at Venice, 619.
- Constanza, mistaken for *Cosenza*, ii. 358, 412, 1004.
- Constantinople, reported earthquake at, (1558), ii. 815.
- Contarini, Francesco, appointed ambassador to England, 893.
-, Micer Gasparo, Venetian ambassador to the pope, ii. 126, 544.
-, to Ferrara, 445, 451, 604.
-, Gasparo, Venetian ambassador in Spain, 363, 482.
-, extraordinary to Rome, 543, ii. 685.
-, Thomasso, sent to Constantinople on a mission.
- Conti, Giovanni Battista, lord of Valmontone, joins the French, ii. 560-1, 582, 592, 598.
- Cooke, *v.* Coke.
- Coradin, Coradino, Corradino, Conrad, colonel of German infantry, 164, 267.
-, goes to Germany for recruits, 319, 321.
-, ..., in charge of Cremona, 394.
-, ..., his fidelity suspected, 556, 288; ii. 944-7, 595, 1037.
- Corato, marquis of, *v.* Aquino.
- Corbara, also written *Corvara*, pass of, between Vicensa and Verona, 1014.
- Corbaron, sieur de, *v.* Bouton and Courtbaron.
- Corbera, captain, 138, 773, 797, 817.
-, ..., killed before Milan (18th September 1526), 934, 941, 946.
-, Julian de, captain of light horse, ii. 928.
- Corbetta, Milanese lawyer in correspondence with the marquis of Mantua, ii. 963.
- Corchiero, Juanin or Giovannino, sent by D. Inigo with a message to dean Pace, ii. 440.
-, ..., arrested by order of the cardinal, ii. 441.
- Corço (Corso, Corzo), Damian, Italian condottiere in the service of the league, defeated near Novara, 846.
- Corços, or *Corsicans*, the inhabitants of Corsica, ii. 590.
- Corcora (Corcuera?) captain, sent to Sicily with Spanish infantry, ii. 719.
- Cordeliers (Franciscan friars), mission of certain, to the Low Countries, 33.
- Cordoba, D. Alonso de, joins the imperialists at Castel San Giovanni, ii. 91.
-, ..., appointed governor of Civit  Vecchia, ii. 243, 252, 287, 671, 773.
-, ..., refuses to surrender it to the pope, ii. 942, 944, 947.

- Cordoba, D. Alonso de, arrested at Naples in consequence, ii. 965.
-, D. Juan [Fernandez] de, brother of the duke of Sessa D. Luis, recommended for a bishopric, 263.
-, D. Pedro [Fernandez] de, brother of the duke of Sessa, and master of the horse to archduke Ferdinand, king of Bohemia and Hungary, appointed to conduct the German reinforcements into Italy (1526), 793.
-, ... , on a mission from Ferdinand to Spain (1528), ii. 381, 660, 680, 865.
-, ... , to Portugal (1529), ii. 925, 995.
- y Figueroa Elvira de D^a. Doña, daughter of Gonzalvo, and wife of Don Luis, duke of Sessa, *Int.* xxi, 834.
- y Velasco, D. Martin Alfonso de, first count of Alcaudete, ii. 698.
- Corfù, island of, the Venetian fleet at, ii. 665.
- Coria, bishopric of, half fruits of, renounced by Don Iñigo de Mendoza, ii. 624, 912, 915.
- Cornaro, Micer Francesco, Venetian ambassador at the court of Charles, created cardinal, ii. 685, 952.
-, ... , Mai's opinion of, ii. 952.
- Corneto (Rom. Stat.), one division of the confederate army to go to, ii. 235.
- Cornille d'Espagne, maître d'hotel to the archduke, 26.
- Corno, valley of, ii. 211.
- Coro, the French under Lautrec defeated at, in the Milanese, ii. 400.
- Coronel, master Luis, bulls of San Isidro in favour of, 697, 1092.
- Corradin, colonel of German lanskenets on a mission to Germany (1525), 288.
-, suspected of having been bribed by the enemy at Cremona, 947.
-, crosses the Pò in company with Fruntspereg, 1037.
- Correa, Pedro, Portuguese secretary, ii. 369, 615-6, 629.
- Correggio, castle of, Guasto and Leyva meet at, ii. 759.
-, letters dated from, ii. 519, 520.
-, Marco da, captain of Venetian-infantry, killed before Cremona, 862.
- Corsi (Cursius, Cursio) Giovanni, Florentine ambassador in Spain, 83.
- Corsica, arrival of Lannoy at the island of, ii. 1029.
- Corte, Lodovico di, ii. 371.
-, La, in Milan, attacked by the mob in June, 1526, 762.
- Cortes, or general estates of Spain, advise Charles to take wife, 45.
- wish princess Mary to go to Spain, 129.
- grant the emperor subsidies against the Turk, 1060; ii. 59, 99.
- Cortés, Hernando, returns to Spain after his Mexican expedition, ii. 101, 739.
-, ... , report drawn by, ii. 865.
- Cortona, cardinal, *v.* Passerino.
- Corullon, in Galicia, letter dated from, 361.
- Coruña, La, town on the coast of Galicia, "corregidor" or mayor of, *v.* Alcaçar.
- Corvera, *v.* Corbera.
- Cosenza, archbishop of, *v.* Gaddi Pignatello.
- Cosmo e San Damiano, cardinal of, *v.* Salviati.
- Costa, Gaspar, messenger in the employment of the viceroy of Naples, 155, 157.
- Costilla, *v.* Castilla.
- Cota, Sancho, historian of Charles V., *Int.* ii. xxiv, *note.*
- Cotignola, in the Romagna, restored to the duke of Ferrara, ii. 509.
- Cotrone in Calabria, ii. 403, 412.
- Council of state to the emperor, how composed, ii. 100.
-, reforms in the, ii. 146.
- general of the Church, opinions of the imperial minister respecting a, ii. 265.
- Courières, seigneur de, *v.* Montmorency.
- Courtbaron, *v.* Bouton.
- Courtney, Henry, earl of Devon, created marquis of Exeter, 211.
- Coymbra, a Portuguese halberdier, assists Henri de Labret in his flight from Pavia, 532.
- Coyra (Coire), in Switzerland, letters dated from, 214.
- Crabacor (Crepalcuore or Crevalcuore?) in the Rom. Stat., the garrison of Carpi surprise the confederates at, 892.
- Crema, in Lombardy, 668.
-, Francesco Sforza at, 692, 840, 864, 886, 894.
- Crema, dist. of Lombardy, 698.
- Cremona (Lombardy), 49, 58.
-, Wolsey's advice respecting, 71.
- besieged by the confederates, 891.
- capitulates to the Venetians (24th September 1526), 926-7, 936, 941-2, 949-50.
- held by Francesco Sforza, ii. 754, 769.
-, plague breaks out at, 749.
-, cardinal archbishop of, *v.* Accolti.
- Crepanica, Capranica? (Rom. Stat.), ii. 498.
- Crescentino, count (Ricardo Tizzone), report of his having been assassinated with all his family at Vercelli, ii. 912.
- Crivelli, Francesco, sent by the Milanese on a mission to the emperor (1526), 672.
- Croatia, ban of, 89.
- (Frangipani?), sends to implore the assistance of the archduke of Austria against the Turks, 897, 1055.
-, Ferdinand proclaimed in, 960.
- Croy, Adrien de, sieur de *Beaurain* and *Raulx*, departure of, from London (1525), i. 6, 9, 12, 20, 39, 55.

Croy, Adrien de, departure of, without obtaining an audience from king Henry, 46, 48, 100, 146.
, scandal propagated by Gioachino on that occasion, 55.
, report of, against Wolsey's practices, 55.
, instructed to call on the queen regent of France at Lyons, 98, 100, 103, 145, 159.
, also on king Francis at Pizzighitone, *ibid.*
, offers made by Francis to, and to Lanoy, 144, 384.
, servant of, *v.* Chateau.
, Ferry de, bâtard and baron du *Raulx*, son of the preceding; sent to Spain with the news of the battle of Pavia, 21, 89, 92, 95, 98, 148.
, ..., appointed master of the horse, ii. 574.
, ..., troops under, to go to Naples, ii. 620, 784.
, ..., in Flanders, ii. 736.
, Philippe de, marquis d' *Aaarshot*, 165.
 Crusade, negociations at Rome respecting the (1525), 240, 302, 325, 419, 456, 529, 742; ii. 893, 975.
, no chance of it whilst the pope is dissatisfied with the emperor, 609.
, grant of, purposedly delayed by the pope until the treaty of Barcelona was signed and ratified, ii. 645, 664, 975.
 Cuarta, or one half of all ecclesiastical revenues every fourth year applied for by the emperor to be spent in war with the Turk, ii. 931.
, negociations at Rome respecting the, ii. 976.
 Cuaço, Gabriel de, lieutenant of a company of Spanish infantry at Naples, ii. 706.
 Cuçaro, Çucaró, &c., captain of Burgundian horse, *v.* Succhero.
 Cuevas, or de la Cueva, Alfonso de, imperial solicitor and public notary at Rome, the emperor's letter to the cardinals read in the presence of, 1039, 1046; ii. 991.
 Culebrinero, meaning of the word, 43, 49.
 Cuña, *v.* Cognac.
 Cuñiga, *v.* Zuñiga.
 Cupis, Giovanni Domenico da', archbishop of Trani, and cardinal, ii. 949.
 Currency, negociations respecting English, in Flanders, 88, 94, 147, 152, 226.
 Cursio, *v.* Corsi.
 Curzon, sir Robert, sent on a mission to Spain, 219.
 Cybò, Genoese family, *v.* Cibo.
 Cyprus, island of, the conquest to be undertaken in the emperor's name, ii. 921.
 Cysneros, *v.* Cisneros.

D.

Dages, Danges, De Langes, *v.* Bellay, sieur de Langeay.
 Dalanchon, *v.* Alençon, d'.
 Dalmatia, five hundred light horse from, ordered by Venice, ii. 691, 695, 749.
 Dantiscus, Johannes, or John of *Dantzic*, ambassador of Sigismund, king of Poland, to Charles, ii. 579.
 Darco, count Guicardo? German captain, reported to have died on his way to Lombardy, ii. 795.
 Dario, Silvestre or Sylvester, a native of Lucca, papal sub-collector in England; sent by Henry on a mission to Spain, ii. 808.
, answer brought from Spain by, ii. 561.
, his alarming reports of the emperor's intentions towards England, ii. 878, 887.
 Darmer, Alvise, Venetian proveditor (1526), puts to sea to join the French and papal fleets, 803.
 Datary, papal, *v.* Felice, Ghinucci, Giberto.
 Daubreug and Daubrec, Mr., sent by Francis on a mission to Rome, 707, 994, *note.*
 Davalos Andres, Spanish captain, ii. 697.
, captain Pedro, ii. 496; sent on a mission to Spain, ii. 697, 705, 743.
, Rodrigo, on a mission to Barcelona, (1529), ii. 710, 726, 740-1, 825.
, ..., to Rome, ii. 898.
, d' Aquino, Don Alfonso de, marquis del Guasto or Gastó (more correctly *Vasto*), nephew of Pescara:
, ..., succeeds his uncle in the command of the imperial army, 510.
, ..., sends Castaldo to Spain, 581, 693.
, ..., sells part of his estates in Naples to pay the troops, 698-9.
, ..., disabled by fever, ii. 46, 889.
, ..., refuses to accompany Bourbon on his Roman expedition, *Int.* xiii-xvii; ii. 135.
, ..., serves in Rome under the prince of Orange, ii. 526, 528.
, ..., and in Naples, ii. 646.
, ..., quarrels with the count of Potença, ii. 645-6, 654, 667.
, ..., prisoner at the battle of Salerno, ii. 671, 758.
, ..., his ransom paid by the emperor, ii. 712, 754.
, ..., undertakes to drive the Venetians out of Puglia, ii. 875.
, ..., notice of, *Int.* xxxvi.

- Davalos, d' Aquino, letters to the emperor (1526) 347-8, 381, 422, 488, 539, 562; (1529), 12, 18-9.
-, to Castaldo, 427, 524; ii. 13.
-, to Lope de Soria, 399, 465.
-, to secretary Pero Garcia, ii. 312.
-, Hernando, marquis de Pescara:
-, his gallant behaviour at Pavia, 43, 49, 56, 62.
-, Carpi given to, in reward for his services, 105.
-, raises money for the support of the Italian army, 228.
-, occupies the marquisate of Saluzzo, 259; ii. 998.
-, claims the prince of Navarre, Henri d' Albret, as his prisoner, and asks to be allowed to fix his ransom, 268.
-, which the emperor refuses to grant, 423-4.
-, the command in chief of the Italian army, besides the dukedom of Sora, offered in compensation by Charles to, 303.
-, reasons for his non-acceptance of those grants, 304.
-, discontented, *ibid* and 364.
-, tempted by the pope with the crown of Naples if he will desert the emperor's cause, 441.
-, goes from Pavia to Milan, 427, 430.
-, feigns to accept the pope's offers, and secretly informs the emperor of the conspiracy, 909.
-, has Morone arrested and examined, 442, 460-1.
-, obliges the duke of Milan to take shelter within the castle, 457.
-, correspondence with Francesco Sforza, 259, 276.
-, borrows money for the support of the imperial army, 474, 800.
-, in bad health, 398, 491-2, 494, 504.
-, death on the 3rd of December (1525), 510-1, 528.
-, with symptoms of poison, *ibid*.
-, his body conveyed to Naples, 637.
-, appoints Guasto and Leyva to the command of the imperial forces, 511.
-, letters to king Henry VIII., 14
-, to the duke of Milan, 276.
-, notice of, *Int.* xxxiv-vi.
- Debts, the emperor's, to Henry, made by Wolsey the excuse for declaring war, (1527), ii. 207.
-, merchants of London offer to take them in payment of the last loan to Henry, *ibid*.
- Debts, negotiations respecting unpaid, 'to Henry and to Wolsey, ii. 3, 34, 193, 324, 809.
-, contracted by Bourbon, ii. 289.
-, owing to George Fruntsperg, for advances made to his Germans, ii. 667, 755, 853.
- Degues, *v.* Gues.
- Denia, Nicholas de, witnesses the act of adhesion to the league made by the Florentines, ii. 163.
-, marquis de, *v.* Sandoval y Rojas.
- Descudòs, *v.* Escudòs.
- Desençano, on the lake of Garda, meeting of Brunswick and Soria at, ii. 760.
- Delea? in Lombardy, ii. 307.
- Delmar, (?) Gaspar, colonel of German infantry, ii. 57.
- Des Maretz, *v.* Jonglet.
- Desmond, Desmont, Vismont, earl of, *v.* Fitzgerald.
- Despatches and letters, imperial, intercepted in France, 895.
- Despuch, *v.* Despuig.
- Despuig (pronounced *Despuich*), Francisco, vice-admiral of Naples:
-, death of, ii. 752.
- Diaz de Puebla, Ruy, grandson of Dr. Puebla, Spanish ambassador in England, 614.
- Diets or assemblies of Worms, 487.
- at Spires, ii. 956.
- to be held at Esslingen, ii. 2.
- at Inspruck, 896, 932.
- at Prague, 968, 1051, 1053.
- Augsburg, ii. 646.
- at Ratisbon, 666.
- dissolved owing to a misunderstanding of the provost of Waldtkirch, ii. 814-5.
- Diez de Peñalosa, Ruy, *v.* Peñalosa.
- Dilfus, Francis, ii. 914.
- Diviciis, Joan or Juan Battista di', 240, 418, 663.
- Divorce, first intelligence of the intended, conveyed in a letter from Don Inigo de Mendoza to the emperor, ii. 276.
-, as well as in a verbal message from Katharine through Francisco Felipez, ii. 277.
-, and in another through Montoya, 877, 884-5.
-, first idea of, suggested by Wolsey, ii. 193-4.
-, secret proceedings about the, commenced, ii. 194-5.
-, the, discussed by the king, Wolsey, and certain prelates, ii. 207.
-, the pope, by Don Inigo's advice, to be immediately informed of the fact, *ibid*.
-, secret proceedings about the, continued, ii. 209.
-, solicited at Orvieto, ii. 648.

- Divorce, an authentic copy of the dispensation brief much wanted in England to prevent the, ii. 789.
-, a lawyer to be appointed to counsel and defend the queen in the, case, ii. 804.
-, Henry informs the pope that the, is popular in England, and that the emperor will not care if the separation takes place, ii. 804-5.
-, Don Inigo instructed to protest against the case being tried in England, ii. 810.
-, and to challenge Wolsey if he finds that the legates have really a mandate from the pope, ii. 811.
-, opinion of the Paris theologians favourable to the, ii. 829-32.
-, Katharine allowed by Henry to send for Flemish, not Spanish, lawyers to defend her case in the, ii. 848.
-, new objections raised against the dispensation brief of Julius II., as conclusive for the, ii. 849.
-, the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of London and Rochester appointed Katharine's counsels, ii. 842.
-, notwithstanding which she sends to the Low Countries for two Flemish lawyers, *ibid.*
-, Campeggio appointed to examine the, case conjointly with Wolsey, ii. 844-6.
-, Bryan and Vannes sent to Rome to promote the, ii. 849.
-, inhibition against the, to be laid before Parliament, ii. 855.
-, protest entered by Muxetula at Rome, ii. 877, 885.
-, Clement unwilling to allow his legates (Campeggio and Wolsey) to try the case in England, ii. 877, 888.
-, notwithstanding which, Katharine is represented by the opposite party as willing, and glad of it, 885.
-, Clement assures the emperor that should the queen protest in due form, the case shall be tried before his court at Rome, ii. 890.
-, petitions and protests against the, ii. 667, 676-7.
-, ambassadors of the emperor and of his brother Ferdinand protest against the, ii. 877, 885.
-, positive orders sent to Campeggio respecting the, ii. 893.
-, parties in England to desist therefrom, and have the case referred to Rome, ii. 891.
-, in case of non-compliance with the pope and emperor's wishes, an appeal to be made to the next general council, *ibid.*
-, the authenticity of Julius' dispensation brief disputed at Rome, ii. 973.
- Dixar, *v.* Ixar.
- Dobení, *v.* Aubigny.
- Dodieu, Claude, his account of Francis' detention in Spain, ii. 184.
- Dodo, Nicolao, Venetian merchant in London, 73.
- Dominican friar, arrested at Orvieto, said to have been sent by Perez to assassinate the pope, ii. 690, 695.
-, native of Brittany, sent by Francis to Rome, ii. 831.
-, favours the imperial cause, *ibid.*
- Dom Prevost, *v.* Naturelli.
- Doria, Andrea, Genoese admiral in the service of France, ambassador Soria to negotiate with, 60.
-, openly favours the party of the Fregosi, 289, 341, 367, 611, 652, 667, 684, 694, 739, 758, 940.
-, and captures imperial galleys, 289, 297-8.
-, at sea with his fleet, in sight of Genoa, 297-8, 329, 612, 651, 686.
-, in the pope's pay, 645, 692, 705, 769-70.
-, becomes a regular privateer, 132, 612, 638, 651.
-, refuses to give up Civittà Vecchia to the imperialists, as agreed, unless his arrears be paid, ii. 234.
-, plan proposed by Soria to stop his piratical incursions, 667, 686.
-, approved of by the emperor on condition of its being executed out of the pope's dominions, 918.
-, probability of his taking service with the emperor, provided advantageous terms are offered to him (June 1527), ii. 234, 258.
-, hoists a white flag indicating that he is no longer in the service of France nor of the pope, ii. 259.
-, Clement tries to dissuade, from accepting the emperor's offers, ii. 771.
-, negotiations opened with, by the prince of Orange, ii. 727, 739, 758, 771, 940.
-, releases the prisoners of Salerno on the payment of a ransom, ii. 712, 754.
-, finally takes service under the emperor, ii. 765.
-, on the coast of Naples against the French and Venetians, ii. 768.
-, terms of his engagement, ii. 526.
-, ratified, ii. 752, 767, 770, 776, 785, 928, 937.
-, captures two French vessels with Lautrec's and Vaudemont's horses, luggage, &c., ii. 792.
-, obtains the supreme command at Genoa, ii. 828, 851.
-, prepares to attack Barletta and Trani, ii. 836.
-, takes possession of Savona, ii. 824.

Doria, Andrea, offers to land on the coast of Provence, *ibid.*
, and to strike a blow at Marseilles, ii. 859, 867, 904.
, or to attack Novi and Alessandria, ii. 867.
, offers made by Francis to, if he will persuade the Genoese to join the league against Charles, ii. 859.
, presents the emperor with a medal bearing the effigy of Soliman, ii. 866.
, letters to the emperor, ii. 575, 599, 605-6, 624, 639.
, Antonio, nephew of Andrea, ii. 694.
, Erasmo, abbot of Nero; signs at Madrid (10th August 1528) the terms of an agreement between his uncle Andrea and the emperor, ii. 765, 767.
, on a mission from his uncle Andrea, to Chalon, ii. 927-8.
, count Filippino, nephew of Andrea, 367.
, defeats a body of Spaniards between Monaco and Genoa, 1057.
, the imperial fleet at Capri, in the gulf of Salerno, ii. 151, 670-4.
, returns from Spain, 784.
, cardinal Hieronimo, a nephew of Andrea, ii. 824.
, the archbishopric of Tarento offered to, ii. 918.
, Caretto? Marco Antonio, prince of Melfi, ii. 727, *note*.
 Dormans, imperial messenger, 560-3.
 Dorotea, princess, daughter of Christiern II., king of Danmark, married to Frederic, palatine of the Rhine, ii. 146, *note*.
 Dorset, marquis of, *v.* Grey.
 Douarty, *v.* Warty.
 Douglas, Archibald, earl of Angus, raid made by, 17.
, letter to, 328.
, expelled from Scotland, ii. 821.
 Doyen, Eustace, French merchant; safe-conduct refused to, 34.
 Dovarty, Dourty, *v.* Warty.
 Dover, called Dobla by the Spaniards, 75.
 Drava, Drave, Drau, river of Hungary, 969.
 Duchessina, La, niece of Clement VII., *v.* Medici (Margharetta).
 Dugento, comte di, 72.
 Dunnes, the downs, ii. 484, 821.
 Dunkeld, bishop of, *v.* Cockburn.
 Duprat, Anthoine, chancellor of France, *v.* Prat.
 Duy (?), bastard brother of the duke of Bavaria, German captain, enters the service of the French in Italy, ii. 368.

E.

Easterlings, intelligence about the English fleet in the channel brought by a vessel of the, to Flanders, ii. 620.
 Eboracensis, Eboracense, *v.* York, cardinal of, and Wolsey.
 Edigio, cardinal, *v.* Egidio and San Matheo.
 Egidius (Edigio), cardinal of St. Matheo, a native of Viterbo, called also *Ægidius Viterbiensis*, 445; ii. 256.
, the pope intends sending, as his legate to Spain, ii. 973.
 Egmont or Egmond, Charles d', duke of Ghelders, 548; ii. 821, 849.
, Floris d', lord of Isselstein, and count of Buren, 31.
, to take the command of an English force for the invasion of France, 87, 91.
, count of, on a message to king Francis, 559.
, wounded, ii. 281.
, in command of the men-at-arms under Leyva, 281; ii. 320.
, John, count of Gavre, ii. 821.
, Lamoral, prince of Gavre, son of John, in command of the German cavalry, ii. 91, 130, 320.
 Einguer, agent of the Welzers in Spain, ii. 575.
 Elba, island of, in the estate of the prince of Piombino (Appiani), taken by the Turks, 509.
 Eleonor, Eleanor, Leonor, sister of Charles V., promised to Bourbon, betrothed to Francis I., 562.
, stands god-mother to prince Philip, ii. 220-3, 627, 661.
 Elna, bishop of, *v.* Vandeness.
 Embrun, in the Dauphiny, French artillery arrives at, ii. 308.
, archbishop of, *v.* Tournon.
 Enckwoert, Wilhelm, of Liege, cardinal-bishop of Tortosa, 824.
, illtreated by the Germans after the sack of Rome, ii. 946, 949.
, considered an imperialist, ii. 950.
 England, available forces of, for an invasion of Normandy (1525), 124.
, relations between Charles and, before the battle of Pavia, 6-12, 14-17, 23-25.
, reported rising of the peasants in, 174.
, Henry and Wolsey wish the peace with France to be settled by their mediation in, ii. 101.
, disaffection to the king, and hatred to the cardinal visible everywhere in, ii. 109.

- England, some merchants of, on hearing of the approaching betrothal of princess Mary to king Francis or to his son (the dauphin) withdraw all their goods from Flanders, as they are afraid of war breaking out again, ii. 155.
-, general discontent in, ii. 178.
- warlike preparations in, against which Don Iñigo remonstrates strongly, ii. 191, 194, 224, 229.
- Wolsey's assurance that no change has taken place in Henry's amicable relations with the emperor, ii. 272.
-, the merchants and people of, generally discontented, ii. 178, 190-1, 194, 228.
- forbidden to send their manufactures to Flanders, ii. 271.
-, Spanish ships seized at the mouth of the Thames, ii. 182, 206.
-, war declared by, and France to the emperor, ii. 548.
- a messenger arrives from Spain with the ratification of the truce with the Low Countries, ii. 784, 791.
-, king of, *v.* Henry VIII.
-, queen of, *v.* Katharine.
-, princess of, *v.* Mary.
-, admiral of, *v.* Norfolk, Lisle.
-, news letter from (1528), ii. 362.
- Engyfort? *v.* Enckwoërt.
- Ennio Filonardo, bishop of Veroli, generally called *Il Verulano*, his negotiations with the Switzers, 358, 364, 392, 424.
- suspected of plotting with Morone and the Venetians, 397-8.
-, letter to, from Gian Matheo Giberto (1526), 458.
- Enriquez, D. Fadrique, admiral of Castille, 616; ii. 996.
- Epila, a town in Aragon, usual residence of the count of Aranda, letter dated from, ii. 348.
- Epinoy, Espinoy, count of, restitution of lands to the, to be made before the peace (1525), 164.
- Ères *v.* Hyères.
- Erahin, Bassa, *v.* Ibrahim.
- Erasmus of Rotterdam, Desiderius, letter to chancellor Gattinara, ii. 178, 431.
-, from Alfonso de Valdés to, ii. 465, 641.
-, from the emperor to, 604.
-, from the archbishop of Toledo (Fonseca) to, ii. 479.
- Erbestain, *v.* *Herbstein*.
- Esbalciar, meaning of the verb, 675, *note*.
- Escalante, *v.* Chalante.
- Escealinga (Esslingen?), diet to be held at, ii. 2.
- Esclusia, *v.* Chiusa.
- Escu or Escun, Mons. de l', dies from his wounds at Pavia (5th March 1525), 106.
- Escudo, Mons. de, *v.* Escu.
- Escudos largos, gold crowns, called also *escudos del sol*, 406.
- Escudòs, Iñigo de, servant of the duke of Sessa, sent on a mission to Spain, 327.
- Escuelles? prisoners of, to be returned by England, 142.
- Esforcin, *v.* Sforzino.
- Esmeril, meaning of the word, ii. 216.
- Espada-fuera, *v.* Spatafora.
- Espagna, España, Spagna, agent of the viceroy of Naples, 296.
- Espagne, Cornille d', maitre d' hotel to the archduke, 26.
- Espès, *v.* Spes.
- Espinal, Geronimo del, secretary to Don Ugo de Moncada, called also *Spinar* and *Spinal*; sent with a message to Bourbon (1526), 863.
-, ... to Spain, 883, 901, 1005-6, 1008, 1018.
- Estampa, *v.* Stampa.
- Este, Alfonso d', duke of Ferrara, promises to lend money to the imperialists in consideration for Reggio and Rubiera, which he hopes to retain, 106-7.
-, ... presents the signory of Venice with eight galleys, 280.
-, ... prepares to visit the emperor in Spain, 342.
-, ... applies for a safe-conduct through France, 365, 410.
-, ... which is refused at the frontier, 447, 455.
-, ... returns to his estate in disgust, 493.
-, ... unwilling to give up Reggio and Rubiera, 619-20.
-, ... said to be in negotiation with the pope, 659, 824.
-, ... his terms for taking the emperor's part, and the chief command of the imperial forces, 883, 886.
-, ... Bourbon and Guasto unwilling to give up the command of the imperial army to, 863.
-, ... the agreement made with, more disagreeable to the pope and to the Venetians than the arrival in Italy of German reinforcements, 1029.
-, ... supplies provisions and artillery to the Germans under Frunzperg, 1035.
-, ... advises Lannoy to advance on Rome and make no agreement in which the Colonnese are not included, 1057.
-, ... efforts made to detach him from the emperor's alliance, ii. 10.
-, ... not heard of after his getting possession of Carpi, and the command in chief of the imperial forces, ii. 16.

Este, Alfonso d', duke of Ferrara, takes final leave of the pope and Venice, but promises not to undertake anything against the league, ii. 39.

....., ... most brilliant offers made to, by the pope and the confederates, ii. 76.

....., ... , which he declines, ii. 78.

....., ... sends artillery to the Germans under Fruntsperg, ii. 91.

....., ... money, provisions, and ammunition to Bourbon's camp, 130.

....., ... highly disapproves of the truce with the pope (October 1526), as he is likely to lose Modena and Reggio through it, ii. 120.

....., ... holds an interview at Finale with the commanders of the imperial forces, ii. 130.

....., ... and advises them to march at once on Florence and Bologna, *ibid.*

....., ... the command in chief of the imperial forces offered to, ii. 257.

....., ... refused on account of ill-health and the want of discipline of the soldiers, ii. 342, 352.

....., ... takes, however, possession of Modena and Carpi, ii. 258.

....., ... once master of those cities no longer condescends to answer Leyva's letters, ii. 317, 389.

....., ... solicited by Lautrec and the Venetians to forsake the emperor's cause, ii. 450.

....., ... ultimately joins the Clementine league, and signs the treaty, ii. 497.

....., ... contributes with 6,000 ducats monthly to the expenses of the war, ii. 540.

....., ... keeps, however, a sort of armed neutrality, ii. 541.

....., ... refuses to contribute with money and men towards the league on the plea that the pope will not ratify his convention with Cibo, ii. 542, 546.

....., ... sends an ambassador to Francis and to Louise de Savoie, ii. 543.

....., ... the marriage of his son Hercole with Renée de France first spoken of, *ibid.*

....., ... accomplished, ii. 755, 851, 874.

....., ... wavering policy a subject of, complained for the imperial agents, ii. 801.

....., ... considered by the emperor as a matter of course, owing to his character and antecedents, 816.

....., ... conversation of, with Lope de Soria at Reggio, explaining his conduct, ii. 851.

....., ... letters to the emperor, 257.

....., ... to his ambassador [Casella] at Rome, ii. 6.

....., ... to his ambassador at Venice, ii. 146.

....., ... to Alonso Sanchez, ii. 140.

Este, Alfonso d', duke of Ferrara, letters from the emperor to, ii. 199.

....., Beatrice d', of the house of Ferrara, married to Lodovico II Moro, duke of Milan, 910.

....., Hercole d', son of the preceding, the command of the Florentine forces offered to, ii. 250.

....., ... proposed marriage of, to Renée de France, ii. 650, 657.

....., ... effected, ii. 755, 851, 874.

....., ... in treaty with the Florentines and the league, ii. 852.

....., Hippolito d', cardinal of Ferrara, ii. 354.

....., ... the bishopric of Modena and archbishopric of Ferrara offered by the pope and the league to, ii. 450.

Estella, town of Navarre, taken by the French.

Esten (?), Mons. d', lieutenant of the marquis de Saluzzo, endeavours to detach the duke of Ferrara from the emperor's alliance, ii. 89.

Estibal, meaning of, ii. 42.

Estrella, la, galley commanded by commander Ycart, 179.

Estretes, *v.* Straëts.

Esturione, Giorgio, Venetian agent in France, 561.

Etchingham, Osborne, returns from Spain with a letter from the emperor to king Henry, 1022, 1039; ii. 18.

....., ... detained by illness in France, ii. 33, 35, 102.

Eufredutio? Girolamo, a familiar of Silvio Passerino (1527), 162.

Evangelista, one of the pope's secretaries countersigns briefs, ii. 111, 117.

Exchange, bills of, protests of, for non-payment by the Genoese bankers, intercepted in France, 81, 895.

Exea, priorate of, in Aragon, its incorporation in the crown of Spain refused by Clement VII., 357, 610, 664, 697.

Exeter, lord, ii. 108.

....., marquis of, 211, *v.* Grey.

F.

Faber Stapulin, Jean, Austrian ambassador in London (1527), delivers an oration before Henry II., 156.

....., ... treatment of, by the king of France, ii. 431.

Faenza, city in the Rom. Stat., Lautrec at, ii. 544.

Fajardo, D. Luis, marquis de los Velez, report of his appointment to be viceroy of Naples, ii. 584.

Falces, marquis de, Aragonese nobleman, 664.

Falconer (?), Mons., 845.

Falemme (Falemue, Falemua), *v.* Falmouth.

- Fano, bishop of, *v.* Ghorio.
- Fantopini or *Fantopines* (fanti del Perineo?), meaning of the word, 948.
-, under the marquis of Saluzzo, 983.
-, under Lautrec, 1030-1.
-, soldiers from Gascony and other countries bordering on the Pyrenees, frequently used by France, 1030-1; *ii.* 540.
- Farfa, abbot of, *v.* Orsino (Napoleone).
- Farfacelo Farfadelo, Italian condottiere, *v.* Farfarelo.
- Farfarelo, (also written *Farfacelo* and *Farfadelo*), Italian condottiere in the Venetian service:
-, his attack on Monte Rotondo unsuccessful, 427, 430.
- Farnese, cardinal Alessandro, afterwards pope Paul III., president of the college of cardinals, 1046.
-, ... with two more cardinals (Orsino and Cesarino), in Campidoglio, proposing a subscription of 60,000 ducats for the pope, *ii.* 162.
-, ... appointed papal legate in Spain, *ii.* 253.
-, ... the Germans dissatisfied with his nomination, *ii.* 312.
-, ... escapes from Rome under the pretence of going to Civittà Vecchia to embark, *ii.* 387.
-, ... joins some of his colleagues at Mantua, *ibid.*
-, ... letter of credence in favour of, *ii.* 288.
-, ... instructions to, *ii.* 280.
-, ... at Viterbo with Clement, *ii.* 741, 791.
-, ... legate at Rome, in the room of Campeggio, abandons his post, *ii.* 791.
-, ... his conferences with Mai, *ii.* 949-50.
-, ... Ottavio, *ii.* 146, *note.*
-, Pier Luigi, son of the cardinal, serves the emperor in Calabria, *ii.* 93, 713.
-, ... Castro, a strong place belonging to, taken by the confederates, *ii.* 527.
-, ... considered a staunch imperialist, *ii.* 948-9.
-, Ranuccio, Italian condottiere in the papal service, at Santangelo with Clement, *ii.* 236.
-, ... at Lucera in the Capitanata, 833.
-, ... death of, mentioned, *ii.* 949.
- Felgel, Herr A. V., *Int.* *iii.*
- Felice, Mezer or Mesire, bishop of *Civittà Vecchia* and *Chieti*? appointed by Clement to conduct the business of the dataria at Rome, 805; *ii.* 9.
-, ... addresses the Spaniards assembled in the church of Santiago at Rome, 974.
- Felice, madame, daughter of pope Julius, and second wife of Giangiordano Orsini, places herself and her two sons under the emperor's protection, *ii.* 949, 959.
-, ... *v.* Trophimo.
- Felicin (Felcino), Rom. Stat., lord of, *v.* Gaetano (Cesare).
- Felipez (Phillips, Philip, &c.), Francisco, queen Katharine's servant; takes a message to the emperor about the divorce, *ii.* 277, 300, 302, 345-6.
- Feltri, bishop of, *v.* Campeggio.
- Feramosca, Ferramosca, Fieramosca, Cesare or Cesaro, first equerry to the emperor (1526-7).
-, ... sent by Charles on a mission to Clement, and with letters for the Orsini at Rome, 997-8, 1004, 1022, 1028, 1052.
-, ... arrives in Naples, *ii.* 57.
-, ... at Rome, with Fr. Francisco de los Angeles, and sir John Russell, (18th February 1527), 40, 55, 57, 76-7.
-, ... angry at his being included in the papal monitory letters to the Neapolitan barons, *ii.* 43.
-, ... negotiates with the pope, and takes messages to Lannoy, *ii.* 86, 91, 94.
-, ... goes back to Rome with the emperor's ultimatum, *ii.* 119, 159, 161, 163.
-, ... to Sienna to meet Lannoy, *ii.* 161.
-, ... to Bourbon's camp to arrest, if possible, his march on Rome, *ii.* 166.
-, ... interview of, with that general, *Int.* *ii.* xi-xvii.
-, ... the government of Barletta given to, *ii.* 610.
-, ... slain at the naval battle of Salerno, *ii.* 671, 674, 679.
-, ... *v.* Aferramosca.
-, ... notice of, *Int.* *ii.* xi-xvii.
- Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, brother of Charles V., king of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, reinforces the imperial camp at Pavia, 22, 26.
-, ... makes his excuses for not being present at the battle, 89.
-, ... claims of, on Venice unsettled, 280, 292.
-, ... to be made king of Tuscany, 647.
-, ... unable to send more reinforcements to Lombardy owing to the Hungarian war, 933.
-, ... after the death of king Louis of Hungary without posterity claims the kingdoms of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, *ibid.*
-, ... pledges his crown jewels and the revenues of the ducal chamber at Innsbruck to raise money, 934, 938.
-, ... letters from the, to Bourbon intercepted by the Venetians, 944.

- Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, the emperor's assistance to, 1026.
-, elected king of Bohemia at the diet of Prague (16th December 1526), 1051; ii. 44.
-, of Hungary (2nd August 1527), ii. 10.
-, ambassador of, at Venice, *v.* Burgo.
-, in Spain, *v.* Salinas.
-, in Rome, *v.* Salamanca.
-, applies for the investiture of Milan, ii. 338.
-, which the emperor promises to him, ii. 547.
-, advised by Salinas and others to go over to Italy, ii. 455.
-, mistrusts the pope, ii. 737.
-, letters to the emperor, 41.
-, to Martin de Salinas, ii. 425.
-, to Alonso Sanchez, 102, 569; ii. 333, 346, 374, 447.
- Fermo, city in the Rom. Est., 596-7.
- Fermoy (Firma), in Cork, 991.
-, letter dated from, ii. 678.
- Fernandez, Gonzalo, chaplain to Charles; instructions to, for his embassy to the earl of Desmond in Ireland, ii. 632.
-, doctor Juan, death at Rome of (1427), ii. 195, 244.
-, de Cordoba, D. Diego, third count of Cabra, *Int.* xxi; 265, 456.
-, D. Francisco, *Int.* xxi.
-, Gonzalo, surnamed the great captain, *Int.* xxi.
-, another, son of D. Luis, duke of Sessa, 865, *note.*
- de Cordova, D. Luis, duke of Sessa, imperial ambassador at Rome, and vice-gerant in Italy, negotiations of, with the pope, 103.
-, complains that no confidence is placed in him, and resigns, 411, 444.
-, leaves Rome for Naples, 798, 802, 804.
-, returns and dies (18th Aug. 1526), 638, 843, 883.
-, vicar-general in Italy, notice of, *Int.* xxi.
-, letters to the emperor (1525), 23, 87, 88, 94, 118, 134, 135, 140, 150, 153, 157, 172, 186, 201, 202, 210, 221, 244, 258, 260, 267, 272, 279, 285-6, 298, 300; (1526), 360, 387, 395, 412, 419, 426, 435, 437, 439, 447.
-, to Pescara, 235.
-, letters and instructions to, 68, 69.
-, D. Pedro, brother of the preceding, *Int.* xxi.
- de la Cueva, Don Francisco, duke of Alburquerque, ii. 727, *note.*
-, Osorio, *v.* Alvarez y Osorio.
- de Quiñones, *v.* Quiñones.
- Fernandez de Velasco, D. Iñigo, duke of Frias, constable of Castille, *Int.* xix, 3.
- recovers Fontarrabia, 618, *note.*
- the keeping of the sons of Francis entrusted to, ii. 3.
- to be one of the sponsors to prince Philip, ii. 220.
- sent to Fontarrabia to prepare the field for the single combat between Charles and Francis II., ii. 739.
-, death of (1st October 1528), ii. 818.
-, Don Pedro, son of the preceding, count of Haro, sixth constable or Castille, duke of Frias, &c., ii. 99, 618.
-, succeeds his father Don Iñigo, ii. 883.
-, Francis' sons under the custody of, *ibid.* ii. 99, 618.
- Fernando, Dom, infante of Portugal, 369; ii. 620.
-, Maestro, physician to Clement VII., sent to attend Lannoy, ii. 394.
- *v.* Vitoria.
- Ferrandez della Cuesta, Joan, equerry to cardinal Pompeo Colonna, ii. 858.
- Ferrara, a native of, residing in France, sent on a mission to Venice, ii. 150.
-, ambassador of, in Rome, *v.* Cassella.
-, letters dated from, ii. 15, 33, 237, 299, 310-11.
-, duke of, *v.* Este.
- Ferrars, Giovan Battista, Genoese banker, ii. 509.
-, Marco, from Pavia, 162.
-, Thomasso, 509.
- Ferrer, Bartholomé, treasurer at Barcelona, appointed to receive and forward Italian dispatches, 119, 254, 884; ii. 611, 757.
- Ferrette, county of, Lutherans in the, 90, 295.
- estates in, belonging to the ducal family of Wurtemberg, to be obtained in exchange for others in Austria or Hungary, ii. 2.
- Fieschi, de', *v.* Fiesco.
- Fiesco, Fiescho, Pietro Luca da, and his brother recommended to the emperor by doge Adorno, 1052.
-, count Senibaldo, appointed governor of Pontremoli, 856.
-, contracts to build and arm certain galleys for the emperor, ii. 258, 288-9, 371.
-, after the loss of Genoa, shelters Adorno, Soria, and others in his estate, ii. 345, 347, 795.
- Figouroelle, *v.* Figueroa.
- Figueroa, captain Diego de, 289, 792, 803.
-, murdered at Porto Ercole (1527), ii. 389.

- Figueroa, Doña Maria de, duchess of Ter-
ranova, *Int.* xxi, 834, 865.
..... *v.* Suarez de Figueroa.
Filiberto, condottiere, 803.
Finale, in the Modenese, ii. 89.
....., interview of the duke of Ferrara and
the imperial commanders at, ii. 130.
Firma, *v.* Fermoy.
Finisterre, cape, in Galicia, 338.
Firenze, Ambrosio di, French ambassador in
Venice, ii. 255, 446, 451.
....., Henry's agent in Venice, *ibid.*
Firenzuola (Fiorenzola), Lautrec encamped at,
ii. 471.
Fischer, John, bishop of Rochester, appointed
member of the queen's council in the
divorce trial, ii. 842.
Fisheries, negotiations with the Low Countries
respecting the, 34, 131, 147, 148, 152,
169.
....., Wolsey's declaration concerning the,
and safe-conducts, 195.
Fitzgerald, James, twelfth earl of Desmond,
ii. 833, 991, 993.
....., ... his petition to the emperor,
ii. 680.
....., ... letters, ii. 678-9.
Fitz Roy, Henry, earl of Nottingham and duke
of Richmond, natural son of Henry
VIII., to be made king of Ireland,
ii. 109.
....., ... his father the king and princess
Mary to renounce their rights in his
favour, ii. 117.
....., ... queen Katharine and the Eng-
lish much dissatisfied in consequence,
ii. 110.
....., ... proposed marriage between,
and one of the daughters of the king
of Denmark, ii. 423, 908.
Fitz Walter, lord, created viscount of Aigre-
mont, 211.
Fitz-William, William, captain or governor of
Guisnes, 92, 212.
..... proposed for an embassy to
Charles, 92.
..... sent to France for the ratification
of the peace, ii. 402, 464, 483.
Fivizzanese, II, ii. 999.
Flanders, Francis threatens to invade, ii. 109.
..... conjointly with Henry, 793; ii. 648.
....., a lawyer to come to London from, to
help D. Inigo in the negotiations for
the general peace, ii. 111.
....., the frontiers of, to be prepared
against an attack from France or
England, ii. 221.
....., prohibition to English ships to lade
for, or Spain, ii. 229.
....., truce between, and France disapproved
by the emperor, ii. 738.
Flandre, Louis de, *v.* Præst.
Flemings in England, ordered to quit London
and not allowed to exercise their
various crafts, ii. 862, 887.
Fleuranges, Mons. de, 165, *v.* La Mark.
Flisco, *v.* Fiesco.
Florence, Lannoy advised to march on, and
restore its liberties, 1029.
....., revolution in, promoted by the Sal-
viati, Strozzi, and Soderini, ii. 88.
..... joins the league, ii. 162.
....., Pisa and Leghorn to be taken from,
and their fortifications to be demolished,
ii. 204.
..... raises 7,000 infantry to engross the
army of the confederates, ii. 255.
....., in consequence of which most citizens
abandon the place, *ibid.*
....., disturbances in, ii. 175, 225.
....., the Medici expelled from, ii. 200, 226,
234, 264.
....., revolution in, ii. 917.
....., rule of the Medici to be re-established
in, with the emperor's assistance, ii.
794.
....., ambassador of, in Spain, *v.* Corsi.
....., letter dated from, ii. 49.
..... *v.* Firenze.
Florentines, money claimed by Charles from
the, 105.
..... (1526) attack the Siennese, 801.
..... defeated, 821.
..... send a Bohemian or German bishop
to Fruntsperg's camp to compound and
make terms, 1036.
..... desert the city in numbers from fear of
a sack, 1054.
..... in terrible fear of Bourbon's army,
ii. 120.
..... implore Clement not to be the cause of
their destruction and ruin, *ibid.*
..... offer money to Bourbon if he will not
attack them, ii. 160.
..... send to Clement a man of their own
to inquire what they are to do in the
event of Bourbon attacking them,
ii. 161.
..... promise to join the league against the
emperor, ii. 162.
..... agreement drawn on that occasion,
ii. 57.
..... make a separate treaty with the
league independently of the pope,
ii. 176.
..... revolt against the Medici, and expel
them from the city, ii. 258, 264.
..... take possession of Leghorn and Pisa,
ibid.
..... renew their engagements with the
league, principally out of fear of the
Venetians and of France, ii. 287.
..... impose a tax on their clergy without
the pope's sanction, ii. 657.
..... refuse to admit Renzo da Ceri from
fear of the pope, ii. 808.

- Florentines but willingly furnish him means for the invasion of the Abruzzi, *ibid.*
 send an embassy to Genoa, ii. 913.
 Foggia (Foggia in the Capitanata of Naples); surrenders to the confederates, ii. 610, 675.
 Foglieta, Micer Agostino, a staunch imperialist, 118, 189, 414, 440, 443, 661, 1009, 1035.
 deprived by the pope of his seat in the council, 238.
 his advice respecting the government of Rome, ii. 203.
 ill-treated by the Germans and Spaniards during the sack of Rome, ii. 204.
 killed by accident, ii. 228, 235.
 father of, regent of the Summaria at Naples, ii. 661.
 Foix, André de, sieur d' Asparroz, brother of Lautrec, 616.
 Catherine of, last queen of Navarre, ii. 937, *note*, 1004.
 count of, *v.* Albret.
 Germaine de, widow of king Ferdinand, marries the marquis de Brandenburg. Restitution to be made to, 165; ii. 787.
 married at Seville (May 1526) to Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, 692.
 Jean de, archbishop of Bordeaux.
 Odet de, *v.* Lautrec.
 Candalle, Margaret de, daughter of John de Foix, count of *Candalle*, second wife of Louis II., marquis of Saluzzo; war contribution to be paid by, to the imperialists, 103.
 her estate occupied by Pescara and Guasto, 250.
 Folch de Cardona, don Ramon, duke of Cardona, ii. 1006.
 Foligno (Rom. Stat.), to be added to the other towns which Clement is to give as security for the capitulation of Rome, ii. 430.
 Lautrec said to be marching on, to prevent its surrender to the imperialists, ii. 545.
 Folleta, *v.* Foglieta.
 Fonseca [y Azevedo], D. Alonso, archbishop of *Santiago* and of *Toledo*, ii. 100, 220.
 declines the post of ambassador to the pope, ii. 738.
 befriends Erasmus, ii. 914.
 appointed councillor of state, ii. 818, 925.
 letter to Erasmus (1528), ii. 479.
 Fontarrabia and Fuenterrabia, in Guipuscoa, recovered from the French (30th June 1524), 618, *note*, 619.
 Fonwillem, *v.* Fitz William.
 Foraxidos, meaning of the Spanish word, 156, *v.* Fuorusciti.
 Forlin, *v.* Foligno.
 Fornari, Fornariis, Domenico de', banker in Naples, 819; ii. 687.
 Giovan Battista, banker in Genoa, 819; ii. 644-6, 688, 698, 754, 774, 783, 835, 852.
 Thomasso, 669, 819.
 Fortuna, servant of the marquis de Astorga, ii. 262.
 Foscari, Marco, Venetian ambassador in Rome, 257, 725, 893.
 on a mission to Florence, ii. 41, 163.
 Fouchers, *v.* Fuggers.
 Fox, Dr. Edward, sent by Henry to the pope, ii. 648.
 Fraga in Aragon, letter dated from, ii. 674.
 Fragosi, *v.* Fregoso.
 Francavilla, duchess of, ii. 724, 728, 745.
 letters to the emperor, ii. 472, 481, 499.
 France, to be invaded by the English and imperialists conjointly, 18, 27, 30, 31.
 new plans for the invasion of, after the battle of Pavia made and discussed between Wolsey and the imperial ambassadors, 77, 81, 86-8, 92-3.
 Wolsey prefers Normandy to Picardy as the point of attack, 109, 118-9.
 Wolsey declares to Jonglet that the general estates will never consent to a dismemberment of, 344.
 the dauphin of, to be preferred to his father for the hand of princess Mary of England, ii. 123-4.
 chancellor of, *v.* Prat.
 admiral of, *v.* Bonnavet.
 grand master of, *v.* Savoie.
 news from, ii. 300.
 the sons of, (the dauphin and the duke of Orleans,) to be kept as hostages for their father in Spain, 615.
 confined at Villalpando, ii. 3.
 removed to Simancas, ii. 548.
 the ambassadors of, take leave of the emperor at Burgos, ii. 549-51.
 Francesco, Antonio di, the bishopric of Mazzara in Sicily to be conferred upon, 189.
 Hieronimo di, lieutenant of the council of the Summaria at Naples, called also *Frantjo* and *Frantjo*, 235, 249, 288, 290, 299, 310, 795, 834; ii. 349, 680, 838.
 letters to the emperor, ii. 424.
 to secretary Pero Garcia, ii. 581, 584.
 Franchel, also called Frange, Mons. de, *v.* Frangel.
 Francfort, 99.
 Francis I., king of France, defeated and taken prisoner at Pavia, 50, 56-7, 58-9, 61.

- Francis I., king of France, confined in the castle of Pizzighitone, 103.
 demands made from, 10, 62.
 taken by Lannoy to Spain, 180.
 not at all pleased with his voyage thither, *ibid.*
 tries to conceal his displeasure, *ibid.*
 conveyed to Madrid, 201.
 dangerously ill there, 362, 463, 495.
 visited by the emperor, 362.
 and by the duchess of Alençon, *ibid.*
 will rather die in prison than give up Burgundy, 464.
 recovers his liberty, 562, 574.
 returns to France, 564, 569, 615-19.
 receives congratulations from Henry, the Venetians, and the pope, 606.
 unwilling to ratify the articles of the Madrid convention relative to the cession of Burgundy, 639-40.
 breaks his arm in hunting, 766.
 secretly favours the Italian league, and remits money to the pope and the Venetians, 894.
 sends one of his chamberlains to Clement, 1048.
 candidate for the crown of Bohemia, 1053.
 proposes to marry princess Mary of England, ii. 101.
 and yet writes very sweet letters to Eleonor, whom he calls his wife, *ibid.*, 184, *note*.
 his engagements to the viceroy before he left for Spain, ii. 113.
 which Don Inigo pretends to ignore in his conferences with Wolsey, ii. 114, 117.
 promises to place at the pope's disposal one million and a half of gold, if he will again join the league, ii. 137.
 makes an alliance with Henry, ii. 171-3.
 proposes to meet Wolsey at Abbeville, ii. 228.
 ambassadors of, in Spain ask for leave at Burgos (1528), ii. 548, 550-1.
 and declare war, *ibid.*
 refuses to give up Genoa before the delivery of his sons, ii. 563.
 imposes a tax on the clergy of his dominions with the pope's consent, ii. 9, 608.
 challenges Charles to personal combat, ii. 638.
 the emperor's answer to, on the occasion, ii. 640.
- Francis I., king of France, complains to Cap-pino, the papal nuncio, of having been ill-treated during his captivity, ii. 656.
 dangerously ill again, ii. 748, 689, 768.
 taking "lignum vitæ" for his peculiar disease, ii. 816.
 the emperor's orders to the constable of Castille respecting the custody and treatment of the sons of, ii. 883.
 dauphin of France, delivered as hostage with his brother, the duke of Orleans, ii. 574, 615.
- Franconia, monasteries in, sacked by the Lutheran peasants (1525), 174.
- Fransperg, Franspergue, *v.* Fruntsperg.
- Frangé, *v.* Franchel.
- Frangebambz, count Cristofle, *v.* Frangepan.
- Frangel (Frangé, Franchel?), governor of Fontarrabia, in Guipuscoa, surrenders to the Spaniards, 618.
 is disgraced in consequence, *ibid.*
- Frangepan (Frangipani?), count Christopher; a Hungarian noble, makes league with the French, 89.
 threatens to invade the archduke's dominions, 89-90.
 agent of, taken prisoner by the governor of Maran, 90.
 brother of, at the court of France, with a mission from the Turk, 717.
 friar confessor of, ii. 665.
 ban of Croatia?, 987.
- Frangipani, count Trasmundo, quoted, ii. *Int.* 201.
- Fransperch, Fransperghe, *v.* Wranspergh and Fruntsperg, 984.
- Franciscans, general of the, *v.* Los Angeles, Quinoñes, and Santacroce.
- Frantopines, *v.* Fantopini.
- Frantso, *Frantço* or *Francesco*, Hieronymo de, lieutenant of the Summaria at Naples.
 in Spain, ii. 583.
 letters to secretary Pedro Garcia (1528), 343, 581, 584, 595.
 *v.* Francesco.
- Frascati (Rom. Stat.), taken from the Colon-nese, 1007.
- were attacked by the Germans, ii. 582.
 the abbot of Farfa defeated near, ii. 741.
- Frederic, count palatine of the Rhine, competitor for the crown of Bohemia, 1053.
 recommended by archduke Ferdinand for the vice-royalty of Naples, ii. 572, 817.
 duke of Schlesswick and Holstein, ii. 682, *note*.
 duke of Saxony, 907.

- Fregosi, family and faction of the, opposed to the Adorni, 427.
- negotiating at Rome, and in great favour with the pope's datary, 282-3.
-, restoration of the, proposed by the imperial commanders, 316.
-, union of the, and Adorni in contemplation at Genoa, 1001.
- Fregoso, Cesare, son of Giano or Janus, also called *Campo Fragoso* (1528), governor of Pavia, 684.
- commands the forces in the attack of Genoa, ii. 863.
-, Federigo, archbishop of *Salerno*, in command of the French fleet, 821, 851.
- enters the port of Savona (14th August 1526), 883, 940.
-, Giano or Janus, ii. 358.
-, Niccolo or Nicolao, levies troops for the attack of Siena, 407, 426.
-, Ottaviano, commands the French forces against Genoa, ii. 801.
- Frenchmen described as very cunning and pliant until they have gained their object, 615.
- have a bad opinion of their king, *ibid.*
-, many leave the kingdom on the return of Francis from captivity, *ibid.*
-, the majority of the, think that all engagements taken by their king, whilst in captivity, are null and void, 616.
- Frenespergh, Frenespergue, *v.* Fruntsperg.
- Freselon *v.* Frosinone.
- Fresnes, sieur de, *v.* Le Viste.
- Frias, duke of, *v.* Fernandez de Velasco.
-, Sancho de, lieutenant of Antonio de Leyva, with only 15 men-at-arms routs a body of 150 hackbutiers, 946.
- Frigoli, *v.* Friuli.
- Frioli (Friuli, Frioul), 90, 133, 810, 940.
-, Lutheran peasants said to have arrived in the, for the purpose of invading Venice, ii. 672.
- Frosinone, a city in the Rom. Stat. (Freselon, Frusinone, &c.), defended by the "Bande Nere," ii. 40, 55.
-, Lannoy's defeat at, by the papal troops, ii. 71, 117, 307.
- communicated to Gambara in London, ii. 74.
- Froude, James Anthony, alluded to, *Int.* iii.
- Fruntsperg (Fransbergh, Frenespergue, Frondsperg, Wransperg, &c.), Gaspar, son of George; dies of the plague at Rome, ii. 306, 753, 853.
-, George, captain-general of the lansquenets in Italy, 22, 50, 57.
-, leads another German army into Lombardy, 768, 840, 890, 902, 932-4, 938-9, 944, 1006, 1031, 1035.
-, arrests and hangs an emissary of the pope, 1057.
- Fruntsperg, George, &c., operates his junction with Bourbon, ii. 9, 38.
-, at Rome with one of his sons, ii. 306.
-, negotiating at Ferrara, ii. 383.
-, recommended to the emperor, ii. 753-4.
-, claims of, unsettled, ii. 667, 755, 853.
-, reported to be again on his way to Lombardy with reinforcements, ii. 795.
-, letter to the emperor, ii. 194.
-, to the archduke, ii. 19.
-, notice of, *Int.* xxxviii; ii. xxxiv.
- Fuggers (Fouchers), commercial house of the; their agent in London, 50, 51, 63, 84, 103.
-, in Spain, ii. 337.
- Fundi (Fondi), in Naples, ii. 75.
- attacked by Garci Manrique and the Spaniards, ii. 781.
- claimed by Ascanio Colonna as his inheritance, ii. 850.
- Fuorusciti or fuora usciti, outlaws; negotiations at Venice respecting the, 431-2.
- of Sienna, 264, 517, 804, 818.
-, their various attempts to invade the territory of that republic defeated, 830, 832, 893.
- of Milan, 482-3.
- of Aquila and the Abbruzzi, 995; ii. 75, 77.
- of Lucca; make common cause with the Florentines, and join them against Sienna, 333.
- Furstenberg, count, the estates of, disposed of by the archduke, ii. 381.
- Furtado, *v.* Hurtado de Mendoza.

G.

- Gachard, his *Analectes pour l'histoire de Belgique*, quoted, ii. 689, *note*.
- Gaddi [Pignatello], Nicolao, a Florentine; created cardinal by Clement (May 1527), ii. 200.
-, proposed as one of the hostages for the capitulation of Rome, ii. 232.
-, loses all his property at the sack, ii. 829.
-, considered a staunch imperialist, and recommended for the archbishopric of Cosenza in Naples, ii. 365, 951.
-, the bishopric of Cadiz (in Spain) given to a nephew of, 456.
-, letter to the emperor (1528), ii. 577.

- Gaeta, warder of, goes back to Spain, 443.
, the viceroy's fleet sails for, 1003.
, defended by commander La Rosa, ii. 553, 727.
, 600 Spaniards from Sicily land at, ii. 636.
, cardinal Pompeo Colonna at, ii. 673.
, Doria's galleys arrive at, ii. 770, 776.
, letters dated from, ii. 168, 404, 418.
- Gaetano, lord of Sermoneta, saves the crew of an imperial galley wrecked on the coast of Terracina, 1048.
, ..., wrongly suspected of being in secret understanding with the lord of Felicin, his kinsman, ii. 561.
, ..., in the imperial service, ii. 568.
, Cesare, lord of Felicin, suspected of having joined the league, ii. 561, 568, 581.
, d' Aragona, Federigo or Fadrique, count of Fundi, eldest son of Luigi, duke of Traietto, serves under Lautrec, ii. 553, 720, 771.
, ..., taken prisoner and confined in Castilnovo, ii. 792.
, ..., tried and executed, ii. 856, 865.
, ..., Hernando or Ferrante, ii. 771.
, ..., Lodovico, *ibid.*
, Luigi, duke of Traietto, accompanies Francis in his voyage to Spain, 179.
, ..., arrives at Rome, ii. 160.
, ..., leaves for Naples, ii. 162.
- Gaiazzo, Alonso di, lieutenant of his brother, count Lodovico, signs the capitulation of Rome, ii. 233.
, Lodovico Conte di, Italian condottiere, offers his services to the emperor, 287.
, ..., employed by Guasto and Leyva, 776, 797, 816.
, ..., one of his servants taken prisoner in France, 859.
, ..., deserts, and takes the command of the "Bande Nere," ii. 72, 90, 761.
, ..., his estate in Sicily confiscated, and bought by count Burrello, ii. 761.
, ..., in command of the Venetian infantry, ii. 873.
- Galara, Gallarata, village near Milan, in Lombardy:
, Gian Francesco da, 514, 569, 999.
, Luigi, a Milanese, ii. 371, 421, 514, 999.
- Galera, in the Milanese (?), ii. 494.
, (Rom. Stat.), the abbot of Farfa at, ii. 494, 498.
- Galfridius, Galfrigidius (Geoffrey ?), secretary to the earl of Desmond, sent on an embassy to Charles, ii. 833-4.
, ..., also called Gere, Jere, and Xere, *ibid.*
- Galindez de Carvajal, Dr. Lorenzo, 663.
- Galleys, the, of Rhodes, and two more of France, ordered to convey Montmorency to Spain, 290.
, Soria advises to have them embargoed on their arrival, *ibid.*
, papal galleys retained in Spain, and their captains compelled to take Spanish infantry on board, 311, 326.
, to be got ready at Genoa for the passage of Charles to Italy, 621.
- Galliot de Genouillac, Jacques, seneschal d' Armagnac, in command of the artillery at Pavia, his nephew slain, 49.
- Gallipoli (Otranto), holds out against the Venetians, ii. 677.
- Gambara, count, 499.
, ..., Sessa's letter to the emperor in favour of, 285.
, Umberto di, prothontary, vice-legate, and bishop of Tortona (1528), 499.
, ..., appointed papal nuncio in England, 605, 732.
, ..., sent to France on a mission, ii. 565.
, ..., which is unsuccessful, ii. 608.
, ..., on good terms with Alonso Sanchez, to whom he furnishes information respecting the plans of the confederates, ii. 870.
- Garay, Dr. Pedro, a Spaniard, attends the meeting at Paris of the theologians appointed by the university of Paris to give their opinion on the divorce case, ii. 829-30.
- Garcia, Geronimo, son of Pero Garcia, one of Charles' secretaries, ii. 254.
, secretary Pero, 551-2, 565, 581, 857-8, 998; ii. 345.
, ..., chevalier Billia's affidavit respecting, 318.
, ..., letters to, ii. 312, 581, 584, 595.
- Garda, lake of, Soria and doge Adorno meet Brunswick at Desenzano on the, ii. 760.
- Gardiner, Dr. Stephen, king's almoner and Wolsey's secretary, sent by Henry to the pope (1528), ii. 648, 885, 893.
- Garigliano, river of Naples, to be passed by Vaudemont, ii. 75.
, count Maddalone sent to the, ii. 720.
, the passes of, occupied by the confederates, ii. 731.
- Garninghem, v. Jerningham.
- Garro, Spanish soldier serving under Gian Paolo Sforza; taken prisoner, ii. 305.
- Gascons, Lautrec's army chiefly composed of, 993; ii. 421, 734.
, count Pedro Navarro in command of the, before Naples, ii. 569.
- Gascony, duchy of, 62.
- Gasinar, captain of German peasants, a friend of, likely to go over to the confederates, 944.

- Gaspar, Argellensis, his appointment as papal nuncio to the diet of Spires objected to by Burgo, ii. 956.
-, German captain, *v.* Fruntsparg and Mar and Delmar.
- Gastadores, in Italian "gustatori," 407, *note*.
- Gastaldo, *v.* Castaldo.
- Gasto, *v.* Guasto and Vasto.
- Gatta or Catta, captain, a native of Gascony, one of Bourbon's followers, executed at Naples for treason, ii. 722.
- Gattinaria (Gattinara), in Piedmont, the confederates under the marquis of Saluzzo march on, 983.
- Gattinara, Giovan Bartholomeo da, bishop of *Moriana*, imperial agent in Rome, (1525-6), 118, 137, 148-9, 157, 202, 204, 660.
-, takes to Spain the draft of the treaty concluded between Clement and the emperor, 137.
-, commissary-general to the imperial army, ii. 92, 120, 125, 230, 160, 663.
-, to be rewarded with a cardinal's hat, 160, 663.
-, chancellor for the crown of Aragon, 922.
-, present at the sack of Rome, ii. 201.
-, writes an account of it, ii. 214-5.
-, which is wrongly attributed to the grand chancellor Mercurino, ii. *Int.* xix.
-, goes to Sant Angelo to negotiate with the pope, ii. 201, 213, 225, 231.
-, and is wounded by the infuriated Germans owing to Clement's delay in accepting their terms, ii. 201, 250.
-, takes possession for the emperor of Parma, Piacenza, and Lucca, ii. 250.
-, robbed by peasants, ii. 291.
-, letters to the emperor or to the grand chancellor, his relative, ii. *Int.* xx.
-, Mercurino da, grand chancellor of Spain, notice of, *Int.* xvi; ii. xxi-ii.
-, cardinal's hat promised to, 663.
-, causes to be read at Granada, in the presence of Castiglione, the papal nuncio, the emperor's answer to Clement's brief of the 23rd June, 905.
-, loses the emperor's grace, ii. 101.
-, leaves for Monserrat and Italy, ii. 148.
-, lands at Monaco, ii. 250, 254, 259.
-, returns to Spain, ii. 294, 334.
-, again entrusted with the conduct of foreign affairs, ii. 739, 772.
-, letters to the doge of Genoa, 317.
- Gattinara Mercurino da, letters of, to the duke of Ferrara, ii. 129.
-, to Lope Hurtado, 391.
-, from Clement to, 71.
-, drafts of dispatches corrected by, 47, 148, 378, 410, 601.
-, memoranda of letters to the pope and to the Italian potentates, 997-9.
- Gattula, Andrea, president of the Regia Camara, at Naples, ii. 505.
- Gavi, Gavy, the estate of, to be given to Pescara, 407.
-, to Lope de Soria, 669, 694, 846, 848.
- and Savona defended against the French, 850.
-, the confederates to take up positions at, 1013.
-, count Antonio di, *v.* Guasco.
- Gavre, count of, *v.* Egmont (Jean).
-, prince of, *v.* Egmont (Lamoral).
- Gay, master, 142.
- Gaya, district near Novara; the French defeated by Urries and Belgioioso at, (1526), 1062.
- Gayazo, *v.* Gaiazzo.
- Gayoso, Alonso de, Spanish captain, signs the capitulation of Rome, ii. 233.
-, sent on a mission to Lannoy, ii. 247.
-, to Naples with three cardinals hats, ii. 431, 481, 498.
-, to Spain, 503.
- Gazella, Micer Marcello, 592.
- Gelders, Ghelders, Gueldres, in Holland, the peace of, sworn to in the presence of the imperial "audiencier," 849, 866.
-, duke of, *v.* Egmont (Charles).
- Genaro, Hannibale or Annibale di, 998.
- Genençano, Ginenzano (Genzano), a small town in the Campania of Rome; Don Hugo de Moncada and Colonna meet at, 779, 793, 804.
-, taken by the papal troops, 997, 1007.
- Geneva, Genevra, Jinebra, Geneva, the city of, attempts to join the Swiss confederation, 365.
-, eventually succeeds, 655.
-, count of, *v.* Savoy.
- Genoa, signory of, parties in the struggle for power, 60, 316, 427.
-, Adorni and Fregosi at, 60, 316, 427.
-, plebeians and nobles, 992.
-, a third party, denominated "della Unione," *ibid.*
-, galleys of the, to be got ready for the emperor's passage to Italy, 59, 621.
-, doge and community of, contemplate a union with France, 60.
-, money to be paid by, for the expenses of the war, 105.

- Genoa, doge and community of, Charles promises to indemnify the, for the damages caused in its territory by the Spaniards escorting Francis, 297.
-, galleys of, to be fitted out to bring Bourbon back from Spain, 611.
-, their number to be increased at the emperor's expense, ii. 258, 289, 371.
-, union of the Fregosi and Adorni discussed, 1001; ii. 289.
-, city of, in danger of an attack from Andrea Doria, 297-8, 707.
-, Don Hugo defeated and taken prisoner close to, 40; ii. 997.
-, defences of, to be improved, 900-3.
-, threatened by the confederates, 926, 956, 993.
-, besieged and taken by the Fregosi (18th August 1527), ii. 344, 348, 349, 369, 424, 437.
-, Andrea Doria takes possession of, ii. 824.
-, the union ultimately proclaimed at, ii. 654, 667, 795.
-, threatened again by St. Pol and the leaguers, ii. 826, 926, 956.
-, Doria's palace close to, plundered and set on fire by the garrison of Alessandria, ii. 867.
-, letters dated from, 24, 83, v. Adorno and Soria.
-, doge of, v. Adorno.
- Genoese at difference with the people of Savona, whose port they destroy, *ibid.*
- on bad terms with Francis owing to his refusal to give up Savona, ii. 672.
- proclaim the union, ii. 667.
- chose Andrea Doria for their supreme magistrate, 672.
- want to appoint a "gonfaloniere," ii. 801.
- Gençano, v. Genençano.
- Geradada, v. Ghiara.
- Gerald, John, adherent of the earl of Desmond, ii. 993.
-, junior, *ibid.*
- Geraldines, the, adherents of the earl of Desmond and Kildare, ii. 991-4.
- German (Lutheran) peasants lay siege to Nancy in Lorraine, 206.
-, captains of the, offer their services to Venice, 894.
-, one of them and four officers arrested by the imperialists, *ibid.*
- lansquenets of the Lutheran sect arrive at Cadore in the Friuli, 809.
- in *Catalonia* under Rogendorf destined to invade Languedoc and Provence, 37, 647.
- at Pavia under Salm and Fruntsperg, 22, 57.
- become troublesome owing to their pay not being issued regularly, 126.
- German lansquenets, frequent mutinies of the, at Milan (1526), 698, 704.
- fall into discredit owing to their want of action and discipline, 1054.
- fresh reinforcements applied for by Pescara and Bourbon anxiously expected, 929.
- arrive in Italy under George Fruntsperg, 1014, 1018.
-, march on Lombardy, 1019, 1021.
- cross the Pò, and defeat Giovannino de' Medici at Governolo, 1034, 1037.
- operate their junction with Bourbon, ii. 9, 38.
- refuse to advance unless their arrears be paid, ii. 15.
- offers made by Bourbon to the, ii. 16.
- retain Guasto at their camp as security, *ibid.*
- march on Florence, ii. 121.
- mutiny of the, at Castel San Giovanni on the road to Bologna, ii. 131.
-, sack Rome and the houses of the cardinals indiscriminately, ii. 197.
-, plunder made by the, and other imperial soldiers calculated at 15 or 20 millions of gold, ii. 198.
-, atrocious behaviour of the, during the sack of Rome, ii. 199, 213.
- gut the Spanish embassy and the houses of the imperialists in general, ii. 201, 227.
- take plate and ornaments from churches and monasteries, ii. 198.
- mutiny and gut Chalon's quarters, ii. 267.
- quit Rome (10th July 1527), leaving behind some of their captains to treat with the pope, ii. 269.
- insist upon having an inventory made of all personal property within Santangelo, ii. 270.
- and upon the pope and the cardinals being removed to Gaeta, ii. 311-312.
- quite unmanageable unless they receive their pay regularly, ii. 387.
- said to be in negotiation with the league, ii. 396.
- meet at Campo di Fiore, and threaten to hang three of the hostages, ii. 445, 475.
- march out of Rome, but return again, and sack the quarters of the Spaniards, ii. 467.
- accused of being in treaty with the pope's agents to forsake the imperial service, ii. 536-7.
-, another serious mutiny of the, put down by Chalon, Alarcon, and Urbina, ii. 545.

- German lansquenets rise again on the excuse that the Spaniards have cheated them out of one month's pay, ii. 554, 556.
- agree to start in pursuit of the abbot of Farfa and Stefano Colonna on certain conditions, ii. 559.
-, the non-fulfilment of which (they declare) will be the cause of their remaining at Rome, ii. 560.
-, and of the destruction of that city, ii. 561.
- reported to be in Bolognese, and marching to the relief of Naples, ii. 705.
- in *Naples* dissatisfied with their colonel, ii. 699.
- complain of not having wine and search the houses for it, ii. 700, 734.
-, mutiny and sack Alarcon's quarters, ii. 752.
-, new reinforcements of, applied for by the imperial commanders, ii. 655, 665, 668-9.
-, under Brunswick, enter the Bresciano, ii. 684, 686, 692-4.
-, described by Soria as a most unruly and heretical set of men, ii. 739.
-, rise in mutiny and desert their banners, ii. 770-4.
-, quit the imperial service and go home, with the exception of 3,000, whom Leyva persuades to remain, ii. 754-5, 873.
-, a further supply of 7,000, to be provided by the archduke, ii. 754.
-, in consequence of Brunswick's Germans refusing to march to the relief of Naples, *ibid.*
- in *Lombardy* under Leyva, insist upon being quartered at Milan, ii. 310.
- Germany, state of affairs in, 12.
-, news from, 538, 544.
-, greatly in fear of an invasion from the Turk, 928.
-, learned men in, to write pamphlets in favour of the emperor, ii. 98.
- Gere, also written *Jere* and *Xere* (Sherek?), an attendant of the earl of Desmond, v. Galfridius.
- Gerona, town in Catalonia:
-, bishop of, v. Boil.
- Ghent, viscount of, v. Melun.
- Gherio, Goro da Pistoia, also called *Gero Ghorio*, bishop of Fano, papal vice-legat at Bologna, 290.
- Ghiara, Ghiera, Gera d' Adda, a district of Lombardy, the imperialists quartered in the, 427.
-, occupied by the Venetians, 937, 983.
- Ghinucci, Girolamo, auditor of the apostolic chamber, bishop of *Ascoli*, and of *Worcester*, generally called *episcopus vigorniensis*, English ambassador to Clement, to follow Casale and negotiate at Rome, 345, 447.
-, and discuss the articles of the Italian league, 475.
-, returns to England, 926, 942.
-, sent by Henry to France and Spain, 1010.
-, leaves again for Rome, ii. 315.
-, at the emperor's court as English ambassador, ii.
-, recommended by Charles to the pope, ii. 322.
- Ghisterin ?, letter dated from, 11.
- Gianmatheo (Giovann Matheo), v. Giberto.
- Giardino, Il, plain so called, close to Milan, 816.
- Giberti, or Giberto, Gianmatheo, bishop of Verona, Clement's datary, 149, 639, 803, 835.
-, to go on a mission to France and England, and thence to Spain, ii. 137, 149, 157, 160.
-, demanded as hostage for the capitulation of Rome, ii. 210, 232.
-, in Venice on his way to his diocese, ii. 523, 532, 544.
-, causes of his ill-will against the emperor, ii. 22, 282, 922-3.
-, returns to Rome, ii. 917.
-, recovers his influence over Clement, ii. 920.
-, about to be sent to Spain as legate, ii. 923.
-, conferences with Miguel Mai, ii. 954-6.
-, excuses himself of his former hostility, and protests of his goodwill towards the emperor, ii. 955.
-, letters to Messer Capino, ii. 449.
-, to Umberto di Gambara, 453.
-, to the bishop of Pola, 454.
-, to the bishop of Veroli, 458.
- Gibraleon, 697.
- Gilino, v. Giulino.
- Ginebra, Gineua, v. Geneva.
- Ginençano (Rom. Stat.), v. Gençano and Genençano.
- Gioachino da Passano, Giovan (Joachim and Jockin), a Genoese, seigneur de *Vaux*, and French ambassador in England, *Int.* xiii.
-, his protracted stay in London made a subject of complaint on the part of the imperial ambassadors, 11, 12, 14, 23, 26, 40, 52, 79, 160.
-, lodges at Wolsey's confessor, 24.

- Gioachino da Passano, Giovan, &c., presents made by, to Agostini, ii. 23.
-, his dismissal applied for by Praët, 14.
-, ultimately obtained (June 1525), 209.
-, back in England, 251; ii. 83, 85.
-, in Wolsey's confidence, ii. 917.
-, expected at Viterbo, ii. 747, 749.
-, sent on a mission to Ferrara, ii. 604, 852.
-, at Venice, ii. 446, 451.
- Giovanni, Baptista, secretary to doge Adorno, v. Baptista.
- Giovannino, v. Medici.
- Giraco, marquis of, v. Chirazzo.
- Girart or Girardo, secretary to Lope de Soria, ii. 526.
- Girolamo, bishop of *Vassone* (Selada, bishop of Venosa?), "mastro di casa" to pope Clement, sent on a mission to the emperor at Barcelona, ii. 965-6.
- Gismond, Gismondo, French secretary in Venice, 258, v. Sigismondo.
- Gismundino, v. Sigismondino.
- Giuliano, Micer, v. Spezzia.
- Giulino (*Giuliano, Julian, Gilino, &c.*), Camillo, Milanese secretary and agent in Spain, 261, 268, 328, 385, 585, 674; ii. 656, 999.
-, affidavit of, 319.
- Giustiniana, Genoese carack belonging to Giustiniano Il Gobbo v. Gobba.
- Giustiniani, Sebastiano, Venetian ambassador in France, 822, *note*.
-, letter to Andrea Gritti, 557.
- Giustiniano, Fabrizio, surnamed "Il Gobbo," or the humpback, captain of Genoese galleys, 611, 651.
-, son of, to command a Genoese galley, 578.
-, prisoner of Doria, ii. 346, 678.
-, recommended by Chalon, ii. 698, 751.
-, letter to the emperor, ii. 448.
- Glaudio, v. Claudio.
- Gobba, la, captain-galley of Il Gobbo, 579.
- Gobbo, v. Giustiniano.
- Goderano, baron de, v. Valquornera.
- Goer, lord Richard, ii. 993.
- Goicoechea, D. Manuel, *Int.* ix.
- Goiqueta, Miguel de, master of the ship Magdalena, ii. 271.
- Golisano, count of, *Int.* xxii.
-, Don Pedro de, lieutenant and cousin of the preceding, 986.
-, countess of, ii. 668.
-, letter to the emperor, ii. 408.
- Gonzaga, Eleonora Hippolita, duchess of *Urbino*, detained at Venice with her son Guidobaldo della Rovere, ii. 322.
- Gonzaga, Eleonora Hippolita, duchess of *Urbino*, set at liberty, ii. 567.
-, in treaty with Andrea Doria for her husband, the duke, forsaking the Venetian service, ii. 913.
-, Federigo, marquis of Mantua, money to be paid by, for the expenses of the war after the battle of Pavia, 104.
-, preferred by Clement for the duchy of Milan, 522.
-, suspected of secretly favouring the Clementine league, 933.
-, gives Fruntsperg free passage through his estate, 1013.
-, co-operation of, to be secured at any cost, 1030; ii. 899.
-, ambassador of, at Venice; doing all the harm he possibly can to the imperial cause, ii. 254.
-, joins the Italian confederates, 923; ii. 497, 526, 540.
-, sends them his contingent of 50 lances, ii. 557.
-, raises 4,000 infantry for the avowed purpose of defending Parma and Piacenza against the imperialists, but in reality to help them against the league, ii. 692.
-, ambassador of, negotiating at the imperial court, 900; ii. 738.
-, observes strict neutrality, ii. 875.
-, appointed to treat with Venice, ii. 985.
-, letters to the emperor, 342.
-, of the emperor to him, 671.
-, Ferrante or Hernando, joins the imperial army, ii. 90.
-, present at the taking of Rome, ii. 218.
-, signs the capitulation, ii. 232.
-, appointed by the prince of Orange to the command of the cavalry, ii. 527, 535.
-, leaves for Naples, ii. 545, 1031.
-, defeats the French close to Nola, ii. 771, 773, 857.
-, Francesco, 1037; ii. 1003.
-, Giampietro, of the house of Mantua, 792, *note*.
-, Herecole, brother of Federigo, the marquis, 500, 561.
-, created cardinal, ii. 496, 522, 933.
-, Mai's conversation with, ii. 953.
-, Giulia, widow of Vespasiano Colonna 951.
-, furnishes artillery to the abbot of Farfa, ii. 767.
-, Luigi, da *Castelgiffredo* or *Goffredo*, serves under Giovannino de' Medici, 1037.
-, his daughter married to Vespasiano Colonna, ii. 232.

- Gonzaga, Luigi or Lodovico surnamed *Rodonte*, duke of Traietto, 714; ii. 138, 170, 496.
 recommended by Leyva, 858.
 in Naples, ii. 711.
 inherits from his grandfather, ii. 771.
 cardinal's hat to be given to a brother of, ii. 496.
 Luigi, different from the preceding, to go to the diet of Spire as papal nuncio, ii. 956.
 Perino, patriarch of Aquileia, created cardinal, ii. 670.
 a bastard from Milan, going with a message to Lautrec, taken prisoner by Verticello, the robber (1528), ii. 702.
 da Bozzolo Federigo, son of Giam-pietro, 792, 903-4, 934.
 sent to defend Florence against Bourbon, ii. 90, 160.
 death of (1528), ii. 533.
 Gonzalez, Davila, Gil, historian, quoted, ii. 100, *note*.
 de Mendoza, Pero or Pedro, governor of Calabria, son-in-law of Alarcon, ii. 769, 778, 868-9.
 letter to the emperor, ii. 608.
 Gorgonçola, Gorgonzela, Gorgonzola, in Lombardy, ii. 450, 1013.
 Goro, v. Gherio.
 Gorrevod, Laurence or Laurentz, count of *Pont des Vaux*, the emperor's lord high steward (*Oberst Hofmeister*), 841, 884; ii. 525, 968.
 Gouffier (Guillaume), sieur de *Bonnivet*, admiral of France, 777.
 Governo [lo] in the Mantuan territory, 606.
 Giovannino de' Medici defeated and wounded at, 1037.
 Gozzo, island of, on the coast of Tripoli; offered by Charles to the knights of St. John, with Malta and Tripoli, ii. 786.
 Grado, captain Alvaro de, field-master of Spanish infantry, ii. 978.
 Graf, Il Gran, 680, v. Hesse?
 Grammont, Charles de, bishop of Aire, in France, lieutenant-governor of Bayonne, ii. 617.
 Gabriel de, bishop of Tarbes, French ambassador in England, ii. 109, 188, 208, 220, 222, 227.
 in Spain, 83, 109, 208; ii. 227, 283-4, 321.
 takes leave of the emperor at Burgos, ii. 548.
 Gran (Strigonia), letters dated from, ii. 346-7.
 Granada, angry words said to the French ambassadors at, respecting Francis' behaviour, become an excuse for the defiance and declaration of war to the emperor, ii. 640.
 Granada, archbishop of, v. Alua.
 Adelantado of, v. Mendoza and Hurtado.
 letters dated from, 425, 457, 508, 510-1, 528, 567, 603-6, 609-10, 624, 625, 633.
 Granvelle, sieur de, v. Perrenot.
 Grassa, town of Provence, fortified by the French, 149, 612.
 bishop of, v. Grimaldo.
 Gravano, barony of, confiscated from Carlo Miravale, ii. 728.
 Gravelines, the tollins of, and Antwerp, ii. 821.
 Gravelingas, Gravelinas, v. Gravelines.
 Greenwich, the English court at, 1, 2, 19, 29; ii. 639, 849, 854, 863.
 preparations for the reception of the French ambassadors at, ii. 109, 111.
 letters dated from, 60, 621.
 Greto, Livio, also called *Lilio Grotto*, secretary to sir Gregory da Casale, 453.
 Grey, Thomas, marquis of Dorset, 52, 194.
 arrears of pension due to, by the emperor, 550.
 Grieffenklau, Richard, archbishop and elector of Trèves:
 letter from Charles to, ii. 332.
 Grimalda, Genoese carack, 133.
 Grimaldi, brothers, bankers in Genoa, ii. 852.
 Grimaldo, Micer Agostino, bishop of Grassa and lord of Monaco, 59.
 follows faithfully the emperor's cause in Italy, ii. 389.
 willing to exchange his estate for a corresponding one in Milan or Naples, ii. 871, 876.
 agreement with the emperor to that effect, ii. 904.
 letters to the emperor, ii. 682.
 to Micer Antonio [Grimaldo?] his agent in Spain, ii. 798.
 to Lope de Soria, ii. 362, 395.
 receives money from the emperor's ministers to provide for the defence of his estate against the confederates, ii. 423.
 Ansaldo, Genoese banker, 148, 153, 282, 735, 803, 920.
 contracts to build 12 galleys for the emperor, ii. 289.
 negotiations with, ii. 856-7.
 the emperor's thanks to be conveyed to, for his eminent services, ii. 920.
 Micer Antonio, instructions to, ii. 198.
 Giovanni Battista, Genoese banker, 282, 289, 369; ii. 735, 919.
 Girolamo, cardinal, ii. 920, 952.
 Leonardo, 688, 800, 884; ii. 856.

- Grimaldo, Niccolo, 232, 282-3, 299; ii. 289, 334, 339-40, 369, 735.
, letter to the emperor, 230.
, Stephano, 59, 232, 251, 289, 299, 334, 339-40; ii. 375.
- Grimano, Domenico, patriarch of Aquileia and cardinal, ii. 559, 950.
- Grisons, negotiations with the, for the passage of imperial troops through their territory, 817.
, take Chiavenna, 493.
, fail ultimately, 863, 883, 890; ii. 310.
, their friendship to be secured that they may not stop the German reinforcements, ii. 899.
- Gritti, Andrea, doge of Venice, ii. 79, 149, 162.
, declaration of war to, by the duke of Brunswick, ii. 149, 419, 678.
, Luigi, natural son of Andrea, in Constantinople with the Turk, ii. 796.
- Grono, Il, secretary to cardinal Triulzo, delivers an oration on the day of the proclamation of the league at Rome, ii. 784, 793.
- Gropain, Gropen, *v.* Gruppen.
- Grossetto, river, close to Talamon, on the coast of Siena, ii. 151.
, bishop of, *v.* Petrucci.
- Grottaferrata, in the Campania of Rome; Don Hugo de Moncada at, 806, 822.
, taken by the papal troops, 1007.
- Grotta Menara (Rom. Stat.), ii. 658.
- Gruppen, imperial messenger, dispatched by Don Hugo to the emperor, ii. 317, 412, 833.
- Grutaferata, *v.* Grottaferrata.
- Guadarrama, chain of mountains north of Madrid, ii. 14, *note*.
- Guarnino, close to Milan, in Lombardy, the Venetians and Sforzini encamped at, ii. 448.
- Guasco, Antonio, lord of Gavi, pardoned by Bourbon, takes service with the French, 903.
- Guastatori, fr. *guastadeurs*, sp. *gastadores*, meaning of the word, 407.
- Guasto (or Gasto), more correctly Vasto, marquis del, *v.* Davalos d'Aquino.
- Guayacan, or Palo de Indias, ii. 816.
- Gueldres, *v.* Gelders.
- Guerrazzi, his "Vita d'Andrea Doria" quoted, ii. 867.
- Gues (?), Martin de, ii. 464.
- Guevara, D. Iñigo de, sent from Naples to Spain on a message, ii. 791.
, Marco Antonio, count of Potença, his quarrel with Guasto, ii. 646, 654, 667.
, a son of the former, killed, ii. 672.
- Guicciardini, Micer Francesco, the historian, called also *Il Guicciardino* and *Vichardino*, quoted, 772, 844.
, lieutenant-general of the papal army in Lombardy (1526), 639, 690, 730.
, proposes marching to the relief of Florence, 1001, 1018, 1038 ii. 90, 215.
, letters to Proveditore Pesaro (1526), 555, 558.
, to count Guido Rangone (1527), ii. 20.
- Guienne, duchy of, demanded by Charles, 62.
, old claims of England on the, to be put a stop to, by the marriage of the dauphin to princess Mary, 617.
, king-at-arms of Francis, delivers the challenge to Charles, ii. 551, 638, 640, 737.
- Guilford, the court at, 276.
, Henry, English captain in the service of the emperor, prisoner in France, 560.
- Guili, in the Astesan, invested by Pedro Navarro, ii. 288.
- Guiot (written *Quiot*), captain, secretary of the imperial legation in London (Guyot de Heulle?), 145.
- Guipuscoa, the emperor's letter to the "corregidor" of (1528), 297.
- Guis, Agostino, banker, ii. 550.
, Sigismondo, prisoner in Spain, ii. 910.
- Guise, town of France, to be attacked by the English army under Norfolk, 87, 135.
, duke of, *v.* Lorraine.
- Guisnes, county and castle of, 96, 206.
, captain or governor of, *v.* Fitzwilliam.
- Gurce or Gurk, bishop, *v.* Lang.
- Gurrea, *v.* Urrea.
- Gutierrez, Alonso, treasurer-general in Spain, 160; ii. 337.
, Francisco, imperial messenger, ii. 565.
, de Meneses, Alonso, gentleman-in-waiting to archduke Ferdinand; missions of, to England, 50, 51, 102-3.
, to Spain, 102.
- Guyenne *v.* Guienne.
- Guzman, Diego de, gentleman-in-waiting to the archduke; leaves Spain for Germany to take service against the Turks in Hungary, ii. 60.
, D. Martin de, prisoner in France, set at liberty (1527), ii. 2.
, *v.* Nuñez and Ramirez de Guzman.

H.

Habart, captain, imperial messenger, takes letters to Don Iñigo de Mendoza, ii. 373.

- Hacanea, (white steed) to be presented yearly to the pope for the fief of Naples, ii. 316.
- Hackett, sir John, English ambassador in the Low Countries, 755.
- Haggebutiers, arquebusiers, hackbootiers, hackbutiers, 40.
- Haguenau in Alsacia, 130.
- Hamburg, ii. 279.
- Hampton Court, cardinal Wolsey at, 26, 145 629.
-, presented to Henry with furniture, &c., ii. 208-9, 212.
-, the English court at, 856, 881.
- Hanneton, Philip, Flemish ambassador at the court of England, *Int.* xvii, 26.
-, the "audencier," the peace of Ghelders signed in the presence of, ii. 849.
-, letter to, 36.
- Hantencourt, *v.* Antonceourt and Hampton Court.
- Harana, *v.* Arana.
- Harnao, *v.* Arnault.
- Haro, count of, *v.* Fernandez de Vleasco.
- Harques, *v.* Arques.
- Hassia, *v.* Hesse.
- Hennege, Thomas, pension due to, 550.
- Henri, duke of Orleans, delivered as hostage for his father Francis, 605; ii. 3, 548.
- Henry VIII. of England writes in defence of Christianity, 67.
-, how the news of the battle of Pavia was received by, 82.
- prepares to invade France, 153.
- alarmed at the emperor's growing power, 226.
- favours the Italian league and remits money to the pope, ii. 12.
- and Wolsey wish the peace with France to be discussed and concluded in London, ii. 101-3.
- objects to a truce, ii. 105.
- assists the Italian league with money, ii. 109, 117.
- concludes a treaty of defensive and offensive alliance with France, ii. 222.
-, first idea of the divorce said to have been suggested by Wolsey to, ii. 193-4.
- strives to become the mediator of peace between Francis and Charles, ii. 668.
- sends two lawyers to Rome to sue for the divorce, ii. 669.
-, which he says all the English bishops advise and approve of, *ibid.*
- has a paper drawn and signed to that effect and forwards it to Rome, ii. 861.
-, Spanish chronicle of, *Int.* x.
-, almoner, *v.* Lee.
-, lord high chamberlain of, *v.* Sandys.
- letters to the emperor (1525), 31, 64.
- Henuache, *v.* Hennege.
- Herbstein, Sigismond de, ii. 335.
- Herbipolis, *v.* Wurtzburg.
- Herly, Mauricius, ii. 994.
- Hernandez (Pero), servant to the duke of Sessa, sent to Spain as courier, 601, 605, 645.
-, returns to Rome with dispatches, 696-7.
- Hernando, servant of the marquis del Guasto, *v.* Yciz.
- Herrera, Andres de, Spanish captain (1527), signs the capitulation of Rome, ii. 233.
-, Antonio de, historian, 999.
-, captain Felipe de, warder of Tarento in Naples, *Int.* xxvi.
-, to take the van of Guasto's army at Milan, 723-4.
-, wounded before Lodi, 770, 773, 785.
-, on a mission to Spain, ii. 88, 148.
-, death of, ii. 327.
-, knight commander Miguel de, warder of Pamplona in Navarre:
-, notice of, *Int.* xxv.
-, sent by Charles on a mission to the pope, 504-5, 508, 524-7, 635-6, 785.
-, arrives at Milan (29th November 1525), 504, 520, 723-4.
-, at Rome, 524.
-, his prudence, tact, and discretion much commended by the pope, 525.
-, sent to Siena, 544.
-, recalled and leaves for Spain, 595, 662, 726, 733, 772.
-, letters to the emperor (1525), 287, 298-9, 311; (1526), 363, 386, 396, 398, 413, 442.
- Hesdin, in Flanders, 132.
-, negotiations respecting, 142.
-, natives of, prisoners in Calais, 202.
-, Jean d', 128, 170, 190.
- Hesse, Philippe, landgrave of, ii. 97, 335, 796, 815.
-, his lawsuit with count Nassau, 816.
- Hieronimo, a servant of Pescara, 406.
- Hijar (Ixar, Hixar), D. Antonio de, sent by Lannoy to treat with the lansquenets, ii. 395.
-, negotiates with Andrea and Philippino Doria, 701, 704.
- Hiniesta, *v.* Iniesta.
- Holland, the fortresses of Flanders and, to be guarded against a probable attack of the English, ii. 224.
- Honeya, *v.* Oneglia.
- Honorato, *v.* Honoré.
- Honoré (Honorato, Onorato, &c.), French agent in Portugal, ii. 620, 628, 663.

Hoochstraëtte, count of, *v.* Lalaing.
 Hornes, count of, *v.* Montmorency.
 Horses, Neapolitan, sent to Spain, ii. 609.
, Spanish, present of, sent to the arch-
 duke by the emperor, ii. 925.
, ..., introduction of, in France
 strictly forbidden, 618.
, 500 Turkish, bought by Venice, ii.
 695.
 Hortega, *v.* Ortega.
 Hortenbourg, *v.* Ortenburg.
 Hostages, French, in London, released, 689.
, ..., demanded from Clement after
 the surprise of Rome by the Colonnese,
 928.
, ..., after the taking and sack of
 that city by the imperialists in 1527,
 ii. 231-2, 237, 242, 269.
, ..., three of the (all cardinals),
 conveyed to Naples, ii. 329, 332.
, ..., in the keeping of the Germans
 at the Colonna Palace manage to make
 their escape, ii. 488.
, ..., cardinals in Naples set at
 liberty by order of the Emperor, ii. .
 Hovero, meaning of the word, as applied to a
 horse, 925.
 Howard, Thomas, earl of *Surrey*, duke of
Norfolk, high admiral of England, 4.
, ..., ship belonging to, 34, 52, 86,
 148, 152, 201.
, to command the expedition
 against France, 87.
, ..., pension paid by the emperor to,
 550.
, ..., present at a conference between
 Wolsey and Mendoza, ii. 107, 190,
 193.
, ..., signs, at Henry's request, a
 paper showing that the divorce is much
 desired by the people of England, ii.
 861.
 Huesca, the bishopric of, given to cardinal
 Campeggio, 974; ii. 365.
 Humyères, seigneur d', *v.* Brinon and Vil-
 laines.
 Hungary, invasion of, by the Turks, 593.
, king Louis of, killed at Mohatz, 598-9,
 895, 932-3.
, overrun and conquered by Soliman,
 1024.
, the vayvod of Transylvania lays claim
 to the crown of, and has himself elected,
 1051.
, count palatine of, to convoke a diet
 for the election of a king after the
 death of Ludwig, 1051.
, the marquis Casimir of Brandenburg
 sent against the vayvod [Zapolsky] in,
 ii. 266.
, fears of a second invasion of, by the
 Turks, ii. 739.
, news-letters from, ii. 188, 193.

Hurault, Jacques, bishop of *Autun*, an ad-
 herent of Bourbon; to be released from
 prison according to an article of the
 Madrid convention, 560, 563.
 Hurbina, *v.* Urbina.
 Hurtado, king-at-arms in Naples, 342.
, de Mendoza, Diego, 953.
, Francisco, *v.* Mendoza.
, Don Lope, imperial ambassador to
 Savoy, sent on a mission to Savoy and
 Milan, 313-16.
, to Rome with a message from Pescara
 to the pope concerning the arrest of
 Morone, 433.
, account of his interview with the pope,
 434-45.
, advises the emperor to keep the
 duchy of Milan for himself, and take
 from Mother Church Parma and
 Piacenza, 443.
, and to help the Colonnese, 444.
, ..., bearer of secret instructions for
 Pescara and Leyva, 505.
, sent by Charles to Piedmont to make
 inquiries about the damages committed
 there by the imperial troops, 580.
, ..., arrests at Burgos the ambassa-
 dors of the league, and escorts them to
 the castle of Poza, ii. 576.
, ..., letters to the emperor (1526), ii.
 253, 268, 292, 304, 306, 324, 346, 351,
 359, 380, 383, 390, 394, 443, 450, 473,
 481-3, 494, 496, 516, 518, 535.
, ..., imperial ambassador in Portu-
 gal, negotiates respecting the line of
 demarcation of the undiscovered terri-
 tories in America, ii. 787.
, about the Moluccas or Spice Islands,
 ii. 914.
, ..., letters to the emperor, dated
 from Almeyrim or Lisbon, ii. 293, 371,
 403, 426, 432, 546, 572, 616, 642.
, ..., notice of, *Int.* xxv, ii. v.
 Hyères (Hières), group of islands on the
 south coast of France, Biscayan ship
 captured near the, by Fr. Bernardino
 Baron de St. Brancard, the French vice-
 admiral, 602, 612.

I.

Ibrahim Pashá, Turkish general, defeated and
 taken prisoner by the vayvode, 996.
, in command of the Turkish cavalry,
 ii. 613.
, Bey? sent on a mission to Venice,
 ii. 945, 1003.
 Ibrea (also written *Imbrea*), imperial army in
 the Novarese, to remove their quarters
 to, 103, 105.
, Switzers march from, to Asti, ii. 298
 -9, 308, 345.
, St. Pol's auxiliaries at, 691.

- Illescas, Gonzalo de, his "Historia Pontifical" quoted, ii. 999, 105; *Int.* xxiv.
- Imola, Bourbon's army on the road to, ii. 138.
 taken by Lautrec from Zuanne Saxadello and delivered to the pope's nuncio (1528), ii. 544.
- Imperatore, Cesare, a Sicilian outlaw, 994.
 , ... , prepares to invade Sicily, ii. 41.
- Imperial army in Italy, successful at Pavia, 49-50, 56-9.
 , remittances in money or bills of exchange to the, 58, 59, 81.
 , by Henry, 73, 81.
 , great distress of, in Milan, 634.
 , and in Naples, ii. 734, 752.
 , maintenance of, stipulated by Wolsey, 81.
 , Pescara on his death bed entrusts the command of the, to Guasto and Leyva, 510.
 , who are said to disagree, *ibid.*
 , solicitors and notaries at Rome imprisoned and fined, 641.
 , army in the Milanese, the reform of the, much recommended by Hurtado and Leyva, ii. 580.
 , reduced to extremity for want of money and provisions, ii. 634.
- Imperiale, Francesco, a Sicilian, called Imperatore by Guicciardini, 994, *note*.
- Imperialists (Spaniards and Germans) at Rome (1527):
 , summoned to a meeting for the election of four cardinals to be entrusted with the defence of the city, ii. 39.
 , in case of attack, promise to stay at home, shut their doors, and prevent their servants and retainers from going out, ii. 40.
- Incisa, Federico di, agent of the marchioness of Monferrato in Spain, ii. 905.
- In Cœna Domini, papal bull so entitled, sent to the council of Castille to be examined, 641, 691.
 , history of its various alterations, ii. 1000.
- Inçago, in Lombardy, the confederates on hearing of Fruntspers's arrival in Italy remove their camp to, 1013.
- Indemnity to be paid by the emperor to Henry for his losses in France, according to treaty, negotiations concerning the, 7.
 , Praet recommends the prompt payment of the, 8.
- Indies (West), patriarch of the (1526), throws impediments in the way of pensions to Schomberg and others, 661.
 , ... , news of the, 200; ii. 739, 865.
- Inestre, *v.* Iniesta.
- Iniesta, wrongly written Inestre, commandership of, in the order of Calatrava, conferred upon Leyva, ii. 162, 1004.
- Infantry, Spanish, petition of the, at Naples to the emperor, ii. 441.
 , under Alarcon sack two villages belonging to the Colonnese, 522.
- Insbruck, Innspruc, Isbrug, capital of Tyro. (Austria), 90, 931, 1030; ii. 647.
 , provincial diets held at, 890, 891, 899, 902, 925, 932.
 , ... , ducal chamber at, revenues pawned by Ferdinand, 934, 938.
 , ... , letters dated from, 41, 563.
- Insola (Roman States), written also *Isola* and *Itola*, the camp of the league at, ii. 216, 224, 239, 241.
- Inzago, *v.* Inçago.
- Irache, marquis of, *v.* Vintimiglia.
- Ireland, the duke of Richmond to be king of, ii. 908.
- Irun, *v.* Yrun-Yranzo.
- Isabella, sister of Charles, married to Christiern II., king of Denmark, ii. 577, 682.
 , of Portugal married to Charles V., 254.
 , to govern Spain during the emperor's absence, ii. 898.
 , assisted by a council of regency, *ibid.*
- Ischia, castle of, held by the marquis del Guasto, ii. 594, 694, 739.
 , letters dated from, 472-3, 499.
- Ismail II., shah or sophi of Persia, defeats the Turks, 362, 425.
 , assists a nephew of Solyman in his rebellion, 1031.
 , letter from Charles to, 633.
- Isola, *v.* Insola.
- Itola, ii. 216, *v.* also Insola.
- Isproug, *v.* Inspruck.
- Isselstein, lord of, *v.* Egmont.
- Italian powers, money subscribed by the, for the expenses of the war against France (1525), 104.
- Italians, described by the marquis de Astorga as selfish and of fickle disposition, ii. 264.
 , sharp and subtle, i. 203.
 , afraid of the emperor becoming sole master of their country, ii. 235.
 , bad effect produced among the, by the sudden departure of Lannoy with his royal prisoner, 224, 229.
- Italy invaded by Francis at the instigation of pope Clement, 908.
 , sums to be demanded from, after the victory at Pavia, 106-7.
 , the avowed object of the league to drive the imperialists out of, 336, 665.
 , no money to be got out of, ii. 542.
 , advices from, ii. 291.
- Iualian, courier in the archduke's service, ii. 59.

Iviza (Iviça), one of the Balcaric Islands, Genoese vessels coming from, detained at Savona, 847.

Ixar, *v.* Hixar.

J.

Jacobacio, Jacobacis, cardinal Domenico, ill-treated during the sack of Rome, ii. 198, 203, 253.

....., death of, ii. 268.

Jacobo, Joan (Giovanni Jacopo?), a brother of, abbacy of Rocadamor bestowed on, ii. 916.

Jacopo (Jacobo?), Joan or Giovanni, German colonel, escorts Moron to Pavia, 364.

Jaen, a city in Andalusia, pensions on the bishopric of, resigned by the ambassador Mendoza on his appointment to the see of Burgos, ii. 624.

....., bishop of, *v.* Merino.

....., dean of, ii. 764.

James of Scotland, ambassadors of, ask for the hand of princess Mary, 4.

....., letters to, from the emperor, ii. 580.

Jassa, *v.* Hesse.

Jennaro, Hieronymo de, ii. 832.

Jennyn, *v.* Giovannino.

Jerningham, captain Richard, 31, 142, 160.

....., called *Farninghen* by mistake, 166, 202, 206.

Jew, allowed to preach in Portugal the religion of Moses, ii. 818.

Jewels of Bourbon pawned to Ansaldo Grimaldo, the Genoese banker, 254.

..... redeemed, ii. 289.

....., Soria inquires what is to be done with the, ii. 801, 875.

..... king Ferdinand's crown, pledged to pay the German reinforcements sent to Italy, ii. 814, 934, 938.

Joanna, daughter of Guglielmo, marquis of Montferrato, ii. 1002.

Joachino, *v.* Gioachino and Passano.

João III. of Portugal, ii. 9, 99, 369, 576, 756, 914.

....., letter to the emperor, ii. 322.

Jockin, *v.* Gioachino and Passano.

Jonglet, Jehan, seigneur des Maretz, ambassador of the Low Countries in England, notice of, *Int.* xix.

....., letters to the emperor, 160, 189, 213, 233, 341.

....., to Margaret of Austria, 223, 227, 241, 418, 463.

Jordan (or Jurdan) de Urries, Pedro, canon of Huesca; the abbey of Monte Aragon claimed by, 244, 365; *Int.* xxiii; ii. 643.

....., letter to the emperor, 136.

Jovenazzo, in Puglia, two Venetian galleys go on shore at, ii. 857, 859.

Joya, count of, ii. 812.

Juan, king of Portugal, *v.* João.

Juana, natural daughter of Charles, ii. 146, *note.*

Juliano, Austrian courier, ii. 59, *note.*

Julius II., pope, his two briefs of dispensation for the marriage of Katharine and Henry, ii. 854-5, 877.

....., attested copies of the first and principal to be found in Spain and England, 882.

....., of the second, which was duly registered in the papal chamber, the original supposed to be in the emperor's hands, *ibid.*

Jurdan, *v.* Jordan.

K.

Kasr-al-Kebîr, town on the coast of Morocco, ii. 708, 1002.

Katharine of Aragon, queen of England, aunt of Charles, 38; ii. 67.

....., congratulates the emperor upon the victory of his arms at Pavia, 108.

....., asks Don Iñigo what the emperor's intentions are respecting the general or private peace, 110.

....., as she would do anything in her power to preserve the old alliance between England and Spain, 111, 116.

....., Henry's separation from, and announcement to, of the intended divorce (20th June 1527), ii. 276.

....., trusts in God and in the emperor that the wedding of Anne Bouleyn will not take place, ii. 789.

....., much loved by the English, *ibid.*

....., begs her nephew, the emperor, to write to Rome in her favour, ii. 804.

....., pressed by Campeggio and Wolsey to retire to a convent, ii. 804, 887.

....., account of her interview with Campeggio, ii. 842-3.

....., declares that all attempts to make her take the veil will prove vain, ii. 843, 887-8.

....., Henry tells, that she is not his wife, and that all the canonists of England have subscribed a declaration to that effect, ii. 842.

....., interrogated by Warham, Tunstall, and others, whether it was true that she had attempted the king's life, that she might after his death marry again, ii. 845-8.

....., also how she came by the copy of the brief of dispensation, *ibid.*

- Katharine of *Aragon*, queen of England, her answer to both questions, *ibid.*
, ..., rather hurt at what she calls the emperor's forgetfulness, ii. 847.
, ..., advised by her friends to send her powers to Rome, but not to show that she expects assistance from her nephew, the emperor, 848, 878, 882.
, ..., permission granted to, to bring lawyers to defend her case in London, provided they be not Flemish or Spaniards, 848.
, ..., takes her oath before legate Campeggio that her matrimony with prince Arthur was never consummated, ii. 861.
, ..., falsely represented at Rome as willing to have her case tried in England, ii. 885.
, ..., writes to the pope through cardinal Santa Croce and Muxetula, ii. 881, 885, 928.
, ..., unable to grant powers of attorney to Rome from fear of Henry, ii. 885.
, ..., her correspondence secretly forwarded through Belgium, ii. 886.
, ..., letters to the emperor (1515), 60; (1526), 621; (1527), ii. 67, 571.
, ..., to Muxetula, ii. 617.
, of Austria, sister of Charles V., married to João III. of Portugal, ii. 614, *note*, 663.
, of Portugal, sister of Charles, wife of João III., ii. 99, 620.
 Kennedy, Gilbert, third earl of Cassilis, Scotch ambassador in England, 1, 4, 86.
, ..., goes back to Scotland for instructions, 91.
 Kerrigie, Kerry in Ireland, ii. 991.
 Kildare, earl of, *v.* Desmond.
, Gerald, count of, ii. 992.
 King-at-arms, one of Henry's (Clarencieux ?), sent to Spain, ii. 206.
, ..., to declare war to Charles unless the terms of peace proposed by the English and French ambassadors be accepted, *ibid.*
 Knight, Dr. William, English ambassador in the Low Countries (1525), 62, 63.
, ..., on a mission to the pope and to the confederates (1527), ii. 453.

L.

- Labret or Labrit, *v.* Albret.
 Lachaulx, Charles Poupet de, imperial ambassador in Portugal, also called *Laxao* ii. 148, 205, 246, 369-72, 968.
, ..., expected at the court of France, ii. 471.
, ..., letter to the emperor, ii. 231.
, ..., to Margaret of Austria, ii. 234.

- La Chusa (Chiusa ?), a town of the Sienese; the confederates attempt in vain to carry, ii. 499.
 Lacco Maggiore, or Lago Verbano; defended by count Filippo Torniello, ii. 280, 1000.
 Lades, river, *v.* Ladice, L' Adice, Adige.
 Ladislao, *v.* Wladislas.
 Lafetad (Lafetao, Lafitand ?), Juan Francisco de, imperial agent in Lisbon, ii. 621, 629.
 Laguna in Castille, letter dated from, ii. 1.
 Laino, Layno, marquis de, his confiscated estate claimed by the count of Maddalona, ii. 721.
 Lalaing, Antoine de, count of Hoochsträten, knight of the Golden Fleece, and minister of the finances in the Netherlands, *Int.* xv; 51, 52, 55, 64, 78, 89, 182-3; ii. 192.
, ..., Katharine's letters about the divorce passing through the hands of, ii. 886.
, ..., letters to, from the Flemish ambassadors in London, 105.
 Lallemand, Jean, seigneur de *Bouclans* or *Bouclains*, the emperor's foreign secretary, 51-2, 64, 78, 85, 89.
, ..., recommended to Margaret by Lannoy, 574.
, ..., in great favour with the archduke, ii. 97-8, 149, 381, 922.
, ..., receives the emperor at Monzon, ii. 737.
, ..., loses the emperor's grace, ii. 865.
, ..., judicial proceedings against, ii. 869, 903.
, ..., imprisonment at Toledo, ii. 922, 925.
, ..., probable cause of his disgrace, 925; ii. *Int.* xxii, 246, 328.
, ..., letter to Wolsey, ii. 634.
 La Mark, Evrard de, cardinal bishop of Liege, 36.
, Robert, seigneur de *Sedan* and *Fleuranges*, 165, 548, 907; ii. 998.
, ..., his son, Robert III., sieur de Fleuranges, 548; ii. 998.
 Lamata, *v.* La Mota.
 La Matrice, *v.* Amatrice.
, ..., revolt at, ii. 911.
, ..., put down by the prince of Orange, ii. 915.
 Lambra, river of Lombardy, 831, *note*.
 Lamego, in Portugal, bishop of, ii. 369, 619.
 La Minerva, cardinal, *v.* Vio Caetano.
 La Mota, seaport town in the eastern coast of Spain, between Alicante and Cartagena, 232.
 La Mothe des Noyers, lieutenant of Bourbon, sent by him on a mission to Lannoy, ii. 147, 167.

- La Mothe des Noyers, lieutenant of Bourbon, appointed governor of Rome, ii. 201, 203.
-, to go to Spain for Bourbon's private affairs, ii. 250.
-, the wardenship of Gaeta given to, ii. 840.
- Lançon, Mme. de, *v.* Alençon.
- Lanchano, *v.* Lanciano.
- Lanciano, in the Abruzzo, ii. 609, 705.
- Landa, Martin de, imperial notary, 137.
- Lando, Pietro, Venetian general, appointed proveditor of the sea, ii. 220.
- Landrano, *v.* Landriano.
- Landriano, cavalier, a Milanese, 236, 266.
-, his correspondence with Morone, 461.
- Lang (Langus, Longhius, &c.), Mathew, bishop of Gurce, cardinal of Saltzburg, to accompany Ferdinand, the archduke, in his Turkish expedition, 259, 796, 888.
-, Melchior, also called *Langus* and *Longhio*, papal nuncio in England, 1-4, 7, 9-10, 23, 121.
-, recalled, 499.
- Langeai, Langeay, sieur de, called also *Langes* and *De Langes*, *v.* Bellai.
- Languedoc, imperial troops to invade the, 32, 37, 38, 97, 128.
-, government of, given to Lautrec, 150.
- Langus (Longhio), papal nuncio in England, *v.* Lang (Melchior).
- Lannoy, Charles de, count of *Asti*, prince of *Sulmona*, and viceroy of Naples, in command of the imperial army in Italy, 22, 39-41, 43-4, 59, 63.
-, defeats the plans of the duke of Albany upon Naples, 66.
-, negotiates a league with Clement, 103, 147.
-, announces his intention to take Francis to Naples for greater security, 153, 179, 197.
-, but conveys him straight to Spain without the knowledge of Pescara and Bourbon, 201.
-, who show their discontent and complain of him to the emperor, 197.
-, bad effects of the measure upon the minds of the Italians, *ibid.* 203, 224, 226, 229, 257.
-, accused by Bourbon and Pescara of wishing to monopolize the honour of their victory at Pavia, *Int.* xxxii, 197, *note*.
-, lands at Valencia, 252, 267, 992.
-, accompanies Francis to Bayonne, 569.
-, negotiates at the court of France, 693-4, 706-7, 740.
-, returns to Spain, 849.
- Lannoy, Charles de, &c., in command of a fleet at Cartagena, 876.
-, anxiously expected by the Neapolitans, 925.
-, sails for Italy (24th October 1526), 995, 1000, 1002, 1004, 1006-8, 1027.
-, touches at the island of Corsica, 1012-3, 1017, 1029.
-, lands at Santo Stephano on the coast of Tuscany, 1029, 1032-3, 1035, 1038, 1054.
-, attacked by the confederated fleet, 1033.
-, consternation caused at Rome and Florence by the arrival of, 1032.
-, advised to march against Florence first, and afterwards on Rome, 1029.
-, sails for Gaeta, 1032.
-, and Don Hugo propose an armistice to the pope, 1048-9.
-, in communication with cardinal Pompeo and the Colonnese, ii. 7.
-, commands the imperial troops on the frontiers of Naples, ii. 55-6.
-, defeated at Frosinone, ii. 71, 307.
-, concludes a truce of three months, ii. 87.
-, which Bourbon refuses to ratify, 1014; ii. 134.
-, starts for Bourbon's camp accompanied by one of the pope's chamberlains, ii. 136-7, 147.
-, attacked by peasants on his journey thither, ii. 149.
-, has a narrow escape, ii. 150.
-, goes to Siena, ii. 173.
-, arrives in Rome after the sack, ii. 227, 240.
-, but leaves next day in consequence of a mutinous rising of the Spanish infantry, ii. 233, 240.
-, requested to take the command of the imperial forces, *ibid.*
-, refuses on the plea that the prince of Orange has already assumed it without any special mandate from the emperor, *ibid.* 237, 247.
-, on bad terms with Gattinara, ii. 693.
-, death of, at Aversa, ii. 396, 422, 497.
-, notice of, *Int.* xxxi; ii. xi-xii.
-, letters to the emperor (1525), 21, 85, 88, 156, 168-70, 423, 434, 506.
-, to Margaret of Austria, 4, 11, 13, 18, 59, 338.
-, to Soria (1527), ii. 54.
-, to Praet, 15.

- Lannoy, Ercole, nephew of Charles, viceroy of Naples (1528), deserts from the imperial army and goes over to Venice, ii. 608.
-, Jean de, sieur de Mingoal, *Int.* xxxi.
- Lanuza, royal historiographer for Aragon, *Int.* vi.
- Lanz, Dr. Karl, his *Correspondenz der Kaiser Karl V.* quoted, 50, 57, 89, 99, 145, 363, 465, 908, 925; ii. 304, 407, 711; *Int.* ii. xvii, xxxiii.
- La Pole, v. Pole.
- La Porta, D. Jo. Aleuisio de, v. Porta.
- La Puebla, v. Puebla.
- Lardirago (Lucerago?), close to Pavia, 42.
- Laredo, in Galicia, ii. 205, 925.
- Lâ Rochelle, v. Rochelle.
- Larosa, Larossa, v. Rosa.
- La Rovere, v. Rovere.
- Larrea, captain Mingo or Domingo de, ii. 73, 118.
- La Serna, Fr. Ambrosio de, ii. 829.
-, letter to queen Katharine's physician (Fernando de Victoria?), ii. 578.
- La Spezia, v. Spezzia.
- Latino, Micer, servant of cardinal Farnese, papal nuncio in Savoy, 789.
- La Torre, captain, bearer of dispatches from Guasto and Leyva, ii. 165.
-, Antonio de, Sicilian, presented by the duke of Monteleone for the post of lieutenant of the Summaria of Sicily, ii. 528.
-, Federico or Federigo, father of the preceding, ii. 528.
- La Tour, imperial messenger, 425, 680, 814.
-, appointed chief justice at Rome, ii. 218.
- Laurens, Joos, sieur de *Tardeghen*, president of the council of Mechlin (Malines), and ambassador in London, 76, 77, 85, 95, 96, 97.
-, instructions to, 27.
-, letters to Margaret of Austria (1525), 33, 39, 40, 43, 46, 61, 62, 67, 70, 73, 74, 75-6, 78-9, 83, 86, 89, 90, 97-9.
-, to the emperor, 48, 111, 113, 114.
-, to Hanne-ton, first secretary in Flanders, 36, 45.
-, notice of, *Int.* xvi.
- Lauria (also written Loria) Francesco, with his galley "La Calabresa" goes over to the enemy at Salerno, ii. 715, 718.
- Lausanne (Pays de Vaud, Switzerland), the people of, and Geneva join the Swiss confederation, 655.
- Lautrec, Lautrech (Odet de Foix), sieur de, French general in Italy (1527-8), governor of Languedoc and Provence, 70, 150.
- Lautrec, sieur de, in command of the forces at Lyons, ii. 271, 321.
-, arrival of, in Italy, ii. 298, 320, 330, 354.
-, advices from the camp of, ii. 173.
-, takes Boscho ii. 348.
-, and Alessandri della Paglia, ii. 36-971, 380, 382, 386, 390, 393, 399.
-, marches on Pavia and Milan, ii. 398, 400, 413.
-, waits for reinforcements in the Piacentino and Parmigiano, ii. 423.
-, defeats count Belgioioso at Viag-rassa, ii. 426.
-, lays siege to Pavia, and takes it by storm, ii. 417-9, 421, 429, 436, 448.
-, strongly recommended by the English ambassador (Casale) to march on Rome, 444, 448.
-, threatens Sienna, ii. 475.
-, enters the Bolognese, ii. 533, 536, 539.
-, and the Romagna, ii. 558, 567.
-, advised by the pope to proceed to Tuscany, ii. 543.
-, invades the kingdom of Naples, ii. 450-1, 610.
-, lays siege to its capital (April 1528), ii. 570.
-, intercepted letters from, to Francis, describing his perilous position, ii. 701, 769.
-, dies of the plague, ii. 784.
-, his body seized by two Spaniards, ii. 983.
- La Vala (La Val), Mous de, French captain, taken prisoner before Naples, ii. 778, 782.
- La Valle, cardinal Andrea, 1004.
-, ill-treated at Rome, ii. 202.
-, nevertheless a staunch imperialist, ii. 917, 949.
- Lavinia, Civittà (Rom. Stat.), Lannoy takes up his quarters at, ii. 232, 247.
- Lavizari, Pietro Angelo, his *Memorie Istoriche della Valtelina*, quoted, ii. 317.
- Lavoro, Terra di, in Naples, invaded by Baglione and the marquis de Saluzzo, ii. 610, 663.
- Lawyer, one from Flanders to be sent to England to help Don Iñigo, ii. 52.
- Laxao, v. Lachaulx.
- Layçola, Anton or Antonio de, master of a Spanish ship, ii. 432, 439, 458.
- League, defensive and offensive, between the pope, king of France, Venetians, &c., said to have been proclaimed at Lyons (10th January 1525), 25.
-, another, proposed by Clement to Charles after the battle of Pavia, 105, 115, 119.

- League proclaimed with all solemnity at Rome and Naples, 148, 158.
-, terms of, and the emperor's answer to the proposals made by the papal nuncio, 108, 187-8.
- against the emperor, proposed to the pope by England and Venice, 227, 250, 257, 447.
- between England and France, 305.
-, Clementine or Holy, its avowed object to drive the imperialists out of Italy, ii. 316.
-, ... , proclaimed at Venice, 781.
-, ... , at Rome (8th July 1526), 784, 793.
-, England not named in the, though the king formally joins it, 893.
-, king Henry to join the, if the marriage of king Francis and princess Mary takes place, ii. 44.
-, ambassadors of the, at Rome, ii. 55.
-, the camp of the, without provisions, ii. 239.
-, the army of the, leaves Orbieto for Perugia, ii. 249.
- takes the direction of La Romagna to operate its junction with the Switzers, and cover the Venetian frontier, *ibid.*
-, the members of the, not on good terms with each other, ii. 497.
-, treaty of, ultimately signed by the duke of Ferrara, ii. 607.
-, the ambassadors of the, detained in Spain, ii. 656.
- Lecce, bishop of, *v.* Sangro.
- Lecco, the Grisons expected at, 848-9; ii. 70, 305, 449.
- relieved by Leyva, ii. 533, 569, 619, 622.
-, governor of, *v.* Villaturliel.
- Lecce, *v.* Lecce.
- Ledesma, count of, *v.* Zuñiga.
- Lee, Dr. Edward, king's almoner and archdeacon of Colchester, ambassador in Spain, 345, 867, 878, 1039-40.
-, ... , memorandum of, concerning the emperor's debts to Henry VIII., ii. 3.
-, ... , his account of Don Iñigo de Mendoza, *In* xx.
-, ... , and Ghinucci declare war to Charles conjointly with the French ambassadors, ii. 548.
-, ... , prevented from following the imperial court, ii. 888.
-, ... , return of, to England recommended by Don Iñigo that he himself may be allowed to quit London, *ibid.*
-, dispensation brief of Julius III. read in the presence of (1529), ii. 967-8.
-, ... , the emperor's answers to the notes of, 528, 623; ii. 926.
- Le Fratte, small town in Sicily, also written *Le Fracte*, the prince of Melfi defeated at, ii. 720.
- Legates, papal, in *England*, Wolsey and Campeggio.
-, ... , in *Venice*, the bishop of Pola.
-, ... , in *France* and *Spain*, *v.* Salviati.
-, ... , in *Hungary*, *v.* Vio.
- Leghorn, *v.* Livorno.
- Le Glay, quoted, *Int.* xii, xvi, xix.
- Le Grand, quoted, ii. 386, *note*.
- Leonor, queen dowager of Portugal, *v.* Eleonor.
- Lescun, Thomas de Foix, seigneur de *Lautrec*, step-brother, and lieutenant of Odet de Foix, mortally wounded at Pavia, 106.
-, called also *L'Escu* and *Escudo*, *ibid.*
- Leguizama or *Leguizamo*, the alcalde, excommunicated by Clement as one of the judges who tried and sentenced to death bishop Acuña, 306.
- Leipzig, Leipzig, letter dated from, ii. 556.
- Lelio, Giuliano or Giulio, appointed deputy for the merchants at Rome, ii. 226.
- Leo X., pope, a sister of, quits Florence, ii. 220.
-, alluded, 905, 907.
- Leonardo y Argensola, Lupercio, royal historiographer for Aragon, *Int.* vi.
- Leonart, Maistre, one of count Hoochstraëte's secretaries, 182.
- Leonelo, *v.* Carpi.
- Leonor, *v.* Eleonor.
- Leriso (Lerici) seaport in the gulf of La Spezia; the French fleet captures at, nine ships from Sicily with provisions and ammunition for the imperial army, 865.
- Le Sauch, Jehan de, Flemish ambassador in England, 43, 46.
-, ... , instructions to (1525), 27.
-, ... , note presented to cardinal Wolsey by, 117.
-, ... , negotiations, 198-202, 205-222, 275-9.
-, ... , is succeeded by Theimseke and Jonglet, 308.
-, ... , letters to Margaret of Austria (1525), 33, 39, 40, 43, 46, 61-2, 67, 73, 74-5, 78, 97-8, 118, 122.
-, ... , to count Hoochstraëte, 105.
-, ... , to the emperor, 48, 111, 113, 123, 160.
-, ... , notice of, *Int.* xvii.
- Le Sere, barony of de, sold to count Burrello, ii. 349.
- L'Eslu, Bayard, *v.* Bayard.
- Letters intercepted from the emperor containing bills of exchange, 73.
- from Sanchez to Don Hugo, 931.
- from Mendoza to Margaret deciphered and read by the Venetians, ii. 538.
- Leva (Leyva?), Antonio, captain of Neapolitan infantry, 799.

- Leva, Antonio, probably Juan de, *ibid. note*.
- Le Viste, Le Vyste, Antoine, sieur de Fresnes, French ambassador in England, ii. 83, 109.
- Lewis, king of Hungary, *v. Louis*.
- Leyva, Antonio de, prince of *Ascoli* and marquis d'*Atela*, sallies out of Pavia and contributes mostly to the success of the imperial arms, 44.
-, in charge of the imperial army at Milan, 163.
-, borrows money for the support of the Spanish infantry, 228.
-, recommended for the command-in-chief after the death of Pescara, 364.
-, refuses to remain in guard of the duchy of Milan during Bourbon's absence unless money is immediately provided to pay his troops, ii. 46.
-, money owing to, for advances made to the imperial treasurers, 583-4.
-, the castellan of Mus (Gianicopo de' Medici), defeated by, at Corato, ii. 317-8.
-, imposes a "dacio" or tax on the Milanese for the support of his army, ii. 530.
-, gallantly holds his ground in Lombardy, ii. 531-3, 538.
-, defeats the Venetians under Fregoso, and takes from them 18 pieces of ordnance, ii. 474, 672.
-, lays siege to Lodi, ii. 692, 734.
-, retakes Pavia, ii. 693, 737.
-, Antonio de, &c., retains under his banners 3,000 of Brunswick Germans, ii. 754.
-, raises the siege of Lodi, ii. 768.
-, accused of being the principal cause of the discontent of the Milanese, ii. 797.
-, and of taking ransom and composition money, ii. 724, 797.
-, answer of, to those charges, *ibid.*
-, much disliked by Bourbon, ii. 840.
-, shuts himself up in the castle of Milan in consequence of a mutiny of the Germans, ii. 813.
-, unable through bad health to bear the fatigues of a campaign, 1011; ii. 853, 874.
-, a general to be appointed to succeed, in case of death, ii. 854.
-, letters to the emperor, 96, 112, 128, 349, 537; ii. 147, 596, 611, 649.
-, to Lope de Soria, 399.
-, to Lope Hurtado, 198.
-, Doña Constanza de, daughter of Antonio, ii. 727, *note*.
- Leyva, Geronimo de, ii. 796.
-, Juan de, half brother of Antonio, his house assailed by the populace at Turin, ii. 224.
-, in Lombardy, ii. 281.
-, appointed governor of the castle of Milan, ii. 295.
-, death of ii. 796.
-, another Juan, nephew of Antonio, ii. 799.
-, Juana, daughter of Antonio, ii. 727.
- Liege, cardinal bishop of, *v. La Mark*.
-, Guillaume de, cardinal of Tortosa, 36, *v. Enckwoërt*.
- Lignani, Alessandro, count of *Settimo*, son-in-law of Mercurino da Gattinara, 225, 230, 884, 1002.
- Ligny (Ligne ?), duke Frederic of, competitor for the crown of Bohemia, 1053.
- Liguria, 95, 905.
- Lilio, Grotto, *v. Greto*.
- Lille, *v. Lisle*, town of Flanders, archives at, *Int. i.*
- Limosniere, Il [di Borbone], *v. Montbardon*.
- Lincoln, the eldest son of the duke of Suffolk to be created earl of, 211.
- Linbares, count of, Portuguese nobleman, ii. 619.
- Lintz, in Austria, 897, 899, 938, 975.
-, letters dated from, 569, 581.
- Liorna, *v. Leghorn*.
- Liñan, *v. Lignani*.
- Lisbal, Fernando, a Calabrese, goes over to the enemy, ii. 869.
- Lisbon, letters dated from, ii. 642.
- Lisieux, bishop of, in France, attends the meeting of theologians in Paris for the divorce case, ii. 829.
- Lisle (Lille), viscount, *v. Plantagenet and Brandon*.
- Litera, barony of, confiscated from Carlo Miravale, ii. 728.
- Livorno (Leghorn), in Tuscany:
-, and Petrasancta promised by the emperor to the doge of Genoa, 993.
-, occupied by the Florentines (1527), ii. 204, 258.
-, the French and Venetian fleets at, for the purpose of infesting the Sieneese coast, ii. 487.
- Loaysa, Don Garcia de, bishop of *Osma*, Charles' confessor, 61, 148, 245; ii. 100; 967-8.
-, sincerely attached to the arch-duke, and always ready to promote his interests at the imperial court, ii. 99, 995,
-, is of opinion that on no account is war to be made on the pope, 885.
-, deprived by Charles of his seat in the council of state, ii. 630.

- Loaysa, Don Garcia de, appointed to negotiate the sale of the Spice islands, ii. 996.
-, Hernando de?, a servant of the marquis of Pescara, 53; ii. 753.
- Loconvegino (?), village of the Abruzzo Ultra, between Benafro and Aquila, the imperialists encamped at, ii. 609.
- Lockinghen, Loquinguen, German captain, sent on a mission to Spain, ii. 791.
- Lodi (Lombarby), 58.
-, Wolsey's advice concerning, 71.
-, surprised by the confederates, together with its castle, 765-6, 773, 780, 784, 859-60; ii. 1002.
-, unsuccessfully besieged by Leyva and Brunswick, ii. 739, 753.
-, siege of, raised in consequence of a mutiny of the Germans, ii. 739.
-, Leyva's letters from the Torreta in front of, ii. 510.
-, to be again attacked by the Spaniards under Leyva, ii. 879.
-, Vecchio (Lombardy), the confederates effect their junction at, 795.
- Lodron, Lodrone, count Giovan Battista, 164.
-, leaves for Pavia, 767, 769, 862.
-, goes to Mantua with a message from the emperor to Federigo Gonzaga, 941.
-, sent by Leyva against Pedro Navarro, ii. 260.
-, signs the capitulation of Rome, ii. 232.
-, appointed governor of Alessandria, which he surrenders to Lautrec, 418.
-, bad management of, causes the loss of Pavia and other towns in Lombardy, 419-20.
-, expected back from Germany with 7,000 auxiliaries, ii. 426, 772, 941.
-, orders intimated by, to the marquis of Mantua, ii. 554, 941.
-, sent by Brunswick with a message to Lope de Soria, ii. 762.
-, expected at Milan with reinforcements, ii. 426, 772, 941.
-, petition of, to the emperor, 266.
- Lofredo, Sigismondo di', letter to the emperor, ii. 522.
- Logroño in Rioja (Spain), unsuccessfully besieged by the French during their invasion of Navarre in 1521, 616, *note*.
- Lombardy to be invaded by the French and the Venetians whilst the imperialists are at Rome (1527), ii. 238.
-, Lautrec's successes in, unprofitable to the leaguers owing to that general's march on Naples, ii. 543.
- Lomelina, Lomellina, Genoese carak so called, captured by Andrea Doria, 289, 611, 621-2; ii. 369, 768.
- Lomelina, a province of Lombardy, ii. 845.
-, count Filippo Terniello holds his ground in the, against the French, 876.
- London, illuminations and rejoicings in, at the news of the battle of Pavia, 91.
-, tower of, artillery in the, inspected, ii. 229.
-, Richard Pace confined in the, 440.
-, letters dated from, 1, 3, 5, 8, 10, 12, 20, 31, 33, 36, 38-40, 43, 45, 46-8, 52, 61-4, 67, 70, 73-6, 78-9, 83, 86, 89-90, 97-9, 105, 111, 113-7, 119, 160, 189, 191, 213, 223, 227, 233, 241; (1526), 341, 469, 619; (1527), ii. 8, 29, 32, 37, 39, 42-4, 55, 66, 69, 75, 83, 113, 152, 189, 220, 224, 241, 370; (1528), ii. 370, 541, 550, 562, 570, 586-7, 592; (1529), 600, 614, 618, 621, 646, 650, 668, 675.
- Londres, Mons de, *v.* Tunstall.
- Longena, Pietro, *v.* Lughena.
- Longhio, *v.* Lang.
- Longobal (Longueval?), Mons de, on various missions to Italy and Flanders, ii. 72, 97, 147, 205, 246, 273.
- Longueval, *v.* Longobal.
- Lopez, Juan, Spanish pilot, obtains the command of four French galleys, 616.
-, Don Juan Luis, marquis del Risco, ii. 1000, *note*.
-, [Gallegos], Sancho, lieutenant of a company of Spanish men-at-arms, 229, 251, 254.
-, sent to Spain by his comrades in demand arrears of pay (1526-8), 1011; ii. 69, 72, 88, 163, 266, 764.
-, de Haro, Alonso, Spanish genealogist, quoted, ii. 66, 251, 727.
-, de Mendoza, Fr. Inigo, frequently mistaken for D. Inigo de Mendoza, the ambassador, *Int.* xix.
-, Pacheco D. Diego, duke of *Escalona*, marquis de *Villena*, letters to the emperor, 355.
-, de Sosa, captain Diego, governor of Trezzo, ii. 307.
- Loquinguen, *v.* Lockinghen.
- Lorenzo, *v.* Toscano.
- Loretto, Santa Mario di, or our lady of, Lautrec at, ii. 584.
-, Francesco Sforza, on a pilgrimage to, ii. 609, 631.
- Loria (Lauria?), Francesco or Tiberio di, a Calabrese, goes over to the enemy with his galley, ii. 715, 718, 751.
-, takes the French part in Calabria, 720, 1001.
-, *v.* Lauria.
- Lormano, Gasparo, agent of France in Switzerland, *v.* Sormano and Tormano.
- Lorraine, Claude de, count and afterwards duke of *Guise*, governor of Burgundy, 150.

- Lorraine, Claude de, to be sent against Genoa and Naples, 865.
 sent on a mission to Switzerland, 483, 1008.
 to Spain, to propose the exchange of Provence for Burgundy, 1039.
 duchy of, invaded by German peasants, 174.
 François, duke of, 174, 206, 1008.
 cardinal Jean de, 362, 1008; ii. 67.
 signs the petition of the cardinals assembled at Compiègne, ii. 386.
 Vaudemont, Louis de, count of *Vaudemont*, brother of the cardinal and of the duke of Guise, at Marseilles, 1008.
 Clement sends for, with the intention of making him king of Naples, ii. 157.
 arrives at Civittà Vecchia, ii. 56, 160.
 at Rome, ii. 67, 157.
 prepares to invade that kingdom, ii. 75, 245, 255.
 detained by illness at Ostia, ii. 87, 93.
 to go to France, 160.
 called by the Spaniards "*Rey de la Faba*," or "*the mock king*," 57, 87, 151; ii. 55.
 in Lombardy with Lautrec, ii. 448.
 dies of the plague before Naples, ii. 755, 758, 768.
 his body to be removed to a church in that city, ii. 773.
 Losana, *v.* Lausanne.
 Los Angeles, Fr. Francisco de, *v.* Quiñones.
 Los Velez, marquis de, *v.* Fajardo.
 Louis, count palatine, competitor for the crown of Bohemia, 1053.
 II., king of Hungary and Bohemia, *v.* Ludwig.
 Louise de *Savoie*, mother of Francis I. and queen regent of France, 144, 384.
 requested to send ambassadors to England, 205.
 informed by *Praët* of Francis' dangerous illness at Madrid, 463.
 and the dauphin of France at Mont de Marsan, 615.
 de *Valois*, daughter of Francis I., promised in marriage to Charles, 906.
 Louvain, president of, 968.
 Low Countries, impoverished by the war with France. 7.
 contingent to be furnished by the, for a joint invasion of Normandy, 80.
 various towns in the, demanded by Henry as security for the intended marriage of princess Mary to Charles, 81.
 Low Countries, ambassadors of the, in England: Bourgogne, Carmonailles, Jonglet, Laurens, Le Sauch, Theimseke.
 arrival of the, in London (5th March 1525), 75, 85.
 lodged opposite St. Paul's, 76.
 received by the king and cardinal, 77.
 answer made to their overtures, 78.
 Lubiana, *v.* Louvain.
 Lucata Civittà (Naples), the "*fuorusciti*" of Aquila take possession of, ii. 77.
 Lucca (Lucha), signory of, the "*fuorusciti*" of, invade the Sienese territory, 326, 333.
 letters to be written to, and Siena, in credence of Cesare Ferramosca, 998.
 reported to have joined the league against the emperor, 25.
 .. attacked and plundered by the duke of Albany, *ibid.* 29.
 money claimed from, by the emperor's generals 104, 105.
 to be attacked by the Florentines, 826.
 shows better feeling, yet is ready to join the league, ii. 265.
 Hypolito da, slain by Giovanni de' Medici, 848.
 Lucera, a city of the Rom. Stat., occupied by the confederates, ii. 610, 832.
 Lucerago, in Lombardy, Lannoy with the imperial army at, 42.
 Ludwig II. (Louis, Lewis), king of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, slain at Mohatz in battle with the Turks (29th August 1526), 888, 898-9, 932-3, 956.
 his widow, Mary of Austria, besieged in Possonia or Presburg, 899.
 archduke Ferdinand claims the inheritance of, ii. 999.
 Lugano, Pedro de Burgos, and a Frenchman sent by Bourbon to the archduke, arrested at, 855.
 Luis, Miçer, or Luigi, ii. 964.
 Luiz, Dom, infante of Portugal, 369; ii. 616-7.
 letters to the emperor, ii. 387-9.
 Luna, Conde de, *v.* Quiñones.
 Lughena, Pietro di, captain of Venetian men-at-arms, killed before Cremona (1526), 862, *v.* Longena.
 Lunigiana, Via, the road leading from Reggio to that part of Tuscany called Fivizzano, 329, 999.
 Giovanni de' Medici in the, 289, 333; ii. 999.
 Lusignan, Jacques III. de, last king of Cyprus, son of, offers to conquer that island, and hold it for the emperor (1529), ii. 921.
 Luther, Martin, wide spread of his doctrines, 67, 69, 324.

- Luther, Martin, affair of, taken greatly at heart by the pope, 205, 286.
, emperor's journey to Italy and Germany considered by Clement as the best remedy for the extirpation of his sect, 416.
 Lutherans assist the duke of Wurtemberg in the recovery of his estate, 89.
, aided by the French, *ibid.*
, originally from Alsace and the county of Ferrette, 90.
, daily increasing in Germany and the rest of Europe, 67, 149.
 Luxan, Francisco de, 720.
 Luxembourg, Luxemburg, duchy of, 81.
, Charles de, count de *Brienne*, lieutenant-governor of Picardy, 150.
 Luzzasco (Luciasco, Chasco) Paolo, Italian condottiere, generally called Paolo Chasco; refuses to serve against the emperor, 775.
, accepts an offer from Venice, ii. 70.
, in command of the light horse at Piacenza, *ibid.*
, lieutenant of, taken prisoner out of Rome, ii. 226.
, under Lautrec, ii. 540.
, deserts the league in order to serve under Leyva in Lombardy, ii. 691, 695, 704.
, a price offered at Venice for his head, ii. 692.
 Lyons, in France, the Milanese "fuorusciti" assemble at, 483.
, advices from, 305.
, letters dated from, 82, 225, 275, 330.

LL.

- Llanos, Francisco de, groom of the chamber to archduke Ferdinand, king of Bohemia, ii. 60, 454.

M.

- McCarthy More (written *Macart Mor*), chief captain of Desmond, ii. 834.
 Machicao, Machycao, Spanish captain, ii. 697.
 McConell, Donald, thirteenth lord of the isles, ii. 993.
 Macone, Venetian captain, killed before Cremona, 844, *note*.
 Maçote (Massoti?) Hernando, captain in the service of the league, his company of light horse surprised at Crabacore, near Bologna, 892.
 Maddalone, Mathalone, (Naples), ii. 853.
, letter dated from, ii. 590.
, count of, *v.* Caraffa.
 Madrid, in New Castille; the concordia or convention of, communicated to Henry through Don Iñigo, 678.
, letters dated from, 16, 17, 49-53, 50-1, 55-6, 65, 68-9; ii. 411, 538, 543-6, 566, 634.
, summary of the treaty (*concordia*), concluded at, (14th January 1526,) 320.
 Magis, Bartholomeo di, appointed imperial treasurer at Milan, ii. 421.
, Lodovico, chairman of the Ufficio della Biada, *ibid.*
 Magunça, Maguncia, Mayence, *v.* Maintz.
 Mahon, in the island of Menorca, Lannoy touches at, 1006, 1012.
 Mai (May, Maij, Maius), Micer Miguel, regent or president of the council of Aragon, imperial ambassador in Rome:
 ... to be sent to England as Don Iñigo's colleague, but in reality as Katharine's counsel in the divorce case, ii. 510, 804-5, 848.
, appointed ambassador to Clement, 738, 811, 853, 875.
, credentials of (17th July 1528),
, arrival of, in Naples, 775.
, instructions to, ii. 563.
, has a protest drawn and circulated against the cardinals who propose leaving Rome in the event of Clement's death, 947.
, petitions and protests of, in the divorce case, 667.
, negotiates at Rome, ii. 896, 910-2, 915-17, 920-6, 929-34, 937-57, 959-66, 969-78, 985-6.
, presents protests in the divorce case, ii. 978.
, letters to the emperor (1528), ii. (1529), 636, 640, 643, 645, 647, 653-4, 657, 659-60, 664, 672.
, notice of, ii. *Int.* ix-xi.
 Maintz (Mentz, Mayence, &c.), bishop elector of, *v.* Wolffhart.
, the emperor's letter to, 624.
 Malatesta, Sigismondo, lord of Rimini, joins Lautrec, ii. 567.
, a "condotta" given by the confederates to, ii. 569.
, obtains from the pope the investiture of Rimini, ii. 651.
, marries Giulia, daughter of Giovan Francesco, lord of La Mirandola, *ibid.*
 Malatesti, Giovanni Battista de', Mantuan ambassador in Venice, ii. 831, 894.
 Malavolti, Orlando, his history of Siena quoted, ii. 998, 1003.
 Maldonado, Dr., canon of Avila, at Rome, 240; ii. 976.
 Malfa, Malfè, Malfi, a town of Naples, often mistaken for *Amalfi*, ii. *Int.* xxxv.
, prince of, *v.* Caracciolo.

- Malfeto, *v.* Molfetta.
- Malfi, Malphi, *v.* Amalfi.
- Malignano, Maliñano, *v.* Marignano.
- Malines, *v.* Mechlin.
- Mallorca, island of, one of the Balearic, galleys of the procurator-general of, to keep watch on the African shores, ii. 757.
- Malta, the island of, ceded by Charles to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, 306.
- Malversin, Manuel, gentleman-in-waiting to Lannoy, 197, *note*.
- Manfredone, *v.* Manfrone.
- Manfredonia, the ancient Siponto in the Capitanata of Naples, count Burrello obliges the French to raise the siege of, ii. 768.
-, the confederates defeated at, ii. 812.
-, government of, given to count Miniano, ii. 856.
-, archbishop of, *v.* Monte.
- Manfrone, Giulio, also called *Manfredone*, Venetian captain, slain under the walls of Cremona (1526), 844, 848, 853, 862.
-, Giampaolo, 844.
- Manrique, D. Alonso, Spanish general, goes to Naples to hold a conference with Chalon, ii. 700.
-, ... , sails from Sicily, ii. 737.
-, ... , dies at Naples of the plague, ii. 770.
- Maingoval, Mingoval, sieur de, *v.* Lannoy (Jean).
- Malaga, city of Spain, Portuguese sailors arrested by the corregidor of, ii. 619.
-, ordnance at, ii. 757.
- Malaspina, marquise of, 650.
-, ... , invaded by Giovannino de' Medici, 321, 321, 329, 341.
-, ... , the Italian infantry under Leyva to be quartered in the, 573, 597.
- Manfredonia, ii. 657.
- Manrique, D. Alonso, archbishop of Seville, (1524-38), papal brief addressed to, enjoining him to impose silence to those who contradicted Erasmus' writings and opinions, ii. 254.
-, Garci, Spanish captain, governor of Gaeta, ii. 163, 229, 636, 671-2, 835.
-, ... , ordered to go to Ostia, ii. 898.
-, ... , letter to the emperor, ii. 618.
- de Lara D. Antonio, second duke of *Najera*, congratulatory letter of, to the emperor, 44, 93, 616, *note*.
-, ... , D. Juan Esteban, third duke of *Najera*, ii. 262.
- Mantua, meeting of cardinals at (1527), ii. 387.
- Mantua, marquis of, *v.* Gonzaga (Federigo).
-, marchioness of, *v.* Paleologo (Margaret).
-, cardinal, *v.* Gonzaga (Ercole).
-, marchesana di, her palace at Rome sacked by the imperialists, ii. 198.
- Mantuan, explanation given by Clement to Sessa concerning his armaments in the, 256.
- ambassador residing at the imperial court, ii. 738, 900-1.
- Manuel, Dom, king of Portugal, ii. 123, *note*.
-, imperial messenger, ii. 630.
- , D. Juan, knight of the Golden Fleece, imperial ambassador in Rome (1520-22), alluded to, *Int.* xxi, 1009; ii. 3, 61, 148, 949.
-, ... , leaves court and retires to his estates, ii. 10.
-, ... , of the emperor's privy council, ii. 256, 339.
-, ... , a pension offered by Ferdinand to, if he will promote his appointment as duke of Milan, ii. 334.
-, ... , considered a fit person for the vice-royalty of Naples, if he were not old and infirm, ii. 497.
-, ... , proposed for a mission to Italy, ii. 548.
-, ... , which he declines on account of old age and infirmities, ii. 548.
-, ... , favours Ferdinand's pretensions to the duchy of Milan, ii. 572.
- Mar (?), Gaspar del, colonel of German infantry, ii. 57, 306.
-, ... , treasurer (?) of the Germans, ii. 828.
-, ... , dies of the plague at Naples, *ibid.*
-, ... , another, captain of the German peasants, and a Lutheran, offers his services to Venice, ii. 809, 10.
- Maramaus, *v.* Marramaldo.
- Marano (Maran, Marrano), in the duchy of Frioli, Italian gentleman, agent of France, taken prisoner by the governor of, 90.
-, ... , Fruntsperg at, 984, 995, 1014.
-, ... , the Germans under Brunswick to pass muster at, ii. 655.
- Marcello, agent of the Colonnese at the imperial court, 781.
-, Alessandro, Venetian captain, killed under the walls of Cremona, 844, *note*.
- Marches, infantry raised in the, for the pope's service, ii. 38.
-, the legacy of, said to have been conferred by Clement on cardinal Colonna, ii. 491.
- Marco, Antonio, Italian captain, extortions of, at Arqua, 407.
- Marcon, Marccone, signor, a Neapolitan, ii. 834.
-, count, tried for rebellion, ii. 856.

- Marcon, count, and executed at Naples ii. 865.
, his name written also *Morion* and *Morcon*, *ibid*, note.
- Margaret of Austria, dowager of Savoy, and governess of the Low Countries, offers Henry a contingent of troops for the invasion of France, 30, 31.
, ..., ambassadors of, in England, negotiate respecting the destination of her auxiliary forces, 79, 80, 86-7, 92-4.
, ..., said to be ready to pawn her own jewels for that purpose, 81.
, ..., summons her council to deliberate upon the English plan of campaign, 93, 99.
, ..., infamatory libels against, and the emperor, published in England, 97, 99; ii. 602.
, ..., letter of, to Don Iñigo, intercepted by the Venetians, ii. 538.
, ..., her exertions to procure a peace between Charles and Francis, ii. 642.
, ..., to meet with Louise de Savoie at Cambray for the purpose of settling together the preliminaries of a general peace, ii. 749, 784.
, ..., instructions to her ambassadors in England, 27.
, ..., letters to Don Iñigo (1528), ii. 360.
, ..., to cardinal Wolsey (1525), 54, 72.
, ..., from Lannoy to, 4.
, ..., natural daughter of Charles V., offered in marriage to the duke of Ferrara for his eldest son Hercole, ii. 883.
, ..., her marriage to one of Clement's nephews first proposed by Soria, ii. 755.
, ..., made one of the conditions of the treaty of Barcelona, ii. 970.
, of Scotland asks for the hand of princess Mary for her son James, 91, 111, 124.
- Maria, infanta of Spain, daughter of Charles (born 21st June 1528), to remain with her brother Philip in charge of her mother, the empress Isabella, ii. 898.
, of Portugal, daughter of Don Manuel and Eleonora, to be married to the duke of Richmond, ii. 123, 629, 629.
, ..., promised to the dauphin of France, *ibid*, 173.
, ..., chaplain to, ii. 619.
, [Anna], infanta of Spain, widow of Louis II., king of Bohemia and Hungary, 932, 956, 1050-1, 1053.
, ..., Ferdinand, her brother, goes to her assistance, 950-1.
- Marieta, his "Catalogo de los obispos, &c., de la Orden de Santo Domingo" quoted, *Int*. xiii.
- Marignano, Mariñano, a small town near Milan, called also *Melegnano*?, 40.
, the confederates after their defeat (28th June 1526) fall back upon, 785, 792, 795-7.
, occupied again by the Venetians and the Sforzini (July 1527), ii. 270.
, who are defeated by Leyva, ii. 281, 286, 294, 775.
- Marillano (Marigliano), Giovanni Francesco, son of, appointed "conservatore" of Milan, 430.
- Marin, Dr. Diego, 230.
, Fernando, abbot of *Najera*, and commissary-general to the imperial armies in Italy, 57, 224.
, ..., pension on the bishopric of Cindad, Rodrigo, granted to, 225, 230.
, ..., deprived of his office by Bourbon, 901.
, ..., much disliked by Chalon, ii. 218, 241.
, ..., struck with the plague at Rome, ii. 269, 293.
, ..., dies (July 1527), ii. 292.
, ..., letters to the emperor (1525), 22, 55, 57, 77, 104, 124, 129, 142, 146, 154, 177, 185, 199, 239, 271, 280, 293, 297, 308; (1526), 325, 350, 352, 358, 360, 374, 382, 385, 389, 405, 407, 415, 428, 432, 441, 454, 471, 485, 499, 523, 540, 573, 592, 617, 629; (1527), ii. 27, 33, 45, 78, 85, 93, 97.
, ..., to Soria, 397, 399, 486.
, ..., notice of, *Int*. xxxvii.
- Marino, in the Campania of Rome, ii. 56.
, the duke of Sessa leaves for, in the territory of the Colonnese, 779.
, is joined by Don Hugo at, 834, 847.
, taken by the papal troops, 1005-7.
, sacked by the Germans, ii. 558.
- Marnix, Jean de, seigneur de *Thoulouse*, treasurer to Margaret of Austria, 51.
- Marradas, Gaspar de, knight of Santiago, and a native of Valencia, ii. 991.
- Marramaldo or *Marramao*, Fabricio, captain of Italian infantry, 631, 772, 992.
, ..., wounded at Lodi (1526), 860.
, ..., sent against Giovanni Birago at Valença, 865, 890.
, ..., to help the Siennese, ii. 558.
, ..., to the assistance of the Colonnese, ii. 560, 569.
, ..., accused of treason at Naples, and confined in Castilnovo, 741.
, ..., tried by court-martial, and acquitted, 770, 772-4, 785, 790, 825.
- Marriages and alliances, eminent (projected or concluded):
, between princess Mary of England and the emperor Charles, 35, 45, 47, 77-8, 81, 91.
, the same and Francis I., 149; ii. 889.

Marriages and alliances—*cont.* :

-, or the dauphin of France, 305, 617, 1016; ii. 149, 178.
-, or Charles, duke of Orleans, ii. 149, 173.
- proposals of the French ambassadors and answer to them, ii. 178.
-, of the same and the infante Dom Luiz of Portugal, ii. 662.
-, the same and James of Scotland, 45, 47, 91, 192, 205.
-, said to be greatly desired by Henry, ii. 192.
-, of Isabella of Portugal and the emperor Charles, recommended by the Cortes or general estates of Spain, 254.
-, effected (3rd March 1526), 644.
-, of Mary of Austria, queen dowager of Hungary, and James of Scotland, strongly recommended by Don Iñigo, ii. 155, 192.
-, of the queen dowager of Portugal (Eleonor), sister of Charles V., and the constable of Bourbon, promised, but not effected, 562.
-, of the same and the duke of Orleans, first proposed by the queen regent of France, 142.
-, objected to by the latter on the plea that a dispensation is required and has not been applied for, ii. 178.
-, the same and Francis I., ii. 173, 464.
-, her daughter, Mary, and the dauphin of France, 464.
- the same and the duke of Orleans, ii. 629.
-, princess Louise, daughter of Francis I. and the emperor Charles, 911.
-, René of France, and Ercole d'Este, ii. 755, 837.
-, the same and Dom Luiz, infante of Portugal, 629.
-, Claude, daughter of Louis XII., and prince Charles, afterwards emperor, 911.
-, which marriage not taking place she espouses Francis, *ibid.*
-, Marguerite d'Orleans, dowager duchess of Alençon, and the constable Charles de Bourbon, 563, 882.
-, one of the daughters of Ferdinand and Federico Gonzaga, ii. 738.
-, the same and Henri d'Albret, styled king of Navare, 616-7.
-, Margaret, natural daughter of the emperor, and one of the pope's nephews, ii. 755.
-, proposed to Charles as early as April 1526, 741.
-, negotiations respecting her union with Alessandro de' Medici, duke of Città di Penna, ii. 755, 970.
-, the same and Ercole d'Este, ii. 883.

Marriages and alliances—*cont.* :

-, Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, and Margaret or Joanna, the emperor's natural daughters, ii. 146.
-, or one of the princesses of Denmark, *Dorotea* or *Christierna*, *ibid.*, 187.
-, between the duchess of Alençon and Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, 393.
- Marseilles, expedition to, under Bourbon alluded, 31-2.
-, attack on the port recommended by Soria, 59, 60, 298.
-, fleet fitted out at, ii. 56.
- Martesana, name of a *navilio* or waterworks on the Pò, 514.
- Martinengo, Fra. Gabriel di, a native of Brescia, prior of *Barletta*, directs the works of fortification at Genoa, 900, 903.
-, taken prisoner by the confederates, ii. 347.
-, released, ii. 353.
-, proposed by Caracciolo for the command of the imperial forces in Lombardy in the event of Leyva's death, ii. 854.
-, recommended by Soria, ii. 833.
-, on a mission to Spain, ii. 870, 898.
-, Pietro, a Venetian captain, passes through Turin with money and cavalry for the marquis of Saluzzo, 842.
- Martinez de Leyva, Juan, father of Antonio de Leyva, 224, *note*.
-, Sancho, bearer of despatches from Don Iñigo to the emperor, ii. 849, 889.
- de Recalde, Juan, 803.
- Mary, princess of England, daughter of Henry VIII., negotiations respecting her intended marriage to Charles, 46, 77, 78, 81.
-, to take lessons in Spanish, Italian, and French, 123.
-, to be married to James V. of Scotland, 46, 47, 91, 124, 254.
-, to the dauphin of France, 305.
-, to Francis I., ii. 109, 124.
-, to the duke of Orleans, 149.
-, answers in Latin a peroration of the imperial ambassadors, 82.
-, to be present at the reception of the French embassy, ii. 109.
-, to be betrothed to Francis, *ibid.*, 124.
-, with her father at Richmond, ii. 117.
-, of Hungary, sister of Charles and widow of king Louis II., king of Bohemia and Hungary, besieged at Pressburg, 899, 956.
-, Ferdinand of Austria prepares to assist, 934, 938.
-, goes to Vienna for the purpose of holding an interview with her brother, 961.

- Mary, of Hungary, and invites him to take possession of the kingdom, 980.
-, infanta of Portugal, daughter of king Dom Manuel and Eleonor, and niece of Charles, asked in marriage for Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, ii. 146.
- Masparroz, Mazparroz, Mons. de, *v.* Asparroz.
- Massa, a town of Tuscany, belonging to a brother of cardinal Cibo, cardinal Cortona and the Medici take refuge in, ii. 220, 258.
- Masserano, the estate of, belonging to the Fieschi, disputed, 1052.
- Masyn, Carlo di, a Piedmontese, murdered, 986.
- Matera (Naples), archbishop of, to be created cardinal on the payment of 20,000 ducats, ii. 508.
- Mathalon, Mathalun, a castle of Naples, ii. 720, *v.* Maddalone.
-, Maddalone, count, *v.* Caraffa (Diomedea).
- Matheo, Miçer, Ferrarese ambassador at Rome, 14.
- Mathieu, Praet's secretary in London, 184.
- Maurienne, *v.* San Giovanni di Maurienna.
- Maximiano, German captain, serves under Leyva at Pavia, 164.
- in Lombardy, ii. 368.
- Maximilian, emperor and king of the Romans, grandfather of Charles V., alluded to, 910.
- of Transylvania, letters to secretary Valdés, ii. 223, 531-2.
- May, *v.* Mai.
- Mayno, Gaspar del, *v.* Almayno.
-, Thomas del, a Milanese, sent by Francesco Sforza to Spain to obtain for him the investiture of the duchy, 383.
-, ... called also *Almayno*, 394.
- Mayorga, knight commander, ii. 312.
- Mazara, in Sicily, *v.* Mazzara.
- Mazatosto, Ricardo, Roman gentleman, pope's hostages lodged at the house of, ii. 397.
- Mazii, Bartholomeo de', Milanese, recommended by Leyva for the post of paymaster-general to the imperial army, ii. 372, 421.
-, Lodovico de', brother of the above, *ibid.*
- Mazzara, in Sicily, pension on the archbishop of, consigned to Miçer Agostino Foglieta, 661; ii. 235.
- Mecatti, Giuseppe Maria, Florentine historian, his "*Storia Cronologica di Firenze*," quoted, ii. 917.
- Mechlin (Malines), in Flanders, 201, 206.
-, letters dated from, 36.
-, president of, *v.* Laurrens.
- Medal, one with the effigy of Soliman, the sultan of Turkey, presented by Doria to the emperor, ii. 866.
- Medeghino, Il, surname of Gianiacopo de' Medici, *v.* Medici (Gianiacopo).
- Medici, family of the, expelled from Florence, ii. 200, 226, 234, 264.
-, ... take refuge in Massa, ii. 258.
-, ... ask permission to go to Genoa, ii. 288.
-, Alessandro de', duke of *Civittà di Penna*, nephew (natural son?) of pope Clement, 264.
-, ... expelled from Florence, ii. 226.
-, ... at Rome, ii. 923.
-, ... proposed marriage between the emperor's bastard daughter and, ii. 755.
-, Bernardo de', a Milanese noble, ii. 317, *note*.
-, Caterina de', daughter of Lorenzo, and niece of Clement, overtures for her marriage, ii. 970.
-, Clarice de', wife of Philippo Strozzi, 994.
-, Cosmo or Cosimo de', son of Giovanni and nephew of pope Clement VII., to marry Isabella Colonna, ii. 626.
-, Galeotto de', ii. 1003.
-, Giangiacopo de', surnamed *Il Medeghino*, warder, and marquis of *Mus*, son of Bernardo, 83, 398, 743, *note*.
-, ... in the service of Francesco Sforza, 705, 756, 839.
-, ... stops two Venetian ambassadors going to France, 831.
-, ... and to Switzerland with money, 840.
-, ... defeated at Corato, ii. 317-8.
-, ... brother of, executed by order of Leyva, ii. 622.
-, ... in treaty with the imperialists, 647.
-, ... grant made to, in the estate of Milan, ii. 902.
-, Giovanni, Giovannino, Jennyno, &c., de' with the French before Pavia, wounded in a skirmish, 48.
-, ... invades the marquisate of Malaspina, 321, 329, 341.
-, ... takes service under the pope, 831.
-, ... at variance with Rangone, 848.
-, ... one of his lieutenants killed before Milan, 892.
-, ... the pope orders him to disarm, 948.
-, ... refuses and attacks the Germans under Fruntpersg, 926, 946, 1002, 1008.
-, ... wounded at Governolo, 1037.
-, ... has his leg amputated, 1034, 1036-7.

- Medici, Giovanni, dies at Mantua from the results of the operation (29th November 1526), 1032.
-, his widow (Maria Salviati), quits Florence, ii. 220.
-, Giuliano or Julianio de', duke of *Nemours*, brother of pope Clement, 264.
-, Ippolito de', bastard son of Guiliano, legitimation of, procured, 264.
-, to be married to a niece of Clement, *ibid.*
-, expelled from Florence with the rest of the Medici, ii. 226.
-, goes to Rome post haste to be married to the daughter of Vespasiano Colonna, ii. 852.
-, created cardinal, ii. 672, 923.
-, Lorenzo de', duke of *Urbino*, 186, 264, 252.
-, his daughter (Caterina) promised to Ercole d' Este, 76, 1055.
-, Lucrezia, sister of Leo X., ii. 220.
- [da Ceri] Lorenzo and Lorenzino de', usually called *Renzo da Ceri*, 598.
-, a cardinal's hat for one of his brothers, the hand of a daughter of Jacopo Salviati for himself, and an estate in Naples promised to, if he will take the command of the papal army, 997.
-, arrives in Rome, accompanied by one son of cardinal Orsino, ii. 6.
-, takes the command of the papal forces, ii. 78.
-, Paolo de', signs the convention of Florence, 163.
- Mediona, a Roman, petitions for the abbacy of Castelbetrana, ii. 963.
- Medrano, equerry to the pope, on a mission to Charles, 887, 892.
- Melça (Lombardy), a detachment of, the confederated army to be sent to, and Cassano, 983.
- Melegnano, *v.* Marignano.
- Melfi, *Melphi*, *Melfa* (Naples), attacked by Navarro and Lautrec, ii. 647.
- gallantly defended, 667.
- taken by storm (April 1528),
-, prince of, *v.* Caracciolo (Sergiano).
- Melito, bishop of, ii. 689.
- Melphe, Melphi, *v.* Melfi and Amalfi.
- Melun, in France, the court at, ii. 797-9.
-, letter dated from, ii. 557.
-, Hughes de, viscount of Ghent, *Int.* xix.
- Menafra (?), Antonio di, 410, *v.* Benaffro and Venafro.
- Men-at-arms, imperial, after the sack of Rome, threaten to leave for Naples owing to their arrears not having been paid, ii. 237.
- Men-at-arms, imperial, assemble tumultuously in Campo Hagon or Nagone at Rome, ii. 238.
- Mendes, Andres, Spanish captain, ii. 697.
- appointed to command the artillery at Naples, ii. 702.
- Mendoza, Andres de, Spanish captain; signs the capitulation of Rome, ii. 232.
-, D. Antonio de, prior of Santiago, sent by Charles on a mission to the Low Countries and to Bohemia, 1050-3, 1058; ii. 1, 14, 25, 72, 106, 148, 150, 246, 660, 680, 698.
-, letters and instructions to, 643, 660; ii. 229.
-, D. Iñigo de, bishop elect of Burgos, imperial ambassador in England, notice of, *Int.* xix-xx.
-, instructions to, 410.
-, arrested at Arques in France, 1016.
-, destroys his correspondence and instructions, 1317.
-, arrives in Flanders, 1010.
-, in London, 1039.
-, account of his first conference with Wolsey, and audience from Henry, ii. 16-37.
-, owns having brought to England full powers to treat, ii. 20.
-, proposes two means of solving the emperor's debt to Henry, ii. 21.
-, and a new treaty of defensive and offensive alliance between England and Spain, ii. 23.
-, offers Wolsey a large pension on the duchy of Milan, ii. 24.
-, but objects to the truce proposed by him, ii. 35.
-, and declines taking any engagements respecting Flanders and the intercourse of trade, ii. 36.
-, his powers considered insufficient, ii. 105.
-, delays as much as possible his consent to the truce, and insists on the renewal of the alliance with England, 106.
-, prevented from seeing and speaking to the queen except in Wolsey's presence, ii. 110.
-, puts into Katharine's hands a letter from the emperor, ii. 116.
-, tries in vain to bribe Wolsey, ii. 24, 86, 436, 439.
-, letters from, to the lady Margaret of Flanders intercepted by the Venetians and deciphered, ii. 538.
-, under arrest in London, ii. 587.
-, presented by Charles to the archiepiscopal see of Burgos in Castille, ii. 614, 921.
-, appointed with Guillaume des Barres and Wolsey to negotiate a peace with France, ii. 632.

- Mendoza, de Iñigo de, particularly entrusted with the management of Katharine's affairs in England, protests against the divorce case being tried elsewhere than in Rome, ii. 811.
-, visits Katharine at Greenwich, and holds a conference with her, 854.
-, letters to the archduchess Margaret (1527), ii. 220.
-, to the emperor (1526), 469, 619; (1527), ii. 8, 29, 32, 37, 39, 42-4, 55, 66, 69, 75, 83, 113, 152, 189, 224, 241; (1528), 370, 541, 550, 562, 570, 586-7, 592; (1529), 600, 614, 618, 621, 646, 650, 668, 675.
-, Doña Mencía de, *Int.* xix.
-, marchioness of *Cenete*, married to Henry de Nassau, ii. 101.
- y Cordoba, D. Francisco de, bishop of *Oviedo*, and administrator of *Zamora*, Sessa's uncle, 456.
-, sent to Spain with despatches from Don Hugo, 1000, 1015.
-, again with a message to the emperor, ii. 948, 964.
-, detained at Modena, ii. 975.
-, v. Hurtado de Mendoza, Gonzalez de Mendoza, Lopez de Mendoza.
- Meneses, Bernaldino de, gentleman courier to the archduke, 103, 296.
-, knighthood of St. James conferred on, ii. 336.
-, v. Gutierrez de Meneses.
- Mentabona, Mentebuona, sent to Milan on a secret mission of the pope, 388.
-, also called *Bonamenta*, 389.
- in treaty with Pescara, in the pope's name, *ibid.*
- Mercado, Juan, Spanish captain, 581.
-, in Cremona, 854.
-, groom of the chamber and imperial courier, ii. 925, 968, 995.
-, Pedro, killed at the siege of Cremona, 854, 934.
- Merino, Estevan Gabriel, archbishop of *Bari* and bishop of *Jaen*, ii. 100, 282.
-, letter to Alfonso de Valdés, ii. 245.
- Merklin, Balthasar, provost of *Valkirk* or *Valtherke*, ii. 383, 572, 630, 681, 738, 796.
-, presented for the bishopric of Malta, ii. 704.
-, letter to Gattinara, ii. 556.
- Mesa, Bernardo de, bishop of *Trinopoli* (Drin for Drinovar in Illyria), of *Elna* [in Roussillon], and of *Badajoz* in Spain, *Int.* iii.
-, ambassador of Ferdinand in England, *Int.* xiii.
-, sums borrowed by, 98.
-, paper attributed to, ii. 414.
- Messina (Sicily), the "stratico" or chief magistrate of, 832-3.
-, prior of, v. Moncada.
-, landing of Spanish infantry at, ii. 626.
- Mexico, news from, ii. 101.
- Middleburgh, v. Mydelbourg.
- Migliau, Monsieur de, v. Veyre.
- Mignano, Miñano (Miniano?), count, brother of Cesaro Ferramosca; appointed lieutenant-governor of Barletta, ii. 650, 672.
-, takes and sacks Monrredone, ii. 650.
- Milan, duchy of, proposed arbitrage respecting the, objected to by Praët, 1, 3.
-, considered an obstacle to peace, 9.
-, Henry will not send money to defend the, 15.
-, investiture of the, to be given to Francesco Sforza under certain conditions, 22.
-, ultimately granted to him on the payment of a sum of money, 806.
-, stipulations for the defence of the, 105.
-, Charles advised by his ministers to take possession of the, 365.
-, conspiracy in the, detected, 364, 383.
-, Francesco Sforza deprived of the investiture in consequence, 806, 815-6, 827.
-, which is finally given to Bourbon, 563, 882.
-, Don Hugo to negotiate with the pope concerning, 741.
-, English overtures concerning the, ii. 145, 153.
-, deed of investiture of, in favour of Bourbon (6th February 1526), ii. 133.
-, the emperor's declaration respecting the, ii. 392.
-, grants made by Bourbon in the, annulled by the emperor, ii. 530, 871.
-, rejoicings at, to celebrate the peace with France (22nd February 1526), 581, 583.
-, Leyva's exactions in the, considered the chief cause of the Milanese risings, 635.
-, instructions to Don Hugo respecting the, to be communicated to Clement, 741.
-, opinion of Granvelle concerning the politics to be observed in the, ii. 145.
-, investiture of the, promised by the emperor, after the death of Bourbon, to his brother, the archduke, ii. 338, 547.
-, the emperor's declaration of his future plans respecting the, ii. 392.

- Milan, duchy of, a pension of 15,000 ducats, besides a title of marquis offered to Wolsey on the estate of, ii. 405.
-, to be parcelled out and divided among the Italian potentates, ii. 642.
-, riots at, 600-1, 671-2, 675, 761-3.
-, chiefly promoted by the Venetians and the pope, 675.
-, subscription made at, between the generals and officers of the imperial army, ii. 69.
-, ambassador of, in Venice, *v. Taverna*.
-, letters dated from, 55, 57, 59, 61, 77, 104, 124, 129, 143, 146, 154, 177, 185, 220.
-, letters dated from, *v. Carraciolo, Guasto, Hurtado, Leyva, Masin, Moncada*.
-, the "rocca" or castle of, Francesco Sforza shuts himself up in the, 396, 525.
-, the confederates attempt to relieve the, 805.
-, surrenders to the imperialists (24th July 1526), 806, 815-6, 827.
-, capitulation of, 493.
-, governor of, appointed by Bourbon, *v. Catançan*.
-, changed by Leyva, ii. 306.
-, not so well provisioned as it ought to be, 933.
- Milanese, the, exasperated by the imperialists, revolt, 675.
- send a deputation to Spain, 665.
- emigrants not to be trusted, ii. 307.
- ready to invade the duchy at the request of Venice and the pope, ii. 483.
- Millau, *v. Migliau*.
- Milleur, Millewe, *v. Migliau*.
- Mindelarria, *v. Larrea*.
- Minerva, cardinal of La, *v. Vio Cajetano*.
- Mines, in Spain, quicksilver, worked by the Fuggers, ii. 336-7.
- Mingoval, sieur de, *v. Lannoy*.
-, Hercules or Ercoe di, nephew of the viceroy of Naples (Lannoy), deserts the imperial camp (1528), ii. 608-9.
- Miniano or Mignano, count, brother of Cesare Ferramosca; appointed lieutenant-governor of Manfredonia, ii. 856.
- Minio, Marco, appointed by Venice to congratulate Soleyman upon his Hungarian victory, 945.
- Mirabel (Mirabello), near Pavia, decisive victory gained by the imperialists over the French encamped at, 42.
- Miranda, a town of Sicily, ii. 720.
- [de Ebro], a town in Spain, count of, *v. Zuñiga y Avellaneda*.
- Miranda, Juan de, Spanish merchant at Lisbon, his reports to the ambassador Lope Hurtado, ii. 398.
-, captain, his company of light horse and some Spanish infantry surprised by the abbot of Færfa and the Orsini, ii. 426.
- Mirandola, La, in the Genoese; Adorno, the doge of Genoa, takes refuge in, ii. 448.
-, Soria and Burgo at, ii. 775.
-, Sanchez joins them at, ii. 793, 802, 870.
-, letters dated from, ii. 197-8, 228, 457, 518-9, 529, 534, 552-5, 558-60, 564.
-, Anna della, marries the doge of Genoa (Antonio Adorno), ii. 916, *note*.
-, count de La, *v. Pico della Mirandola*.
- Miravale, Carlo, of Naples, takes service under Lautrec, ii. 718.
-, his estate confiscated, ii. 728.
- Mitdonle, Dr., an Irishman, subscribes the petition of the earl of Desmond to the emperor, ii. 994.
- Modena, Modona, city of, fortified by the command of the pope, 650, 654, 669.
-, a gentleman from, murdered by the people of the duke of Ferrara, 338.
- the duke of Ferrara takes possession of, ii. 249, 258, 389, 650, 657.
- and Reggio to be attacked by the pope's troops, ii. 800.
-, the archbishopric of, to be given to Hercole d' Este, ii. 450.
- Mohatz, in Hungary, battle of (29th August 1526), 888, 898-9, 925, 932-3.
-, Ludwig, king of Hungary, slain at, 937, 939; ii. 100.
- Mola, seaport town on the Adriatic, surrenders to the Venetians, ii. 77, 658.
- Moldavia, vayvod of, ii. 661.
- Moleno, in Lombardy, ii. 299.
- Molfetta (erroneously written Malfeto), on the Adriatic, two Venetian galleys go on shore at, ii. 857.
- Molise, county of, government of the, given to an imperialist, ii. 834.
- Moluccas or Spice Islands, negotiations with Portugal concerning the navigation to and trade with the, 515; ii. 101, 616-7, 628, 756, 914, 996.
- Monaco (Monago, Monego), 59.
- molested by Andrea Doria, 283.
-, Lannoy advised to land at, 902.
-, landing of chancellor Gattinara at, ii. 251, 254.
-, letters dated from, ii. 682.
-, negotiations respecting the cession of, to the empire, ii. 531.
-, terms proposed to Grimaldo and accepted, ii. 871.
-, lord bishop of, *v. Grimaldo*.
- Monardes, Spanish physician, quoted, ii. 816.

- Monbel, Montbel, Francisco de, duchess of *Salmona*, widow of Charles de Lannoy, ii. 422, 448.
, money owing to, 625.
, letter to the emperor (1528), ii. 376.
- Moncayo, Neustra Señora de, in Aragon, Soria asks the emperor's leave to visit the sanctuary of, in fulfilment of a vow, ii. 872.
, count of, *v.* Leyva.
- Monça'or Monza, a town in the Milanese, 832.
- Moncada, D. Hugo de, prior of *Messina* and *Santa Eufemia*, viceroy of Naples, prisoner at Villafranca, *Int.* xxxi.
, exchanged for Mr. de Montmorency, 58, 60, 103-5, 108.
, on a mission to the emperor, 144, 150.
, sent by Charles to the pope, 677; ii. 147.
, instructions to, on the occasion, 457.
, is to induce the pope to accept the emperor's terms, 740.
, in case of refusal, to negotiate with Ferrara and the Colonnese, 742.
, takes to Rome the emperor's final resolution, 663, 695, 697, 771.
, leaves suddenly, pursued by the pope's cavalry, 802.
, joins the Colonnese, and invades the estates of the Church, 818.
, signifies to Clement his intention to defend the Colonnese, 993.
, surprises Rome and sacks St. Peter, 942-3.
, the command of the imperial forces offered to, ii. 254.
, appointed viceroy of Naples after the death of Lannoy, ii. 401.
, attacks Doria's fleet in the gulf of Salerno, ii. 671.
, is defeated with great loss and slain, ii. *Int.* xxx, 758.
, gallant behaviour of, ii. 751.
, letters to the emperor (1526), 446; (1527), ii. 205, 207-8, 272-3, 276-7, 342, 349, 365.
, to Sanchez, ii. 545.
, notice of, *Int.* xxix-xxx; ii. xxx.
- Moncennis, mountain in the Sardinian Alps, 223.
- Monçon, Monzon, a town of Aragon, cortes or Spanish parliament held at, 210; ii. 627, 737.
, letters dated from, ii. 483, 503.
- Mondolfo, Benedetto Giraldo di, lieutenant of the duke of Urbino, slain at the passage of the Po at Governolo or Borgoforte, 1037.
- Mondofiedo, in Galicia, the abbot of Najera to be rewarded with the bishopric of, 57.
, on the death of the bishop of, another (Guevara) is appointed by Charles against the letter of Adrian's bull, 263.
, which Clement resents and gives as an excuse for appointing Cortona to the vacant see of Barcelona, *ibid.*
- Mondovi in Piedmont, the inhabitants of, refuse to receive the imperial soldiers billeted upon them, 233.
- Mondudi, in Piedmont, Bartholomeo de Taxis attacked at, 776.
- Monega, Genoese carack, 288, 290.
- Money, account of, to come from the Italian powers to defray the expenses of the war with France, 58.
, sent by Henry to help the imperialists in Italy (1525), 73.
, always scarce in the imperial camp, ii. 289.
, large sums of, owing by the emperor to Henry, ii. 207.
- Monferrara, *v.* Monferrato.
- Monforte, *v.* Montfort.
-, Federico di, a Neapolitan in the French service, ii. 720, 731.
, Laura di, ii. 728.
- Monfron, *v.* Manfrone.
- Mongus, castle of, *v.* Monguzzo.
- Monguzzo, Rocca di, between Lecco and Como, occupied by the warder (Mus ii. 280-1).
- Monnaies, Les, ship called, belonging to merchants of Antwerp, 168.
- Monopolì in Puglia, taken by the Venetians, 657.
, unsuccessfully attacked by Vasto, ii. 927.
, Fr. Geronimo da, appointed by Clement archbishop of Tarento, ii. 466.
- Monperan (Montpesan?), one of Bourbon's suite, sent on a mission to Chamberi, 792.
- Monreale, archbishop of, 217, 836.
, created cardinal by Clement, ii. 520, 522, 535.
, letter to Lope de Soria, 509.
- Monrredone, ii. 650.
- Monserrate, church and monastery of, at Madrid, once a dépôt of valuable historical papers, *Int.* vii.
, in Catalonia, pilgrimage to our lady of, undertaken by Gattinara (April 1527), ii. 148.
, the emperor to spend the holy week [of 1529] at, ii. 898.
- Mons Fidei, papal bull intitled, 595.
, issued shortly after the entrance into Rome of Don Hugo, and containing much abuse of the Colonnese, 995.
- Mont, Bailli de, takes a message from the prince of Orange to the pope, ii. 250.

- Montalto, duchess of, mother-in-law of Ascanio Colonna, death of, at Naples (15th October 1528), ii. 827.
- Montaragon, *v.* Monte Aragon.
- Montbardon, Mons. de, chaplain and almoner to the constable of Bourbon, called by the Italians *Il Limosniere di Borbone*, arrives at Rome from Naples, ii. 95.
-, the pope complains to, of Bourbon's non-acceptance of the truce, 11.
-, sent by Bourbon with a message to Lannoy, 147, 167.
- Montbelliard, county of, in Bourgogne, renounced by the duke Ulric of Wurtemberg, ii. 2.
- Mont de Marçan, a town in the south of France, ii. 1001.
-, queen Louise and the dauphin meet Francis at, 615.
- Monte, Antonio Ciochi di, archbishop of Manfredonia (*Sipontinus*), cardinal of *San Vitale* and *Santa Praxede* (1526), offers to follow Clement if he decide to quit Rome, 1035.
-, first deacon of the college of cardinals, 1035, 1046.
-, negotiates with Quiñones in the pope's name, ii. 11.
-, himself or his nephew to be hostage for the capitulation of Rome, ii. 210, 231, 237.
-, taken prisoner by Mario Orsini, ii. 494, 498, 520.
-, sent by Clement to Venice to demand the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia, ii. 532-3, 543-4.
-, dismissed with an unsatisfactory answer, ii. 544.
-, appointed legate at Rome in the room of Farnese, ii. 791.
-, no friend to the emperor, ii. 946.
-, returns to Rome and is visited by Mai, the imperial ambassador, ii. 949.
-, Nofre or Onofre del, governor of the castle of Pavia, 519.
-, accused of having favoured the escape of Mr. d'Albret, 532-4, 537, 539.
- Aragon, in Spain, 244, 644-5.
- the abbacy of, conferred by Clement on cardinal Cesarino, ii. 365.
-, Charcho, *v.* Montesarchio.
- Montecuculi, a Ferrarese, valet to Henry, duke of Orleans, ii. 999.
- Montefalcone (Montefalco) in the Perugino, ii. 177.
- Montefiascone (Rom. Stat.), the confederates march on (1527), ii. 235.
- Monte Fiasco, *v.* Montefiascone.
- Montefortino, Monte Fortino (Rom. Stat.), taken from the Colonnese, 1007.
-, the confederates resolve to attack Pagliano and (1527), ii. 67.
- Montefusco (Naples), the imperialists abandon, ii. 664.
- Montegiano, Italian condottiere in the service of France, attacks Genoa, ii. 867.
- Monteleone, duke of, *v.* Pignatello.
- Montemayor, cardinal, *Int.* xxiv.
-, letter to the emperor, 155.
- Monteroduni (Sicily), *v.* Monrredone.
- Monte Rotondo (Rom. Stat.), German infantry quartered at, ii. 397.
- attacked by the leaguers at the instigation of Mario Orsino, ii. 427, 430.
-, the confederates defeated at, ii. 427.
- Montesoro, in Puglia, defeat of the confederates at, ii. 812.
- Montferrato, marquis of, *v.* Paleologo.
-, Jeanne de, marchioness of Saluzzo, 873, 1002.
-, agent from, sent as a spy to France, ii. 901.
-, marquissate of, negotiations respecting the Spanish infantry to be quartered in the, 670.
- Montfort, Monforte, Mr. de, or le Baron de, the emperor's gentleman-in-waiting, imperial agent, ii. 547, 623, 681, 738, 784, 817, 889, 905.
-, succeeds Ferramosca as master of the horse, ii. 494.
-, in Germany, recruiting for the emperor, ii. 717.
- Monti, three mountains or divisions at Siena called Nove, Populo, and Nobili, 405.
- Montigny, sieur de, *v.* Lalaing.
- Montmorency, Anne de, lord high steward of France, prisoner at Pavia, exchanged for Don Hugo de Moncada, 144.
-, sent on an embassy to Spain, 290, 561.
-, what he said to Capino, the papal nuncio, about Francis and the Madrid convention, 592.
-, returns to France, 647.
-, in communication with Don Inigo, 1015.
-, sent by Francis to England, ii. 406-7, 438.
-, with the order of Saint Michael for Henry, ii. *ibid.*
-, Louise's instructions to, ii. 211.
-, appointed to treat of peace with the emperor's ministers, 561.
- Montmorency-Nivelles, Philippe de, count of Hornes.
- Montogio, Montoio, Montobio? in the Genoese, ii. 345, 389, 765, 853, 863, 871.
-, letters dated from, ii. 589, 601.
- Montorio, count of, *v.* Caraffa and Zurolo.
- Montoya, Hieronymo de, Spanish captain, signs the capitulation of Rome, ii. 233.
-, servant of Katharine on a mission to Spain, 877, 884-5.

- Montoya, Hieronymo de, learns by heart the queen's secret message to Charles from fear of being arrested on the road, ii. 884.
-, is to say confidentially that neither the letter nor the protest to be entered in her name are free acts of her will, *ibid.*
- Montreuil-sur-Mer (Monstreul), the English to march on, 128.
-, to be made the staple for British goods, 190.
- Monza, in the duchy of Milan, taken by the Venetians, 996, 1000.
-, a division of the confederates arrives at, ii. 294, 310.
-, count of, *v.* Leyva.
- Moore, *v.* More.
- Moorish *fustas*, or light-vessels, one captured by Il Gobbo, 730.
- Moqueron, imperial messenger, ii. 889.
- Morales, Alonso de, Spanish captain at Naples, 653 ; ii. 697.
-, servant of Antonio de Leyva, sent to Spain on a mission, 197, 224.
- Moravia, marquise of, embassy sent to archduke Ferdinand by the inhabitants of, 1050.
-, offering him 3,000 infantry paid for six months in case of a Turkish invasion, ii. 666.
- Morcon, *v.* Marcone.
- More, the, in Herefordshire, treaty of, alluded to, ii. 345.
-, country residence of cardinal Wolsey, at, 279.
-, sir Thomas, or Maistre Moore, councillor of Henry VIII., 10, 51, 63, 86.
-, pension to, 8.
-, Praët's intercepted despatches taken to, 50, 51, 52, 63.
-, in frequent communication with the imperial ambassadors, 752.
- Mores, Christopher, English courier, sent to Spain with despatches, ii. 48, 51.
- Morette, sieur de la, *v.* Soliers.
- Moriana, *v.* Maurienna, and San Giovanni in Savoy.
-, bishop of, *v.* Gattinara (Jo. Bartholomeo).
-, San Giovanni di, letters dated from, 257, 452.
- Morion, *v.* Marcone and Morcon.
- Moriscos, or newly converted Moors; revolt of the, at Valencia and Alicante, *Int.* ii. xiii.
- and Spanish Jews help Charles with a large sum of money, on condition of not being disturbed by the Inquisition, ii. 454.
- Morletto (Morette ?), treasurer of the king of France, sent to Switzerland for the purpose of making levies, 816 ; ii. 247.
-, *v.* Soliers.
- Morlian, 447.
- Morone, Moron, Morono, Girolamo, first secretary and chancellor to Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, 58.
-, suspected by Sanchez, 292-3.
-, holds a secret conference with the duke of Urbino, 318.
-, in treaty with France for the restoration of Maximiliano Sforza, 346.
-, conspiracy of, detected, 364, 383.
-, arrested at Novara, and sent to Pavia, 364, 372, 460-1, 515.
-, removed from Trezzo to Milan, 929, 941.
-, to be examined by Caracciolo, 946 ; ii. 426.
-, confession of, 238.
-, released by Bourbon on the the payment of a heavy fine, 946 ; ii. 71.
-, admitted into the imperial councils, 947.
-, the liberation and return to favour of, considered unwise by Granvelle, ii. 145.
-, very useful at Naples, ii. 625.
-, a son of, made bishop, ii. 957.
-, letters to the emperor, ii. 470, 490.
-, to Lope Hurtado, 200 219.
-, corresponds with Francisco Taverna, the Milanese ambassador, 173, 175.
- Moscoco, Dr., imperial solicitor at Rome, attends the meeting of theologians in Paris called to deliberate and give opinion on the divorce case, ii. 829-30.
- Moscoco-Osorio, D. Lope, count of *Altamira*, captain of men-at-arms in Italy, 1011 ; ii. 69.
- Moscovite embassy arrive at Valladolid, ii. 335.
- Moscovy, duke of, *v.* Basil and Vasil.
- Mothe, *v.* La Mothe des Noyers.
- Mouqueron, Flemish courier, *v.* Moqueron.
- Moxica, *v.* Muxica.
- Moya, captain, a Spaniard serving under Lautrec, taken prisoner before Naples, ii. 778.
- Mugetola, Muscetula, Muxetula, *v.* Mussetola.
- Mus, Musso, Muscho, castle of, in the Milanese, 705, 756, 831 ; ii. 317, 319, 1000.
-, warder of, *v.* Medici (Gianiacopo).
- Mussetola, Miçer Giovan Antonio, a Neapolitan lawyer and president of the *Summaria*, on a mission to the pope from the collateral council of Naples, 997, 688.
-, obtains a respite for the Colonese, 1007, 1017, 1020, 1035.

Mussetola, Miçer Giovan Antonio, at Orbieto and Viterbo with the pope, ii. 688, 746.
, who shows him favour, ii. 364.
, negotiates at Rome, ii. 333, 349, 531, 591, 700, 705, 714, 726, 739, 773, 775, 837-8, 849, 851.
, in correspondence with Don Inigo about the divorce case, ii. 849, 1017.
, protest entered by, at Rome, ii. 884.
, remonstrates against any assistance being given to the Aquilans, ii. 857, 938.
 Muxica, La, imperial galley, said to have been captured by Doria, 601.
, the report turns out untrue, 611.
 Mydelbourg (Middleburgh?), Abbé de, agent of Margaret of Austria in London, 84, 93, 101.
 Myll, Alexander, abbot of Cambuskenneth, Scotch ambassador in England, ii. 1, 4, 9.

N.

Nacion, meaning of the word, as applied to Italians, Germans, &c., in the service of Spain, 974.
 Najara or Najera, abbot of, *v.* Marin, and Santa Maria.
, duke of, *v.* Manrique de Lara.
 Namur, in Flanders, 81.
 Nancy, in Lorraine, besieged by the German peasants, 206.
 Nania, *v.* Anagna.
 Naples, projected invasion of the kingdom of, by the duke of Albany, 25, 28, 65, 71.
, to be equally divided between the pope and the king of France, 25.
, bishoprics in, 593.
, in danger of invasion from the Turks, 605.
, from the pope and the armies of the Italian league, 663, 779, 793, 995.
, collateral council of, assembles to consider the best means of assisting Don Hugo and the Colonnese, 798.
, galleys of, to be sent against Andrea Doria, 803.
, the duke of Sessa raising money and men for the defence of, 804.
, suspension of hostilities between Rome and, negotiated by Don Hugo, *ibid.*
, preparations at, for the invasion of the Roman estates, 799, 1006, 1019, 1021; ii. 67.
, papal nuncio in, dismissed, 1048.
, the investiture of the, to be taken away from Charles, and given to whomsoever the pope chooses, 666, 1009; ii. 8.

Naples, investiture of, ultimately granted to Vaudemont (Louis de Lorraine), ii. 75.
, again threatened by the confederates, ii. 157.
, in case of attack, most of the provinces of, unprepared for resistance, ii. 166.
, Spanish infantry from, enter Rome after the sack, ii. 233.
, the tithes of, sold by the pope to a banker, ii. 251.
, the pope and his cardinals to be removed to, ii. 311-2.
, invaded by Lautrec, 450-1, 610.
, the imperialists shut up in, ii. 611, 625, 741.
, city of, closely invested by Lautrec, ii. 748.
, exchange of prisoners before, ii. 703.
, bombarded, ii. 706.
, plague at, and in the French camp, ii. 726.
, wine and provisions very scarce, ii. 727, 753.
, the Venetian fleet in sight of, ii. 734.
, barons of, present Charles 200,000 ducats, ii. 782.
, disaffected barons of, punished, ii. 792, 826, 856, 865.
, a deputation from, going to the emperor in Spain to remonstrate against the excesses of the imperial army, ii. 856.
, which are such that three fourths of the nobles will have to emigrate in order to escape their fury, ii. 894.
, tribunal or court of the Summaria at, 834-5.
, lieutenant of, going to Spain, 249, 290.
, collateral council of, letters to the emperor, 476, 497, 513, 548, 561.
, described by Salazar as a corrupt body, unfit for the government of the country, ii. 243.
, census or annual tribute paid by the emperor for the kingdom of, ii. 457.
, archbishop of, created cardinal, ii. 490, 508.
, letters from, 487, 584-5, *v. also* Moncada, Perez, and Chalon.
 Narbonne, city of, in Languedoc, preparations made by Charles to lay siege to, 37.
, proposed interview of Francis and Charles at, ii. 927.
 Narciso, Charles' physician, 418.
 Nardo, city of Naples, in the province of Otranto, besieged by the imperialists, ii. 812.

- Narni (Rom. Stat.), 891.
 and Terni sacked by the Germans, ii. 267, 411, 425.
- Nassao, Nassaot, *v.* Nassau.
- Nassau, Henri comte de, marquis of *Cenete*, lord of *Breda*, lord high chamberlain to the emperor, in the emperor's privy council, 383; ii. 61, 101, *note*, 246, 968.
 , his lawsuit with Philip, landgrave of Hesse, ii. 816.
- Naturelli (Neturelli?), Philibert, provost of Utrecht, also called *Dom Prevost*, ii. 549, 639.
- Navagero or Navagiero, Andrea, Venetian ambassador in Spain, 322, 992; ii. 62-3, 482, 896, 943.
 , Bernardo, ii. 58.
- Navarra, Francisco, 407.
 , Vicente, ii. 805, *note*.
- Navarre, kingdom of, in Spain, the French threaten to invade, 616, 793; ii. 892.
 , king of, *v.* Albret.
- Navarro, Francisco, his commission for the marquisate of Cevà, 407.
 , count Pedro, Spanish condottiere in the pope's service, 654, 940.
 , ... , in command of the French fleet, 708, 822, 845, 874, 883.
 , ... , invades the country about Alessandria, but is repulsed by Lodrone, ii. 271, 280, 288.
 , ... , in the vanguard of the French army with four thousand archers, ii. 546, 569.
 , ... , struck by the plague, ii. 758.
 , ... , prisoner at Aversa, ii. 777.
 , ... , removed to Castil Novo of Naples, ii. 778, 791.
- Naya?, near Savona, the "Monega," a Genoese carack, obliged to put up at, 290.
- Neapolitans, four, hung on suspicion of bringing poison to throw into the wells during the siege of Naples by the French, ii. 674.
- Negro (Nigro), Joan or Giovanni, the Greek, his success against the vayvod and the Turks in Hungary, ii. 260, 385, 392.
 , ... , supposed to be in secret intelligence with the vayvod of Transylvania, Zapolsky, ii. 260.
- Negrone, abbot, a Genoese, sent by Doria on a message to the pope, ii. 791.
- Nero, abbot of, *v.* Doria (Erasmus).
 , Marco del, dies of the plague during the siege of Naples, ii. 722.
- Netural (Neturelli?), Piero, a servant of Lannoy, applies to Lautrec for a safe conduct for his widow, the princess of Sulmona, ii. 448.
- Newhall, in Essex, Henry VIII. residing at, ii. 373.
- Newstadt, in Austria, 1031.
 , Nigro, agent of the Colonnese in Spain, ii. 493.
- Nicolas, French secretary, intercepted letter from, to Lautrec, 703.
- Nobili, Monte de', at Siena, 69.
- Noblet, secretary to Louise de Savoie, 468.
 , letter to the French ambassadors in England, 269.
- Nocera, Nucera, in the kingdom of Naples, occupied by Lautrec, ii. 611, 663.
 , citadel of, besieged by the imperialists, ii. 772.
- Nœufville, sieur de, treasurer of Flanders, 36.
- Nogarola or Nogaralo, Leonardo, *v.* Noguerol.
- Noguerol, Mendo de, warder of Simancas, slain by bishop Acuña, 614, 627.
 count (Leonardo?), the emperor's steward, death of, at Naples in July 1527 recorded, ii. 291, 335.
 , ... , son of, ii. 905.
- Noia, count of, governor of Tarento, ii. 592, 712.
 , ... , letters to the emperor, ii. 344, 459.
- Nola (Naples), surrenders to Lautrec, ii. 654, 667.
 , the French defeated close to, by Ferrante Gonzaga, ii. 773.
 recovered by count Sarno or Sangro, ii. 773, 776.
 , count of, *v.* Orsino.
 , countess of, in Naples, ii. 776.
- Norby, Severinus, captain in the imperial service, detained at the court of the duke of Moscow, ii. 579.
- Norcia, Nursia, Rom. Stat., the "fuorusciti" of, to be allowed to return home, ii. 915.
- Norfolk, duke of, *v.* Howard.
- Normandy to be invaded by the English, 27, 80, 119, 125.
 , expedition to, disapproved of, by the imperial ambassadors, 81, 92-3.
 , who propose instead one to Picardy, 111, 118.
- Nottingham, earl of, *v.* Fitzroy.
- Novala, Novalese, Novarese, or the district of Novara, Lautrec sends a division to the, to cut the supplies to Milan, ii. 369.
- Novara, city of, 51, 105.
 , arrest of Morone at, 364, 391.
 , the leagues defeated by Marramaldo on the road to, 862.
 , the Spanish garrison of Cremona arrive at, and march into Lombardy against the terms of the capitulation, 1001.
 successfully defended by count Filippo Torniello, ii. 280.
 recovered by Leyva, ii. 546.
 , letters dated from, 143, 226.
- Nove, Monte de', one of the three divisions at Siena, 159, 405.
 , in the Genoese, *v.* Novi.

Novellara, count Annibale di, takes service under St. Pol, ii. 989.
 Novi, small town of the Genoese, to be granted in fief to Leyva, 57.
 given by the confederates to the duke of Ferrara, ii. 879.
 to be attacked by the Genoese, ii. 880.
 by the Venetians, ii. 991, 996.
 ultimately occupied by the duke of Ferrara, ii. 590.
 Noya, v. Noia.
 Numali, Fr. Cristoforo, cardinal of *Ara Celi*, his hotel at Rome plundered by the imperialists, 202.
 Nuncios, legates, &c., papal, in *England*, v. Langus (Melchiorre), Gambara (Umberto di), Campeggio.
 in Ferrara, v. Acciajoli, Cibo.
 in France, v. Acciajoli, Aleandro, Campeggio, Capino, Salviati.
 in Germany, v. Campeggio.
 in Naples, one dismissed by the collateral council, 932, 1048.
 in Switzerland, v. Ennio Filonardo, bishop of Veroli.
 to the vavvod of Transylvania, v. Statilio.
 in Venice, v. Campeggio (Tomasso), Altobello Averoldi.
 in Spain, v. Paolo d' Arezzo, Castiglione, Salviati, Sangro, Schomberg, bishop of Vassone.
 Nuñez de Aguilera, Ramiro, knight commander of Calatrava, at Rome, negotiating with the pope, 819.
 sent on a mission to Siena, 240-1, 246, 259, 795, 998.
 witnesses at Rome the reading of the emperor's letter to the cardinals, 1039, 1046, 1047.
 death of (18th August 1527), ii. 366, 464.
 letters to the emperor, 139, 366.
 de Guzman, Gonzalo, high commander of Calatrava, ii. 60.
 Martin, 60, *note*.
 Ramiro, ii. 2, 60.
 Nuremberg, ii. 631, 683.
 loan to be contracted at, Verona and Strasburg, for the pay of the Germans under Fruntpersg, 934.

O.

Oberayn, prince, an Irishman, ii. 993.
 Obregon, v. Brego.
 Ochoa, v. Ysasaga.
 Occhiobianco, village of Lombardy, 858.
 Ocuachuiz, captain, one of Desmond's adherents, ii. 993.

Odall, Richard, a servant of sir Richard Wingfield, 206.
 Odet, v. Foix and Lautrec.
 Odonyll (O'Donnel?), lord, prince Udilie, ii. 993.
 Oglio, river of Lombardy, 792, *note*.
 Ogni Santi, Porta d', at Cremona, the imperialists defeat the confederates near, 877.
 Oneglia, in the Genoese, sacked by Antonio da Udine, 299, 328, 333.
 invested by general Vargas, 334.
 complaints of the doge Adorno respecting the ravages committed by the imperialists at, 328.
 the castle of, in charge of Antonietto Adorno, 342.
 Onorato (Honoré?), French agent in Portugal, dismissed at the emperor's request, ii. 615, 620, 628-9, 663.
 Oñate, counts of, in Spain, descended from the house of Taxis, ii. 251.
 Orange, prince of, v. Chalons.
 Orbiato, Orvieto (Civitas Urbetanensis), or Orvieto, in Romagna, pope Clement fixes his residence at, ii. 506, 532, 559, 562, 583, 586, 622, 625, 650, 667, 694, 771, 800.
 letters dated from, ii. 289, 338.
 Order of the garter sent by Henry to Francis, ii. 443.
 of St. Michael brought to Henry by Montmorency, Brinon, and Du Bellay, ii. 407, 438, 459.
 Ordinance available at Malaga, ii. 757.
 plentiful in the castles of the nobility and in private hands, *ibid*.
 Orense, in Galicia (Spain), the vacant bishopric of, applied for by Andrea Doria for his nephew the cardinal, ii. 918.
 benefice in the diocese of, to be solicited in favour of a son of secretary Garcia, ii. 254.
 Oria, marquis of, v. Caraffa (Roberto Bonifacio).
 Oringer, v. Orange.
 Orio, Lorenzo, Venetian ambassador in England (1525), 172, 893.
 Oristano, in Sardinia, see of, Agostino Grimaldo presented to the, by the emperor, 1057.
 Orleans, Henri duke of, second son of Francis king of France, kept as hostage in Spain, 574, 583.
 unwell, 707 ; ii. 629, 998.
 Charles, third son of Francis, ii. 999.
 Marguerite d', dowager duchess of Alençon, 145.
 offered in marriage to Mr. de Bourbon, 437.
 married to Henri d' Albret, 616-7.

- Ormesan, Fr. Bernardino d', baron de Saint Brancard, French vice-admiral, 149, 601, 612.
- Oropesa, count of, *v.* Alvarez de Toledo (Francisco).
- Orrus, *v.* Roeluz.
- Orsini, family of the, at Rome, their feud with the Colonna, ii. 827.
-, Clement sends for the, to employ them in an invasion of Naples, 732.
-, headed by the abbot of Farfa, invade and waste the lands of Vespasiano, Pompeo, and Ascanio Colonna, 1054.
- Orsino, Camillo, his estate in the Bresse? confiscated, 57.
-, in the service of the Venetians, 831.
- Franciotto, first deacon of the college of cardinals, proposed as hostage after the first sack of St. Peter by the Colonnese, 950.
-, imperial letters read by secretary Perez in the presence of the assembled cardinals presided by, 1039.
-, appointed, conjointly with Cesarino, civil governor of Rome, ii. 42.
-, meeting of, with Farnese and Cesarino at Campidoglio, ii. 162.
-, Francesco, progenitor of the dukes of Bracciano, ii. 939, *note*, 940.
-, Gian Giordano or Gianjordano, governor of Monopoli for the leaguers, 995; ii. 939.
-, Giovan Giorgio, the emperor's letter to, 999.
-, Lodovico, *v.* Pitigliano.
-, Mario, lord of Monte Rotondo, letter to be written to, in the emperor's name to (1526), 999.
-, wounded at Frosinone, ii. 430.
-, suspected of having joined the league, *ibid.*
-, in the Campagna, ii. 524.
-, with the imperialists, as captain of a condotta, ii. 527, 537.
-, Napoleone, abbot of *Farfa*, imprisoned at Rome on suspicion of being in treaty with Lannoy, ii. 67.
-, set at liberty, ii. 127.
-, in the Campagna after the sack of Rome, ii. 426, 497.
-, in treaty with the imperialists, ii. 525, 527, 537.
-, invades the duchy of Tagliacozzo, ii. 559-60.
-, which he claims as his inheritance, ii. 995.
-, at war with the Colonnese, ii. 741, 767.
-, defeated by Sciarra Colonna at Subiaco, ii. 748.
- Orsino, Napoleone, abbot of *Forfa*, deprived of all his honours by the pope, ii. 827, 939.
-, joins the league, ii. 767.
-, attacks again the Colonnese and the imperialists, ii. 939.
-, makes incursions to the very gates of Rome, ii. 940.
-, Ottavio, raises troops in Rome to reinforce the French army before Naples, ii. 767.
-, Roberto, the emperor's letter to, 999, *note*.
-, Valerio, count of *Nola*, in the Abruzzo, ii. 609.
-, goes over to the French, ii. 693.
-, surrenders to the imperialists, ii. 609, 773-4, 776.
-, Virginio, comte dell' Anguillara, sent by the pope to the relief of Frosinone, ii. 42.
-, takes service under Leyva, 234-6, 242.
- da Ceri, Lorenzo, commonly called *Renzo da Ceri*, Roman condottiere, in France with the marquis of Saluzzo, 792, 903.
-, his expedition to the Abruzzi unsuccessful, 1008.
-, at Savona, 1048.
-, arrives in Rome in company with a son of cardinal Franciotto Orsino, ii. 7, 10, 78.
-, discontented with France, 12.
-, inspects the papal troops at Rome (21st January 1527), ii. 38, 40.
-, relieves Frusolone besieged by Lannoy, ii. 42.
-, one of his sons obtains the command of the "Bande Nere," 41.
-, leaves for the Abruzzi, ii. 87, 92.
-, returns to Rome, ii. 120.
-, not pleased with the armistice signed by the pope, ii. 126.
-, weak defence of Rome by, ii. 196, 212.
-, tries in vain to raise troops for Lautrec, ii. 770.
-, invades Puglia, ii. 835.
-, introduces succour into Barletta, 857.
-, in the March ready to relieve Trani and Barletta, ii. 827.
- Orso, Capo di, in Terra di Lavoro (Naples), ii. *Int.* xxx.
- Ortado, *v.* Hurtado.
- Ortega, Bartolomé, chaplain at Simancas, put to the rack for assisting bishop Acuña in his flight, 627.
-, also written *Hortega*, sent by Leyva to Spain to announce Bourbon's death, ii. 317.

Ortenburg or Hortenburg, count of, ii. 3, 148.
 Ortona a Mare, sea port in the lower Abruzzo, ii. 91, 720.
 Osma, bishop of, *v.* Loaysa.
, prior of, *v.* Perez.
 Osorio, Ossorio, *v.* Alvarez Osorio.
, D. Antonio [Alvaro?], bishop of Astorga, ii. 161, 266, 269.
, Don Francisco de, ii. 262, 267, 312, *v.* Alvarez Osorio.
, D. Pedro de, Spanish captain, with two companies of lances in Cremona, 854.
, D. Lope, Spanish captain at Naples, ii. 697.
 Osseguera, Diego de, Spanish man-at-arms, takes Saint Mesmes prisoner at Pavia, 926.
 Ossera, Santa Maria de, in Galicia, abbot of, *v.* Bibiena.
 Osterlings, the woollen trade to be transferred to the, ii. 588.
 Ostia in the Roman States:
, and Civittà Vecchia to be given as security for the truce in 1527, 671.
, fortified by the imperialists, ii. 528.
, governor of, *v.* Ripalda.
, negotiations for the restitution of, to the pope, 928, 940.
, landing of the Neapolitan troops at, 949.
, Parma, and Piacenza to be given by the pope as securities for the truce with the emperor, ii. 10, 234, 671.
, to be restored to the pope by the emperor's orders, ii. 893.
, restitution of, delayed, 928.
, finally accomplished, ii. 943.
, (Ostiano?), the Germans cross the river Pò at (27th November 1526), 1037.
, Andrea del Burgo at, ii. 874.
 Othun, *v.* Autun.
 Otranto, Naples, 800.
, ..., the "mastrodatic" of, conferred on the lieutenant of the "Summaria" of Naples, ii. 834.
 Otterburn, sir Adam, of Auldharn, Scottish ambassador in England, ii. 4.
 Oudestock, *v.* Woodstock.
 Ousestre, *v.* Worcester.
 Oussine, *v.* Orsino.
 Oviedo, bishop of, *v.* Mendoza.
, ..., the bulls for the bishopric of Zamora and, to be expedited by presentation, ii. 161, 255.

P.

Paceo (Pace), Richard, king Henry's first secretary, English ambassador to Venice, instructions to, 15, 44, 62, 72-3.

Paceo (Pace), Richard, king Henry's first secretary, services of, extolled by Sanchez, 143, 152.
, dean of St. Paul's, imprisoned in the tower (26th October 1527), ii. 440-1.
, ..., the books and papers of, seized, ii. 444.
 Pacheco, D. Pedro, a Spaniard residing in Portugal, supposed author of a memorandum given to the papal nuncio [bishop of Pistoia] on the subject of the crusade, ii. 920.
 Padilla, D. Garcia de, privy councillor to Charles, ii. 996.
 Padua, Venetian proveditor sent to, 143.
, the wife and son of the duke of Urbino detained at, by the Venetians, ii. 430.
, defences of, to be increased against an attack of Brunswick's Germans, ii. 677.
, archbishop of, *v.* Pisani.
 Paduano (Rom. Stat.), the pope's infantry defeated by the Colonnese at Rocca di Papa and, ii. 56.
 Pagliano, Rom. Stat., usual residence of Vespasiano Colonna, 997, 1007; ii. 67, 626, 674.
, besieged by the confederates, ii. 694.
, seized by Sciarra Colonna, ii. 827.
 Palamós, on the coast of Catalonia, Turkish galleys in sight of, ii. 289.
 Palatine of the *Rhine*, count, *v.* Frederic and Philip.
, of Hungary, *v.* Louis.
 Palance, Palence, *v.* Palencia, in Spain.
 Palencia, a town of Castille, the emperor's court at, ii. 362, 425, 438.
, pensions paid to Wolsey on the bishoprics of, and Badajoz, 8; ii. 316 483.
, memorandum drawn at, for the inspection of the French ambassadors, 547, 900.
, letters dated from, ii. 10, 167, 176, 180, 209.
 Paleologo, Bonifacio VI., marquis of Montferrato, ii. 901, 937, *note*.
, Guglielmo VI., ii. 937.
, Margaret, marchioness of Montferrato, daughter of Guglielmo VI., ii. 901.
, ..., at Rome, 937.
, *v.* Nigro.
 Palermo, archbishop of, *v.* Carondelet.
, letters dated from (1528), ii. 284, 530.
 Palestrina (Prenestæ, Prenestina), in the estates of the Church, claimed by Stefano Colonna, ii. 559.
, the imperialists under Ferrante Gonzaga and Marramaldo to go to, ii. 560, 592.
 Paliano, *v.* Pagliano.
 Palisse, Mons. de la, commands the artillery at the battle of Pavia, 42-3.

- Pallares, Mossen, "mastrodato della Caua" at Naples, a son of, killed by a cannon shot, ii. 505.
- Pallavicino, Luigi, a captain in the service of France, defeated near Cremona, 49.
-, Orlando, 573.
-, Vicenzio, ii. 851.
- Palma, *v.* Parma.
- Palmerio, *v.* Palmieri.
- Palmieri, cardinal Andrea Matheo, a good imperialist, ii. 950.
- Palude, Petrus à, manuscript work by, in Paris, ii. 979.
- Palvesin, Lodewick, or Lodovico, *v.* Pallavicino.
- Panara, La, valley of, the imperial army under Bourbon to cross, ii. 88.
- Panaro, river of Tuscany, ii. 88.
- Pandolfo, *v.* Castil.
- Pandone, Arrigo, duca di Boiano e di Venafro, ii. 826.
-, ... , tried and executed at Naples, 856, 865.
-, Ferrante, in the imperial service, 799.
- Panellini (Giulio), a citizen of Siena, imprisoned, 325; ii. 998.
- Papagayo, hall of the, in the papal palace at Rome, consistory held in, 1039, 1047.
- Paquilon, gentleman-in-waiting to the emperor's "mayordomo mayor" (lord high steward) Lorenz von Gorrevod, sent by the duke of Sessa with despatches, 520.
- Paris, a march on, by the English and imperialists combined, in contemplation, 135.
-, meeting of the theologians at, for the purpose of giving opinion on the divorce case, ii. 829-32.
-, letter dated from, ii. 578.
- Parma, the fortifications of, increased by order of the pope, 650, 669, 672, 685.
- to be given with Piacenza, Modena, and Ostia as security for the truce with the emperor, ii. 10, 211.
-, meeting of cardinals at, for the purpose of electing a lieutenant to the pope, ii. 421, 423, 451.
-, Lautrec and an ambassador from England to assist at the conferences of, *ibid.*, 452.
-, letters dated from, 20.
- Parmer, master, a merchant of London, takes a message from dean Pace to D. Inigo, ii. 440.
- Parmigiano, count Gaiazzo's estate in the, 777.
-, Lautrec in the, 453.
- Pasages, a port of Biscay, ii. 884.
- Pasquinades circulated in London against Wolsey and the king (1527), ii. 190.
- Passano, *v.* Gioachino.
- Passerino da Cortona, Giovanni Silvio, bishop of *Barcelona*, and cardinal, 262, 1001; ii. 162.
-, ... , expelled from Florence, ii. 183.
-, ... , applies for a safe conduct to go to Genoa, ii. 258.
-, ... , false report of his death, ii. 569.
-, ... , negotiation entrusted to, ii. 977.
-, ... , letter to the emperor, 183.
-, ... , dies (7th February 1529), ii. 985, 1006.
-, ... , Giulio? nephew of Silvio, ii. 986.
- Pastorello, Domenico, servant of the papal nuncio (Castiglione?), ii. 782.
- Paul, captain, a Grison in command of the Germans in the castle of Milan, deposited by Leyva, ii. 306.
- Pavés, the country round Pavia, 685.
- Pavia, in Lombardy, 39, 48.
-, false report concerning, 40.
-, besieged by the French, 78, 80, 88.
-, gallantly defended by Leyva, 42, 158.
-, battle of (24th February 1525), 50, 56-7.
-, rejoicings in London in consequence of the victory at, 86.
-, list of Spanish and German captains at, 158.
-, taken and sacked by Lautrech (5th October 1527), ii. 414, 417-9, 448.
-, retaken by Leyva (May 1528), ii. 684-5, 699, 736.
-, recovered (18th September 1528) by the confederates under St. Pol, and no quarter given to Spaniards or Germans, ii. 793, 799, 892.
-, letters dated from, 238; ii. 7, 13, 14, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23.
-, account of the battle of, 50.
- Peasants, insurrection of German, called the "peasants' war," 89.
- Pecchio, Hieronymo, governor of Alessandria, 857.
- Pedraça, castle of, near Segovia, the sons of the king of France removed to, 842, *note*.
- Pedrarias, captain, commander at Como, 849; ii. 305.
-, ... , defeats the French at San Cristoforo, ii. 400.
- Peloux, Mr. de, gentleman of Bourbon's suite, 89.
-, ... , sent by him on a mission to Lannoy (1527), 1013, 1014; ii. 88, 89, 130.
-, ... , to Spain, ii. 250.
- Pelu and Pelus, Mr. de, *v.* Peloux.
- Penela, count of, Portuguese nobleman, ii. 619.
- Penpinelo (Pimpinelli?), a servant of cardinal Colonna, obtains the archbishopric of Rosano, in Sicily, 239, 302.

- Pensions, arrears of, to be paid by the emperor in England, 315.
- to Wolsey, 8, 549, 909; ii. 86, 143, 405.
 - to the duke of Suffolk, 549.
 - to the duke of Norfolk, 569.
 - to Mr. de Boleyn, 550.
 - to the grand chamberlain, 550.
 - to Brian Tuke, 8, 550-1; ii. 483.
 - to the marquise of Dorset, 550.
 - to sir Thomas More, 8.
 - to the grand master, 550.
 - to sir Richard Wingfield, 550.
 - to William Compton, 550.
 - to the bishop of London (Tunstall), 550.
 - to Thomas Hennege, 550-1.
 -, fresh, offered by Don Iñigo to Wolsey in the emperor's name, ii. 24, 153, 405, 436-7.
 -, similar offers made to Brian Tuke and others, 8.
 -, one of 10,000 ducats on the see of Toledo to Clement as cardinal Medici, 252; ii. 512.
- Penthièvre, le sieur de, mentioned in the treaty of Madrid, 165; ii. 998.
- Peña, Joan de la, Spanish captain, signs the capitulation of Rome, ii. 233.
- Peñalosa, knight commander Ruy or Rodrigo Díez de, nephew of Fr. Francisco de Quiñones, also called *Pignalosa*, *Spinalosa*, &c., takes to Spain the news of the battle of Pavia, 56-9, 89, 105.
-, sent on a mission to England, 157, 182-5, 275, 284.
 -, to Naples and Rome (December 1526), 1021, 1032-5; ii. 6, 8, 26.
 -, letters to the emperor, 111, 113-4.
- Peppoli, count Ugo de', in the pope's service, 476.
-, endeavours to detach the duke of Ferrara from the emperor's alliance, ii. 89.
 -, sent by Lautrec on a message to Clement, ii. 542.
 -, by the latter to the king of France, ii. 658.
 -, made prisoner before Naples, ii. 768.
 -, exchanged for three imperial captains, ii. 769.
- Peralta, Spanish captain, slain at Benço in the papal estates, ii. 87.
- Perez (Alvaro), pseudonym of Fr. Francisco Quiñones, general of the Franciscans, 964, 998, 1001.
-, his arrival at Genoa mentioned, 964, 985.
 -, Juan, secretary to the duke of Sessa, takes charge of the embassy at Rome, 779, 819.
- Perez, Juan, secretary to the duke of Sessa, reads in the presence of witnesses the emperor's letters to the pope and cardinals (12th December 1526), 1039.
-, has a notarial act of the whole transaction drawn, 1046.
 -, considers his life in danger in consequence, 1047; ii. 78, 93.
 -, his house sacked by the Germans, who oblige him and other imperialists to pay ransom, ii. 197.
 -, twice in peril of his life from the lansquenets, *ibid.*, 227.
 -, quits Rome and follows the imperial army to Naples, ii. 612.
 -, falsely accused of having sent a Dominican friar to Orvieto for the purpose of assassinating the pope, ii. 690, 695.
 -, letters to the emperor from Rome (1526), 475, 484, 491, 504, 515, 521, 526, 536, 542, 559, 589, 591, 600, 615, 622, 628, 631, 633-5, 637, 642.
 -, (1527), ii. 3, 9, 17, 25, 30, 32*, 34, 38, 41, 46-7, 56, 60, 63, 71, 82, 86, 94, 109-10, 141, 145, 155, 157-8, 179-80, 184, 200, 222, 249, 254, 259, 262, 281.
 -, (1528), 283, 289, 290, 294, 307, 315, 334, 345.
 -, from Naples, 366, 377, 390, 394, 413-4, 417, 435-7, 445, 448, 450-1, 458, 464, 475, 491, 523, 529, 533, 535-6, 539-40, 551, 576, 585, 594, 604, 607.
 -, (1529), ii. 651.
 -, de Nueros Jaime, in Genoa with letters from Pescara and Bourbon, 245.
 - de Quiñones, Alvaro and Francisco, v. Quiñones.
 - de la Rosa, Hernan, the "mastrodattia" of Otranto given to, ii. 505.
- Peronne, in Picardy, to be attacked by the English, 135.
- Perosa, v. Perugia, bishop of, created cardinal, ii. 200.
- Perpignan (Perpiñan), capital of the Roussillon; German infantry under Roghendorf quartered at, 267, 274, 775.
-, surplus ordnance at, to be sent to Barcelona, ii. 757.
- Perpiñan, Mosen, captain of an imperial galley, ii. 636.
- Perpiñana, galley so called, from the name of her master, ii. 671.
- Perrenot de Granvelle, Nicolas, imperial ambassador in France, 574; ii. 284-5, 377, 424, 438, 636-41, 967-8.
-, report by, on the affairs of England, and project of answer to Don Iñigo's despatches, ii. 139-47.
 -, arrested and confined in the castle of Vincennes, ii. 608, 636.

- Perrenot de Granvelle, Nicholas, letters to the emperor, 391.
- Perrot du Warty, governor of Clermont, chamberlain to the king of France, on a mission to Margaret of Austria (1525), 201, 208, 220, 465, 468 ; ii. 637, 640-1.
- Persia, sophi of, *v.* Ismail.
- Perugia, Rom. Stat., 770, 1034 ; ii. 235.
-, the confederates leave Orvieto for, ii. 249.
-, the body of Orazio Baglione taken to, ii. 694.
-, cardinal of, the pope's chamberlain, ii. 200, 950, *v.* Armellino.
- Perusco, Mario, papal "procuratore fiscale," refuses to deliver Civittà Castellana to the imperialists, ii. 545.
- Pesaro, Lautrec said to be at, with the main body of his army, ii. 559, 561.
-, report contradicted, ii. 562.
-, Hieronymo or Girolamo, Venetian provveditor, sent to Corfú, ii. 595, 665.
-, Piero della Cà da, provveditor general of Venice, against Cremona, 848, 883, 926-7, 929.
-, in Lautrec's camp, ii. 343.
-, at the siege of Naples, ii. 657, 665.
-, letters from Francesco Guicciardini to, 555, 558.
-, bishop of, *v.* Simonetta.
- Pescara, marquis of, *v.* Davalos d' Aquino (Hernando).
-, marchioness of, *v.* Colonna.
- Peschiera, in Lombardy, the confederates remove their camp from, and Marignano, 1000.
-, the Germans march on, ii. 695, 709, 760.
- Petervaradin, *v.* Peterwardein.
- Peterwardein, Petro Bernandi (Peterwarden) in Slavonia gallantly defended by its Bohemian garrison, 895.
-, artillery at, removed by Soliman, ii. 363.
- Petillano, *v.* Pitigliano.
- Petra (Preda ?), Giovanni Antonio di, a servant of the duke of Milan, arrested at Venice, 479, 481, 502, 535.
- Petrasancta, in Tuscany, promised by Charles to the Genoese, 993.
- Petro, Bernardi, see *Petervaradin*.
- Petrucchi, cardinal Alfonso, son of Pandolfo, 917.
-, Borghese or Borghesino, written *Borgherino* by mistake, *ibid.*
-, Fabio, 917.
-, Francesco, ii. 1003.
-, Julio, 917.
-, Pandolfo, tyrant of Sienna, alluded, 917, 1003.
-, Raffaele, bishop of Grosseto and cardinal, 917 ; ii. 1003.
- Petrucchi, Raffaele, at Rome during the sack, ii. 199.
- Philip, prince of Spain, son of Charles and Isabella of Portugal, birth and christening of, ii. 204-6, 220.
-, landgrave of Hesse, disturbances caused in Germany by, ii. 796.
-, *Le Bon*, duke of Savoy, 998.
-, count palatine of the Rhine, succeeds in reconciling the two opposite parties in Germany, ii. 797.
- Phillips, Phillippes, *v.* Felipez.
- Phippot, servant of Mr. de Præst, 560.
- Piacentines defeat Zuchero and take him prisoner with two more imperial captains (1527), ii. 59, 68, 72.
- Piacentino, permission to cross the, granted by pope Clement VII. to the French, 66.
-, imperial army in the, 105.
- Piacenza, imperial army quartered in the territory of, 103.
-, French under Saluzzo arrive at, 929.
-, the fortifications of Parma and, to be increased, 650, 669.
-, the papal troops abandon, 1037.
-, the Germans under Fruntsperg on the road to, ii. 15.
-, rent dues, known as porto di, asked for by secretary Perez for his maintenance, ii. 227, 235.
-, Bourbon, by the advice of the duke of Ferrara, desists from attacking, 68, 70.
-, Leyva takes possession of, ii. 249.
-, letters dated from, ii. 612, 674.
- Picardy, invasion of, projected and discussed by Wolsey and the imperial ambassadors, 32, 38, 80, 93, 111, 118, 130.
-, said to be too strongly fortified to be attempted with a small force, 118.
- Piccolomini, Giovanni, cardinal archbishop of Sienna, ii. 198-9, 203, 949.
-, Ottavio, Austrian general, *Int.* ii. xxxv.
-, Alfonso, count of *Celano*, marquis of *Capistrano*, duke of *Amalfi*, captain of imperial men-at-arms, and governor of Santelmo, in Naples, *Int.* ii. xxxv ; ii. 138, 155, 160, 162, 232, 561, 593, 673, 691, 697, 707.
-, letter to the emperor, ii. 454.
- Pico della Mirandola, Alberto, ii. 916, *note*.
-, Anna, married to Antoniotto Adorno, doge of Genoa, *ibid.*
-, Beatrice, *ibid.*
-, count Gian Francesco, a staunch imperialist, shelters in his estate Antoniotto Adorno, Lope de Soria, and Alonso Sanchez, ii. 393, 584, 793.
-, strongly recommended to the emperor, ii. 794-5.

- Pico della Mirandola, count Gian Francesco, in fear of the duke of Ferrara, who threatens to invade his estate, ii. 874.
-, applies to the imperialists for help, 874.
-, one of his three sons (Alberto, Gian Thomasso or Paolo) to be sent as papal nuncio to Hungary, ii. 916.
-, letter to Lope de Soria, 393.
-, Gian Thomasso, ii. 916, *note*.
-, Giulia, daughter of count Gian Francesco, married to Malatesta, lord of Rimini, ii. 651.
- Paolo, ii. 916, *note*.
- Piede (Pieve) di Santo Stefano, in Tuscany, the imperialists under Bourbon reach, ii. 149.
- Piedmont, the imperial army quartered in, 267.
-, ravage and exhaust the, 217, 631, 580.
-, orders for the evacuation of, 365.
-, disregarded by the imperial generals, 631, 687.
-, Hurtado's negotiations with the duke Carlo, 629, 631, 650, 655, 687.
-, the Spanish infantry to be again quartered in, 670.
-, against the duke of Savoy's will, 631.
- Piedmontese, safe conducts granted to the, by the governess of the Low Countries, 80.
-, rise in arms against the imperialists, 704.
- Pietradante (Pietrabondante?), in the Abruzzo, 719.
- Pietra Sancta, in Tuscany, 393.
-, Pieve, *v.* Piede di Santo Stephano.
- Pignatello, Annibale or Hannibale di, recommended by Lannoy and Veyre for the bishopric of Cosenza, ii. 353, 412, 763, 951.
-, Camillo, count of *Burrello*, his campaigns in Calabria and Puglia, ii. 672, 768, 774, 825, 857.
-, obliges the French to raise the siege of Manfredonia, ii. 768.
-, letters to the emperor (1527), ii. 175, 178-9, 182, 208, 275, 397, 412, 567, 665-6.
-, Giovanni Battista, ii. 763.
-, Hectore or Ettore, duke of Monte Leone, viceroy of Sicily, *Int.* xxx, 297; ii. 403, 672, 739, 919.
-, letters to the emperor, ii. 284, 358, 397.
- Pimentel, D. Alonso, fifth count of Benavente, 635.
-, one of the sponsors to prince Philip, 220.
-, D. Juan, 635, 645.
-, his name erroneously written *Pimental*, 672.
- Pimentel y Velasco, Doña Maria de, daughter of Alonso, count of Benavente (1527), 635; ii. 262, 266.
- Pimpinelli, Vincencio, *v.* Penpinelo.
- Pinedo, his history of the order of the Golden Fleece quoted, *Int.* xii.
- Pinelli, Cosmo, banker at Naples, ii. 645.
- Pino, Bernardino, ii. 1002.
- Pinotetti, Hannibale, recommended by Lannoy for the archbishopric of Cosenza, ii. 353, 412.
- Pio, Alberto, count of *Carpi*, a partisan of the French (1525-7), 56, 104, 256, 793, 907.
-, the estates of, confiscated, 56.
-, to be given to Pescara, 104.
-, and after his death to the duke of Ferrara, ii. 258.
-, shut up with the pope in Sant'angelo (1528), ii. 259.
-, leaves for France with Renzo da Ceri and other Romans, *ibid.* 288.
-, dissatisfied with the French, ii. 839, 852.
-, Girolamo, executed by order of the duke of Ferrara (1528), ii. 851, 870.
-, Marco, ambassador from the duke of Ferrara to the emperor, brother of the preceding, sails for Barcelona, ii. 292.
-, memorandum of, to the emperor, ii. 172.
-, recalled, ii. 873, 901.
- Pioltello, called also *Pioltega* (Lombardy), the confederates retreat to, 990, 993, 1011, 1013.
- Piombino, channel of, one of the imperial galleys arrives at, with troops, ii. 8.
-, Turkish fustes captured in the, 622.
-, French ambassador in Rome returns from, ii. 39.
-, lord of, *v.* Appiani.
- Pisa and Leghorn taken from the Medici, ii. 204, 250.
-, retained by the Florentines, ii. 204, 258.
-, archbishop of, *v.* Bartolini.
- Pisanello, Giovan Angelo, president of the Summaria at Naples, ii. 505.
- Pisani, or Pisano, Alvise or Luigi, proveditor of Venice, sent to the camp of the confederates, 831, 929; ii. 79, 163, 174, 210, 225, 650.
-, dies of the plague at Naples, ii. 722, 734, 748.
-, Francesco, archbishop of *Padua*, and cardinal in *Porticu*, son of the preceding, 831; ii. 79, 210, 225, 711, 951.
- Piscol, *v.* Puzzolo.
- Pistoia, bishop of, *v.* Pucci (Antonio).
- Pitigliano, Lodovico Orsino, comte di, offers his services to the emperor, 949, 1004, 1052, 1057.

- Pitigliano, Lodovico Orsino, comte di, estate of, claimed by the Sieneſe, 1004; ii. 93.
- Pizzighetone, tower of, on the banks of the Adda; Francis I. confined in, 58, 105.
-, agreement made at, 149.
-, the garrisons of, Lecco, Pavia, and other places in Lombardy not paid for many months, ii. 305.
-, called *Piceleonis* and *Pizlenois*, by some Italian geographers, 384, *note*.
-, letters dated from, 85, 88.
- Placito (Placidi?) Aldelo, a citizen of Sienna, 325; ii. 998.
-, Domenico, nephew of, executed, 325; ii. 998.
- Plague breaks out in Genoa, 289, 298, 310-1; ii. 715, 743.
- in Rome, ii. 200, 233, 248, 262-3, 308, 311.
- in Puglia, ii. 714, 716.
- in Naples, and in Lautrec's camp, ii. 768.
- at Ferrara, and in the Mantuan, ii. 716.
- Plantagenet, sir Arthur, viscount Lisle, natural son of Edward IV., admiral of England, (1525), 76.
- Plantedia, Cesare di Cosenza, petition of (1528), ii. 705.
- Plasenzia, in Extremadura, 257.
-, dean of, on a message from Lope Hurtado to the emperor, 883.
- Plazentino, *v.* Piacenza and Piacentino.
- Plébanos, meaning of the word, 673.
- Plegamans, Marimon de, lieutenant-governor of Trani, ii. 402.
- Pleine, Gerard de, sieur de la Roche, sent by the emperor to Rome, *Int.* xvi, 33; ii. 244.
- Plemua, Plemue, *v.* Plymouth.
- Plus Ultra, imperial herald, ii. 246, 338, 380.
- Plymouth, called by Spaniards *Plemua*, 50, 550.
- Pò, river of Lombardy, the Germans under Frunſperg about to cross the, 1031, 1034.
-, Lautrec passes the, and goes to Piacenza, ii. 423.
-, Leyva's attempt to cross the, unsuccessful, ii. 768.
- Poggio Reale, near Naples, the imperialists retreat to, ii. 664.
-, followed thither by Lautrec, who lays siege to Naples, ii. 670.
- Poitiers, Jean de, sieur de *Saint Valliers*, one of Bourbon's adherents, mentioned in the Madrid convention, 165; ii. 998.
-, his release solicited by the emperor, 560, 563, 884.
- Pointz or Poyntz, sir Francis, esquire of the body, sent on a mission to Charles, ii. 179, 185, 188, 206, 222, 274, 282.
- Poissy, in France, letters dated from, 285.
- Pola, bishop of, *v.* Altobello Averoldi.
- Polanco, a Spaniard, sent to the king of Bohemia, ii. 392.
- Poland, king of, *v.* Sigismond.
-, Scepperus' mission to, ii. 689.
- Pole (Poulle), Richard de la, surnamed *Blanche Rose*, slain at Pavia, 96, 100, 148.
- Polesino [di Rovigo], Venetian troops in the, 143; ii. 450.
- Policastro, count (Caraffa?), president of the collateral council at Naples, 900, *note*.
- Polignano Pulignano (Naples) surrenders to the Venetians, ii. 658, 812.
- Poliziano, —, Milanese secretary, the duke of Milan summoned to surrender the person of, 487, 515.
-, to be examined by Caracciolo, 818.
- Pomblin, Pomblino, *v.* Piombino.
- Pomeghe, small islands of the Mediterranean, close to Marseilles, the French fleet at the, 1006.
- Ponça, island of, Andrea Doria with his galleys at the, 729.
- Pomperant, an adherent of Bourbon, 792; ii. 1001.
- Ponce de Leon, D. Luis Christoval, duke of Arcos, at Rome, 718.
- Pont des Vaux, Pontis Vallis or Vallium, count of, *v.* Gorrevod.
- Ponte Corona, a village in the lands of the Orsini, 50.
- Pontecorvo, in the Rom. Stat., the Colonnese encamped at, ii. 11.
- Ponte Molle; at Rome, ii. 216.
- Ponte Nuro, castle close to Piacenza, ii. 58, 1004.
- Pontevico, village in Lombardy, Brunswick at, in great want of money, ii. 707.
- Ponthièvre, Pointhièvre, *v.* Penthhièvre.
- Pontremoli, marquisate of, in Tuscany, the Italian infantry under Leyva to be quartered at the, 573, 597.
-, Lautrec's infantry quartered at, ii. 457.
- Popoli, *v.* Peppoli.
- Populo, Monte di, one of the three divisions of Siena, 69, 405.
- Porcacchi, Thomasso, his "Lettere de Principi" quoted, 225, 229, 290, 732; ii. 1001.
- Porcara, Madama Francesca, widow of Miçer Laudisio, recommended to the emperor ii. 724.
- Porta, Jo. Aleuisio or Aloysio della, 465.
- Porta Capuana, in Naples, skirmish close to, unfavourable to the French, ii. 674.
- Orientale, at Milan, the confederates encamp at, with a view to relieve the castle besieged by Bourbon (1526), 816.
- Romana, one of the suburbs of Milan, imperial troops quartered at, 471, 795.
- Tessinessa, out of Milan, 471.

- Porta Tusa, a suburb of Milan, imperial troops quartered at, 471.
 , defeat of the confederates at, 795.
- Porta Zobbia, castle of, at Milan, ii. 795.
- Porto Baçan, in Tuscany, 601.
- Portalegre, count, a Portuguese nobleman, 369.
- Port'ercole, *v.* Porto Hercole.
- Porto Hercole, the French fleet at, 104.
 , the confederated fleet reported at, ii. 430.
 taken by Andrea Doria, 805, 878-9.
 Veneris (Portvendre), on the coast of France, 613.
- Portocarrero, D. Pedro, Spanish bishopric given to, 1057.
- Portofino, in the Genoese, the papal and Venetian galleys at, for the purpose of blockading Genoa (1526), 884.
 , Genoese galleys captured at, ii. 346.
- Portugal, the English not likely to make war against, but certain to help the French in Italy, ii. 689.
 , a Jew allowed to preach in, against Christian religion, and in favour of the Mosaic creed, ii. 818.
 , king of, *v.* João and Manuel.
 , D. Fadrique de, bishop of Sigüenza, in Castille, viceroy of Catalonia, 189, 288.
 , letters to the emperor, 229; ii. 516.
 , Dom Martin de, Portuguese ambassador in Rome, signs the capitulation with Don Hugo and the Colonnese in September 1526, 928.
 , ... , to Spain on a mission from Clement, 973, 996.
 , ... , his good offices to the emperor, 892, 1004, 1047, 1051.
 , ... , offers made to Clement by, ii. 6-8.
 , ... , his house at Rome plundered by the imperialists, ii. 197.
 , ... , proposed again for the embassy of Rome, ii. 618.
- Portunda, Genoese galley in the imperial service, magnificently fitted out to convey Francis to Spain, 179-80, 368, 611.
 , ... , report of her having been attacked by Doria, 601.
 , ... , turns out untrue, 611.
- Portundo, Roderigo?, Genoese admiral, takes Francis to Spain on board his galley, 179, 311.
 , ... , to be employed against Doria, 667, 686, 694, 720, 803, 819.
- Posilippo, Pusilipo (Naples) Hernando de Alarcon at, 856.
- Possonia, 956, *v.* Presburg.
- Postmaster-General in England, *v.* Brian Tuke.
- Posterla (written also Pusteria, and Purterla), Il Cavalier di, appointed one of the "conservatori" of Milan, 430.
 , Pietro di', heads one of the Milanese riots, 772.
- Potença, count of, *v.* Guevara.
 , son of, wounded by Guasto, 645.
 , dies, 672.
- Potencia (Potença), town in Naples, bishop of, slain at the taking of Rome, ii. 219.
 , count of, *v.* Guevara.
- Poulle, *v.* Pole.
- Poupet de la Chaux, Charles, *v.* Lachaulx.
- Poza, castle of, in Castille, the sons of Francis and the ambassadors of the league detained at, ii. 573, 627, 666.
- Praët, Jean de, *Int.* xii.
 , Louis de Flandre, seigneur de, imperial ambassador in England, conversation with the papal nuncio in London, 2.
 , ... , ... , with cardinal Wolsey respecting the duchy of Milan, 3.
 , ... , ... , remonstrates against the reception made to the French ambassador (Jean Joekin) in London, 5.
 , ... , ... , prevented from seeing the king, 54, 76, 78.
 , ... , ... , disliked by the cardinal, who had his correspondence seized, 51, 89.
 , ... , ... , desired not to write home without first showing his letters to the cardinal, 53, 84.
 , ... , ... , who complains of him to Charles, 74-6.
 , ... , ... , and insists upon his recall, 78-9, 92-8.
 , ... , ... , otherwise to be punished in England for his slandering reports, 85.
 , ... , ... , advises the detention in Spain of Sampson, the ambassador, until he himself be allowed to quit England, 54.
 , ... , ... , opinion of, respecting the prosecution of the war with France, 96.
 , ... , ... , and the emperor's journey to Italy, 97.
 , ... , ... , leaves England, 85.
 , ... , ... , letters to the emperor from London, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 20, 38, 47.
 , ... , ... , to Mdme. Marguerite of the Low Countries, 63.
 , ... , ... , letters and instructions to, 52, 55-6.
 , ... , ... , appointed ambassador to France (October 1525), 362, 844, 998, 1015-6.
 , ... , ... , about to start for Flanders, ii. 60.
 , ... , ... , on a pilgrimage to Montserrat, ii. 205.

- Praët, Louis de Flandre, seigneur de, letters to the emperor from Lyons, 225, 264, 275, 330.
 , ... , to Rome as ambassador, ii. 548.
- Prague, capital of Bohemia, Ferdinand the archduke of Austria crowned at, ii. 44.
 , diet held at, ii. 680, 1058.
 , letters dated from, ii. 423, 425.
- Pransuie, *v.* Brunswick.
- Prat, Antoine du, chancellor of France, cardinal Senonensis (of Sens), signs the petition of the cardinals assembled at Compiègne (1527), ii. 386.
 , ... , grand chancellor of France, ii. 673, 797.
- Preda, Juan Antonio de, *v.* Petra.
- Pregadi, Consiglio dei, at Venice, 144, 447, 587, 666; ii. 150.
- Prenestina, *v.* Palestrina and Colonna.
- Presburg (Possonia), in Hungary, Anna, widow of king Ludwig besieged by the Turks in, 899, 923.
 , citadel of, defended by Bornamisa, ii. 279.
- Presinga, *v.* Presintgher.
- Presintgher, German courier, 1028; ii. 1, 2, 59.
- Pretice (?), Antonius, signs the convention of Florence, ii. 163.
- Prisoners of war at Calais, negotiations between England and the Low Countries concerning the, 147, 153, 202, 206.
- Priuli, Lorenzo, Venetian ambassador in Spain, 363, 482.
- Proscida, baron, a Neapolitan, joins the French, ii. 750.
 , ... , his estate given to the marquis del Guasto, 782-3.
- Provence, bad success of the expedition to, caused by bad management, 12.
 , invasion of, recommended by Soria and other imperialists (1525), 298.
 , M. de Lautrec governor of, and Languedoc, 70, 150.
 , the coast of, to be assailed by Doria, ii. 824, 867, 906.
- Pruxita, *v.* Proscida.
- Pucci, Antonio, bishop of *Pistoia*, sent by Clement on a mission to Civittà Vecchia, ii. 160.
 , ... , signs the adhesion of Florence to the league (1527), ii. 163, 183.
 , ... , one of the hostages for the capitulation of Rome, ii. 210, 232.
 , ... , sent to Spain by the pope, ii. 586.
 , ... , forwards to Rome a memorandum written by a Spaniard respecting the manner of preaching the crusade against the Turks, ii. 894.
- Pucci or Puccio, Lorenzo, cardinal *Santi Quatro*, more correctly "*Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum*," his mission to France, 302, 411.
 , ... , ill treated by the Germans during the sack of Rome, ii. 219, 234.
 , a prisoner of Mario Orsino, ii. 494, 498, 520.
 , ... , professes to be the emperor's friend, 949.
- Pucetain or Puestain, competitor for the crown of Bohemia, 1053.
- Puch, Mossen, captain of an imperial galley, ii. 672.
- Puçol, *v.* Puzzolo.
- Puebla or *La Puebla*, Dr., Ferdinand's ambassador in England, 616.
- Puerin, a company of Italian light horse slaughtered by the Piedmontese at, 706.
- Puglia (Pulia, Pulla, Apulia), Venetian galleys destined to the coast of, 713; ii. 97.
 , Clement offers to assist in the invasion of, ii. 157.
 , invaded and almost conquered by the confederates, ii. 654.
 , Burrello's campaign in, ii. 792, 812.
 , Guasto's expedition to, ii. 856.
 , Dogana di, ii. 663.
 , disaffected Neapolitan barons executed in, 865.
 , threatened by Venice, ii. 944.
- Pujadas, *v.* Pujordes.
- Pujordes (Pujades?), master of a Catalonian galley, 368.
- Pulla, *v.* Apuglia and Puglia.
- Pusilico, *v.* Posilippo.
- Pusterla, Pietro da, written also *Purterla*, appointed commander of a force of armed citizens at Milan, 757-8.
- Putiis, Antoninus de, *v.* Pucci.
- Puzzuolo, Naples, Doria met at, by Dom Hugo and defeated, ii. 87, 92.
 , Spanish infantry sent to the defence of, and the coast, ii. 505.
 , the Venetian fleet in sight of, ii. 704.
 , the French of Aversa on their arrival at, find the galleys gone, ii. 782.
 , in the Roman states, Don Hugo de Moncada at, 973.
- Pynnalose, *v.* Peñalosa.

Q.

- Quadra, Dr., ii. 834.
- Quarata, a town of Naples, the imperialists fail in their attempt to surprise, ii. 812.
 , marquis de, *v.* Bury.
- Quarta, *v.* Cuarta.
- Quelfort, captain, *v.* Guilford.

Quesada, captain, at Lodi, 773.

Quiñones, Don Diego Fernandez de, count of Luna, ii. *Int.* vii.

....., Fr. Francisco Fernandez de, called also *Fr. Francisco de Los Angeles*, general of the Franciscans at Rome, bishop of Coria, cardinal *Santa Croce*, well received at Rome, by Clement, 274, 689.

....., about to return to Spain by way of Marseilles, ii. 160.

....., sent again to Italy on a secret mission of Charles under the pseudonym of Alvaro Perez, 985, 1020.

....., negotiates with Clement, 1056; ii. 137, 157, 160, 348, 534.

....., letters of credence on this occasion, ii. 288.

....., goes back to Spain with a message from the pope, ii. 160.

....., returns to Italy and lands at Genoa (13th December 1528), ii. 367.

....., anxiously expected at Naples, ii. 827.

....., and in Rome, ii. 828, 866.

....., created cardinal *Santa Croce*, ii. 827, 849.

....., imperial ambassador at Rome, ii. 875.

....., letters to the emperor (1525), 188; (1528-9), ii. 625, 635, 658.

....., notice of, *Int.* vii-ix.

Quiot, *v.* Guiot.

Quirinal (Quirinale), pope's palace in the, ii. 947.

R.

Rabia, Antonio, president "della Badia" at Milan, recommended by Leyva, ii. 371, 421.

Racanate, Recanati, in the Roman states, Lautrec leaves, and marches on Naples, ii. 576, 596.

Rafaele, Raphaele, Miçer, secretary to the bishop of Fano, sent on a mission to Charles, 290.

Rai, *v.* Roysters.

Ramias (Ramirez?), Pietro, Spanish captain, signs the capitulation of Rome ii. 232.

Ramirez, Lic^{te}. Sebastian, presented for the bishoprics of Santo Domingo and La Concepcion in the West Indies, ii. 470.

....., Burman Diego, Spanish captain, killed before Lodi (1528), *Int.* ii. xiv, 742.

..... de Guzman, Gonzalo, ii. 335.

....., Martin, ii. 2.

....., Nuño, ii. 335.

....., Ramiro, ii. 335.

....., *v.* Nuñez de Guzman.

III. 2.

Raneta, Reneta, *v.* Renéé.

Rangone, Antonio, *v.* Rincon.

....., count Guido, governor of Arezzo, 597.

....., tries to seduce the Italian infantry serving under Guasto, 654.

....., in command of the pope's army, 728, 769.

....., quarrels with Giovannino, 848, 864.

....., to guard Modena against an attack from the duke of Ferrara, ii. 90, 249.

....., sent on a mission to Bourbon, 159.

....., asks the Bolognese a passage through their territory, ii. 255.

....., suspected by the imperialists, ii. 696.

....., death of, falsely reported, 706.

....., sends one of his secretaries to Genoa, 874.

....., prisoner at Aversa, ii. 778.

....., on a mission from Chalon to the pope, ii. 791.

....., about to join the French, though [when prisoner] he gave his word of honour not to serve against the emperor, ii. 928.

....., Hercole, cardinal, ii. 90, 214.

....., the archdeaconry of Belchite conferred by Clement on, 416.

....., the emperor's thanks to be conveyed to, for his good offices, 664.

....., count Lodovico, brother of the two preceding, delivers Modena to the duke of Ferrara, ii. 249.

Raphaele, Miçer, a servant to the duke of Sessa, sent on a mission to the emperor, 290.

Raset, *v.* Basset.

Ratcliffe, Robert, 211.

Ratisbon (Regensburg, in Bavaria), diet held in, ii. 665-6, 681, 814.

Ravenna, archbishop of, *v.* Accolti.

..... and Cervia seized and retained by the Venetians, 221, 538.

..... on the excuse that they must be defended from the common enemy ii. 657.

....., the garrison of, reinforced, ii. 665.

Rawdon Brown quoted, 209, 660, 666, 702, 714, 759, 782, 810, 822, 831, 903, 945, 1022, 1026; ii. 5, 9, 25, 71, 96, 156, 544, 923, 994, 1003.

Ravestein, Mr. de, councillor of Flanders, 36.

Rebello, castle in the Mantuan, 250.

....., Micer Andrea del Burgo, sheltered at, ii. 702.

Recalde, Francisco, merchant of Bilbao, 36.

Redwitz, Wigand van, bishop of Bamberg, 796-7.

- Regensburg, *v.* Ratisbon.
- Regente, meaning of the Spanish word as applied to a councillor, ii. 126; *Int.*, ii. ix.
- Regi, *v.* Alba Regia or Stuhl Weissenburg, in Hungary.
- Regia, Corte [della Summaria], at Naples, ii. 902.
- Reggio, the imperialists to march towards, ii. 70.
-, Soria and Antoniotto Adorno arrive at (1527), ii. 388.
-, Bourbon's army encamped close to, ii. 150.
-, letter dated from, ii. 486.
- and Rubiera, money paid by the duke of Ferrara for, 106-7.
-, claimed by pope Clement as fiefs of the Church, 202.
-, wrested from pope Leo X., 907.
-, negotiations respecting, 181, 287, 433, 439-40, 620, 741, 907, 923, 941.
- Reguardo (Bel Riguardo), 364.
-, Leyva summons, to surrender, ii. 989.
- Relon, Gonzalo, 338.
- Renée de France, daughter of Louis XII. and sister-in-law of Francis I., 616.
-, proposed marriage between, and her brother-in-law Francis I., 66.
-, dispensation to be obtained from Clement, *ibid.*
-, her hand offered to the Infante Dom Luiz of Portugal, ii. 629.
-, ultimately married to Hercole d'Este, ii. 755, 837.
- Reno, river of the Bolognese, 135.
- Renteria, Juan de la, master of a Spanish ship, seizes English merchandize on the coast of Brittany, ii. 379.
- Requenate, *v.* Racanate.
- Requesens, D. Berenguer de, Spanish admiral, at Naples, 667, 686.
-, letter to the emperor, 565.
-, D. Francisco de, captain of Spanish galleys, to escort Bourbon on his voyage from Barcelona to Genoa, 651, 666-8, 686, 936.
-, letter to the emperor, 566.
-, Jayme de, with his galley in the port of Genoa, 848.
-, letter to the emperor, 565.
-, and his brother (D. Berenguer) pawn their silver plate to pay their crews, 936.
- Revardisano, papal brief relating to the, 160.
- Revel, in the marquisate of Saluzzo, ii. 702, 762.
-, written Rebello, 250.
- Rezzano, the imperial army to go to the, by the pope's desire, 105.
- Rezzo or Rezo, *v.* Reggio and Arezzo.
- Rheims, in France, the combined forces of England and the Low Countries to march on Paris through St. Quentin and, 135.
- Rhodes, taking of, by the Turks alluded to, 67.
-, knights of St. John of, to be assisted by the Christian powers, ii. 786.
-, galleys of, to join the French fleet at Villafranca di Niza, 1000.
-, three of them, under Andrea Doria, 713, 720.
-, grand master of, *v.* Villiers de l'Isle Adam.
- Ribadeo, a seaport in Galicia, 206, 209.
- Ribadeneyra, Rivadeneyra, knight commander, Spanish captain, sent on various missions, ii. 209, 246, 290, 304, 306.
-, returns to Milan with money, ii. 529, 531-2.
-, with despatches for the emperor, 754-5, 764, 774.
-, to the lord of Monaco, ii. 870, 872, 876.
-, to Andrea Doria and the Genoese, ii. 879.
-, with instructions to Leyva, ii. 903.
-, back to Spain with despatches from the prince of Orange, ii. 928.
-, letter to the emperor, ii. 613.
- Ribera (Gonçalo de), Spanish officer recommended by Guasto, 630.
-, Juan de, Spanish captain at Naples, ii. 697.
- Ribeyro, Treio, a Portuguese, servant of Don Martin de Portugal, employed by pope Clement on various messages to his master, and to D. Miguel de Silva (1529), ii. 920.
- Ricasoli, Simone de', cardinal, retained as hostage after the sack of Rome, ii. 210, 232.
- Riccio, Gian Angelo, secretary to the duke of Milan, 487, 514-5, 815, 818.
- Richard or Richart Boulengier, imperial courier, ii. 22, 25, 27, 39, 50, 277, 373.
-, Coeque, 343, 345.
-, Florentin, 50, 275, 343.
- Richard III., of England, subjects Ireland to his rule with the assistance of the earl of Desmond, ii. 992.
- Richmond, the English court at, ii. 432.
-, duke of, *v.* Fitzroy.
- Ridolfi, Lorenzo de', brother of the cardinal, retained as hostage after the taking of Rome, ii. 210, 232.
-, Ridolfo, cardinal, sent by Clement to Florence, 274; ii. 88, 90, 952-3.
- Rimini (Rom. Stat.), occupied by Sigismondo Malatesta, ii. 567, 651.
-, Lautrec arrives at, ii. 558, 562, 567.
-, lord of, *v.* Malatesta.

- Rinaldi, Antonio, banker in London, money borrowed by ambassador Mesa from, 98.
, ..., *v.* Vivaldo.
- Rincon, Antonio del, a Spaniard in service of Francis, called *Rangone* by the Italians, on a mission to the vayvod of Transylvania, ii. 176, 336.
- Ripalda (?), Rodrigo de, signs the capitulation of Rome, ii. 232.
, ..., appointed governor of Ostia, ii. 287, 234, 244.
, ..., sent to Naples on a mission from the Spanish infantry, ii. 247.
, ..., to Spain, ii. 779-81, 791.
, ..., brother of, appointed to command at Ostia, 943.
- Risco, marquis del, *v.* Lopez.
- Riva, Giuliano della, secretary to the doge of Genoa, 269.
, ..., married to a daughter or niece of Antoniotto Adorno, doge of Venice, i. 269; ii. 788.
- Rivadeo (Ribadeo), a seaport of Galicia, 209, *note*.
- Rivadeneyra, *v.* Ribadeneyra.
- Rivoli, in Piedmont, 141.
- Robadanes, French ambassador in Rome, 18, 172.
- Robbio, Giovan Stefano da, servant of Morone, sent on a mission to the queen regent of France, and to Lautrec, 372, 384-5.
, ..., arrested, 393.
- Robertet, Florimond de, secretary of France, 145, 1015-6; ii. 284, 514, 638, 640-1, 649, 730.
, ..., a servant of, on a mission to Milan, ii. 318.
- Rocamador, abbey of, disputed, ii. 916.
- Rocandolfo, Rocandorf, *v.* Rogendorff.
- Rocca d' Anfa, or Anfo, in the Bresciano, the Germans under Fruntspersg, to pass by on their march to Milan, 1014.
, Guillelma or Guglielma (Lavoro), 700, 720.
, di Papa, in the Campagna of Rome; Renzo da Ceri sent to, 1006; ii. 38, 56.
, ..., taken from the Colonnese, 1006-7.
, ..., attacked again by Orazio Baglione, ii. 67.
, ..., offers no accommodation for the lodging of the pope and cardinals, ii. 269.
, Priora, village in, set on fire by the garrison of Rocca di Papa, ii. 68.
, ..., Chalou intends going to, ii. 267.
, di Valdorba, or Val Dorba, 465.
- Rochfort, viscount, *v.* Boleyn.
- Roche, sieur de la, *v.* Pleine.
- Rochefort, viscount, *v.* Boleyn.
- Rochefoucauld, Francois or Antoine? de la, sieur de *Barbesieux*, admiral of the French fleet, *Int.* ii. xxxvi.
- Rochelle, La, ii. 689.
- Rocheater, bishop of, *v.* Fisher.
- Rodo, letters dated from, 393.
- Rodomonte, *v.* Gonzaga (Luigi).
- Rodriguez [de Arellano] Juan, attendant of chancellor Gattinara, a canonry to be procured at Rome for, 697.
- Rœulx (Reux, du Reux, Rieux, Orrus, &c.), *v.* Croy.
, M^{de}me. de, wife of Adrien de Croy, seigneur de, 94.
- Rogendorff (Roghendorf, Rocandolfo), Guillaume de, German captain in the Rousillon, 267, 274; ii. 817.
- Roiz, Simon, daughter of, married to Alonso Sanchez, imperial ambassador in Venice, 531.
- Rokendelf, *v.* Rogendorff.
- Rollez, viscount de, on a mission from the emperor to England, 168.
- Rollincourt or Rollencourt, receiver of Mons. de Lannoy, prisoner at Calais, 94.
, ..., to be released if proved to be a native of Flanders, 151, 166, 206.
- Roma, Patre Casimiro di, his *Memorie Storiche sulla chiesa d'Ara Cœli*, ii. 202.
- Romagna, coast of, the French fleet bound for the, 60.
, ..., Giovannino de' Medici in the, 475.
, ..., Lautrec in the, 5.
, ..., the confederates march to the, ii. 249.
, ..., troops raised in, by Clement, ii. 692.
, ..., Clement raises troops in the, and the Marches, ii. 713.
- Romain, French captain, killed before Cosenza, ii. 718.
, *v.* Romano and Tebaldi.
- Rome (1526), surprised by Don Hugo and the Colonnese, 930, 937, 939, 940-3.
, St. Peter at, sacked, 940.
, tolling of the great bell at Campidoglio, 974.
, the inhabitants of, make preparations of defence against all armed forces, whether of the pope or the emperor, ii. 12.
, various houses at, sacked by the "Bande Nere" in April 1527, ii. 157.
, taken and sacked by the imperialists under Bourbon, ii. 196, 201, 209, 230.
, their loss on that occasion, ii. 219.
, capitulation of, after the sack, ii. 225, 231-3.
, the pope hearing of the approach of the confederates, refuses to sign it, ii. 225.
, sensation caused in London by the taking of, ii. 230.

- Rome, bread and provisions so scarce at, that thousands will die of hunger, ii. 227, 239.
-, the plague at, 708 ; ii. 200, 248, 262-3, 311.
-, making such ravages that the pope and the cardinals think of leaving for Rocca di Papa or Sermoneta, ii. 268-9.
-, most of the imperialists prepare to quit, from fear of an outbreak, ii. 535.
-, Clement's return to, ii. 827.
-, letters from, 23, 25, 34, 35, 42.
-, *v.* Mai, Hurtado, Moncada, Perez, Sessa, &c., news from, 478 ; ii. 202, 219, 304.
- Ronciglione, Roncillone, town in the Rom. Stat., Leyva helps the duke of Ferrara at, ii. 317.
- Ronquillo, Liete. Rodrigo, alcalde or judge of the imperial household, tries and sentences to death bishop Acuña, 614.
-, excommunicated in consequence, 1004, 1092.
-, letter from the emperor to, 369.
- Roos, lord Henry, created earl of Rutland, 211.
- Ros, Guillelmo or Guillen, imperial courier, his despatches seized, 719.
- Rosa, knight commander Alonso ? de la, governor of Gaeta, ii. 553, 753.
-, letters to the emperor (1528), ii. 301, 467, 480.
- Rosales, captain of Spanish light horse, 164.
- Rosano, in Sicily, archbishopric of, renounced by cardinal Colonna in favour of Pimpinello, one of his servants, 289.
- Rosas, seaport in Catalonia, papal galleys detained at, 326.
-, Doria's fleet to meet the emperor at, ii. 856, 899.
- Rosenau, in Hungary, 888.
- Rosenbois, *v.* Rosymboz.
- Rosmithal, Leo von, competitor for the crown of Bohemia, 1053-8.
- Rossel, Roussel, *v.* Russell.
- Rosso, Andrea, Venetian secretary, sent with a mission to France, 646-9, 766.
-, reports his interview with Francis, 665-6, 676, 683.
-, information sent to the signory by, 943.
- Rosymboz, Rosimboz, Pierre de, first maître d' hotel, and minister of the finances in the Low Countries, sent to London on a mission, 36 ; ii. 333.
-, to Spain with a message from Margaret to Charles, ii. 969.
- Rouen, capital of Normandy in France, ii. 689.
-, president of the parliament of, *v.* Brinon.
- Rouerte, *v.* Robertet.
- Roussillon, county of, 189.
-, German infantry in the, 267.
-, to escort Lannoy, 830, 876.
- Rovere, Francesco Maria della, duke of Urbino, 141.
-, takes with Guido Rangone the command of the papal forces, 728.
-, in the pay of Venice, ii. 736.
-, not on good terms with provéditeur Pesaro, 831, 864.
-, undertakes the siege of Cremona and is repulsed, 877, 891, 900, 903.
-, discontented with the pope and the Venetians, ii. 44.
-, said to be marching on Bologna to join the Sforzini, and the Venetians in Lombardy, ii. 562, 570.
-, his wife and son detained as hostages in Venice, ii. 567.
-, marches on Lombardy, ii. 581.
-, goes to Venice, ii. 156, 613.
-, the Venetians dissatisfied with ii. 769.
-, in treaty with Andrea Doria, ii. 914.
-, Guidobaldo della, son of Francesco Maria, duke of Urbino, detained with his mother at Venice, ii. 322, 567.
- Rubico (Rovigo) district of, in the Venetian territory, to be invaded by Bourbon, ii. 168.
- Rubiera, *see* Reggio.
- Rubio, Giovan Stefano di, *v.* Robbio.
- Ruffo, Giovanni, bishop of Cadiz in Spain, 456 *note*.
- Ruiz, Simon, Spanish banker, ii. 496.
- Ruiz de Alarcon, Pero or Pedro, nephew of Hernando de Alarcon, ii. 545-6, 949, 952.
- Rupeso Caldi, Antonio, name given by Sandoval to Antoine de la Rochefoucauld, ii. *Int.* xxxvi.
- Rupifucaldo, Barbesó Antonio, *v.* Rupeso and Rochefoucauld, *Int.* ii. xxxvi.
- Rup, Rupt, A. de, sieur de Vaury or Waury, Bourbon's secretary, signs at Madrid the agreement between Doria and the emperor, ii. 767.
-, prisoner at Salerno, ii. 670.
-, letter to the emperor, i. 497.
-, on a mission to Spain, ii. 859.
-, François, brother to the preceding, ii. 765.
- Russel (sir John), English ambassador at Rome, sent to the imperial camp at Pavia, 71.
-, on a mission to Bourbon, 72.
-, accompanies Ferramosca to Rome, ii. 76.
-, falls from his horse and breaks his leg on the road to Venice, ii. 87, 91, 96.
-, with money to the pope, ii. 117.

Russia, the king of, a heretic, said to possess considerable treasure, 208.

Rute, abbot of, *v.* Fernandez de Cordoba.

Rutland, *v.* Roos.

Ruychestre, *v.* Rochester.

Ruyt, *v.* Rup.

Rye, Gerard de, sieur de Balançon, sent by the prince of Orange on a mission to the emperor, ii. 670, 707-11, 827, 857, 859, 866, 937.

S.

Sabelli, Savello, Giovambattista, condottiere, in the service of the pope, ii. 68.

....., village belonging to, set on fire by the garrison of Rocca di Papa, *ibid.*

Sabino, bishop of, *v.* Accolti.

Sable, Domenico, *v.* Sauli.

Saco or Sacco, Micer Giacomo Filippo, or Jacopo Filippo, appointed one of the twelve "conservatori" of Milan, 430.

....., on a mission from Francesco Sforza to Don Hugo, 750.

....., to Bourbon, 825.

Sadoletto, bishop of Carpentras, 35, 83, 587; ii. 158-9.

Safe conducts, negociations respecting, and safeguards, 34, 80, 131, 146, 147-8, 169, 184, 194.

....., Margaret's ambassadors complain of, having been granted in England during the war, 80.

Saint Andrew, archbishop of, 578-9.

....., the emperor's letter to, 327.

....., Brancard, baron de, in command of a fleet destined for the deliverance of Francis, 154.

....., vice-admiral of Bretagne, ii. 182.

....., one of his galleys having treasure on board captured by Moorish pirates in the Piombino Straits, ii. 692.

....., *v.* Ormesan.

....., Germain, the queen dowager of France at, ii. 641.

....., Jean de Lus, arrival of Francis at, on his return from Spain, 617.

....., John of Jerusalem, knights of the order of, recommended to the emperor, 309.

....., who promises to give them Malta in place of Rhodes, taken by the Turks, 306.

....., and writes to Henry and Wolsey in their favour, ii. 786-7.

....., Julien, baron of, *v.* Veyre.

....., Just, a place near Lyons, letters dated from, 265, 269, 281, 468.

....., Mesmes, called also St. Memes and St. Menas, captain of the French gendarmes, prisoner at Pavia, ii. 926.

Saint Michael, order of, sent by Francis to Henry, ii. 438, 443, 459.

....., Paul's Church, in London, thanksgiving in, for the victory at Pavia, 86.

....., Wolsey celebrates mass at, on the same occasion, 91.

....., Peter (Sanct Pietro) at Rome, sacked by the imperialists, 198.

....., Pol, *v.* Bourbon (François).

....., Quentin, attack on, contemplated, 87, 135.

....., Valliers, sieur de, *v.* Poitiers.

Salamanca, bishop of, *v.* Bobadilla.

....., count [Fernando Pedro?], Austrian ambassador in Rome, 116, 794, 935.

....., signs the draft of a treaty of alliance proposed by Clement to Charles, 115.

....., on a mission to king Henry, 629, 936.

....., arrives in London (17th March 1527), and applies for assistance against the Turk, ii. 116, 119, 124, 159, 391, 691.

....., letter to the emperor, ii. 564.

....., G[onzalo?], called also *El Maestro* and *Il Magnifico*, 628.

....., Austrian ambassador in Venice, 832, 925.

....., letter to the emperor, 564.

....., to Margaret of Austria, 379.

Salanova, Mons. de, governor of Nizza, official correspondence between Milan and Spain to be forwarded by (1526), 884.

Salazar, foster brother of archduke Ferdinand, ii. 60.

....., Francisco de, letter to Gattinara describing the sack of Rome (1527), ii. 70, 87.

..... y Castro, D. Luis de, his collection of historical papers, *Int.* vii.

Saldanha, Juan de, superintendent of the royal household at Lisbon, 370.

Salerno (Naples), battle in the gulf of, lost by the imperialists (28th April 1528), ii. 671, 758.

....., recovered by the imperialists, ii. 774.

....., prince of, *v.* Sanseverino.

....., archbishop of, *v.* Fregoso (Federigo).

....., princess of, ii. 776.

Salinas, Doña Maria de, lady-in-waiting to Katharine of Aragon, ii. *Int.* xxiv.

....., D. Martin de, Ferdinand's ambassador in Spain, 102; ii. 546.

....., appointed chamberlain, ii. 603.

....., letters to the king of Bohemia and Hungary (1525), 53.

....., (1527), 1, 21, 28, 36, 51, 73, 79, 91, 159-60, 162, 177, 191, 221, 235-6, 244.

- Salinas, D. Martin de, letters to the king of Bohemia and Hungary, (1528), 295, 317, 320, 378, 380, 402, 409, 487, 570, 603; (1529), 629, 648, 663, 683.
-, letters to secretary Castillejo (1528), ii. 296, 410; (1529), 684.
-, notice of, ii. *Int.* xxviii.
-, courier, 640.
- Salisbury, bishop of, *v.* Campeggio.
- Salm, count, at the head of German lansquenets, 22, 57.
-, defeats the vayvod of Transylvania, ii. 417.
- Salma, measure of wheat used in Sicily, ii. 919.
- Salme, *v.* Salm.
- Salmoneta, *v.* Sermoneta.
- Salnitre, meaning of the word, erroneously spelt *salmitre*, ii. 1004.
-, present of, sent by Solymán to the Venetians, ii. 621.
-, procured in abundance from Trani and other towns in Puglia, ii. 677.
- Salo, river of, Lombardy, ii. 761.
- Salsas, Salses, a port of Roussillon, 883.
-, the warder of, to report about the artillery available in that fortress, ii. 757.
- Salou, a port of Catalonia, the imperial and Genoese galleys at, 427.
- Salt, high price of, in the Low Countries, 80.
-, negotiations about the, of Milan, 238, 741, 951.
- Saltzburg, defeat of the German peasants at, 820.
-, cardinal archbishop of, *v.* Lang.
- Saluzzo, marquisate of, occupied by Pescara, 250, 259; ii. 998.
-, promised to the count of Geneva, 268-9.
-, recovered by Michaelae Antonio, 398.
-, Francesco, marquis of, ii. 871, *note*.
-, deprives Giovanni Lodovico of his inheritance, 1002.
-, Giovanni Lodovico succeeds his brother Michaelae Antonio, ii. 871, 1002.
-, makes demonstrations in favour of the emperor, ii. 879.
-, and applies for aid against his brother Francesco, *ibid.*
-, Lodovico II., eleventh marquis of, ii. 1002.
-, Michaelae Antonio (or Michel Agnolo?), twelfth marquis of, son of Lodovico II., retires to France after the battle of Pavia; sets Don Hugo de Moncada at liberty, 60, 1054.
-, his estates confiscated, 259.
-, recovered, 396.
- Saluzzo, Michaelae Antonio, at Lyons with an army ready to cross over to Italy and join the confederates, 821.
-, invades the county of Asti and prepares to attack Genoa, 883, 926, 983.
-, marches on Castellazzo and Tortona, 904.
-, and Guido Rangone start in pursuit of Bourbon, ii. 9, 160.
-, in Lombardy, ii. 426.
-, overruns the Abruzzi, ii. 556, 610.
-, joins Lautrec before Naples, ii. 670.
-, succeeds him in the command of the forces, ii. 772, 784.
-, wounded and prisoner at Aversa, ii. 777, 781, 783.
-, death of, ii. 828, 1002.
-, marchioness of, *v.* Foix-Candalle (Margaret).
- Salviati, family of the, at Florence, ii. 88.
-, Bernardo (?), papal nuncio in France, 973.
-, Micer Giacomo or Jacopo, prior of Rome, 54, 135, 662, 690, 805; ii. 940-2, 948, 954, 971, 975, 977.
-, accused by Alberto di Carpi of being the ruin of Italy, 528.
-, considered the emperor's friend, *ibid.*
-, letter written to, in acknowledgment of his services, 609.
-, one of the sons of, to be given as hostage after the first capitulation of Rome (in 1526), 928.
-, bond of 30,000 ducats to be forfeited by, in case of the hostages not going to Naples as stipulated, 1018, 1021.
-, himself to be security for the pope after the sack of Rome, ii. 210, 232, 237, 954.
-, not trusted by the pope in the Florence business, he himself being a Florentine, ii. 977.
-, Giovanni de', cardinal of Sant Cosmo e Damiano, son of Jacopo, congratulates the emperor on the success of his arms at Pavia, 90.
-, appointed papal legate to Spain, 158, 203, 224, 249.
-, succeeds in crossing the frontier, 265, 287.
-, to be Wolsey's delegate in the event of his being appointed vicar-general, ii. 437.
-, considered an imperialist, ii. 443.
-, said to have been commissioned by the pope to ascertain whether Henry really wished, and could, divorce from Katharine, and take another wife, ii. 650.
-, letter to the emperor, 42.

- Salviati, Giovanni de', his negociations with Micer Mai, ii. 944, 977.
-, Lorenzo, brother (?) of Jacopo, banker at Rome, 53, 58.
-, ... , hostage for the first capitulation of Rome, 928.
-, Maria, widow of Giovannino de' Medici, ii. 220.
-, ... , after the expulsion of the Medici from Florence, takes refuge in Massa, *ibid.*
- Salzedo, Juan de, captain of Spanish infantry, his broil with Juan de Urbina, ii. 646.
-, ... , signs a petition of the Spanish infantry, ii. 697.
-, ... , letter to the emperor, ii. 440.
- Samme, *v.* Salm.
- Sampson, Richard, archdeacon of Cornwall, dean of Windsor, and English ambassador in Spain, 12, 46, 65, 74, 84, 100, 103, 179, 207, *note.*
- San Bereño, monastery close to Genoa, ii. 347.
- San Brancat, Sanbrancate (Saint Brancard), baron de, *v.* Ormesan.
- Sanchez, Alonso, imperial ambassador in Venice, negociates with the signory along with Caracciolo, 588-95.
-, ... , by himself refuses to attend the solemn proclamation of the Clementine league at Venice, on the plea that it is intended against the emperor, 781, 961.
-, ... , bills of exchange to the order of, not paid by Venetian bankers, 782.
-, ... , in correspondence with the bishop of Trent, Juan de Castro, and others, threatens to quit Venice, 783, 925, 931, 937.
-, ... , ordered to remain at his post, 989.
-, ... , letters of, intercepted and deciphered at Venice, ii. 342, 931.
-, ... , the emperor's instructions to, 149.
-, ... , ordered to quit Venice that the signory's ambassador may leave Spain, ii. 690.
-, ... , takes shelter at La Mirandola, ii. 763.
-, ... , in Bologna, ii. 870.
-, ... , appointed treasurer at Naples, ii. 928.
-, ... , notice of, *Int.* xxvii.
-, ... , keeps up a correspondence with the prince of Orange, Leyva, and Don Iñigo in England, ii. 870.
-, ... , assists the latter in the divorce case, *ibid.*
-, ... , letters to, from the king of Hungary or his secretaries (1527), ii. 101-2, 229, 233.
-, ... , letters to Lannoy, 81, 84, 627.
- Sanchez, Alonso, letters to the emperor (1525), 92, 147, 162, 166, 167, 176, 187, 205, 206, 216, 217, 220, 222, 224, 236, 237, 240, 249, 250, 252, 255, 282, 284, 294-5, 303, 305; (1526), 329, 340, 344, 355-7, 375, 384, 388, 403, 430-1, 436, 459, 470, 477, 495, 507, 543, 546, 553, 560, 567, 572, 595, 596, 626, 641; ii. 434, 461, 518; (1527), ii. 10, 31, 35, 53, 64, 80, 96, 120, 125, 148, 163, 175, 192, 196, 214, 216, 225, 278; (1528), 287, 292, 302, 314, 321, 336, 350-1, 357, 359, 364, 368, 372, 382-3, 468-9, 500, 514, 518.
-, ... , to Gattinara, 356, 439, 501.
-, ... , to Lope de Soria, 460, 512, 517.
-, ... , to the marquis de Pescara, 254.
-, ... , to chancellor Gattinara, 428, 462.
-, Dr. Gabriel, secretary to Ferdinand, king of Bohemia and Hungary, ii. 295, 995.
-, ... , letters to his kinsman, Alonso Sanchez, ii. 864, 905; (1527), ii. 101.
-, ... , to the bishop of Trent, ii. 114.
-, Luis, *Int.* xxvii.
-, Fray Pablo, recommended for a bishopric at Naples, 701.
-, de Baeza, Thomas, governor of Cremona, gallant defence of that city, 877-8.
-, ... , surrenders by capitulation, 736-7.
-, ... , slain at the siege of Castelletto in the Monferrato, ii. 288.
-, ... , letter to Guasto and Leyva, 533.
-, de Ulloa, Lope, agent of the archbishop of Toledo at Rome, witnesses the reading of a letter from the emperor to the college of cardinals (12th December 1526), 1039, 1046-7.
- San Christoforo, close to Milan, occupied by Lautrec, 418.
-, the Venetians under the duke of Urbino encamped at, 419.
- Sanctistevan, *v.* Sant Stephano.
- Sanct Anton, Sanct Antonio, knight commander of, 949, 973, 982.
- Sancta Maria, in Dominica, cardinal of, *v.* Orsino (Franciotto).
- Sancti Spiritus, a village in the Bolognese, the Germans supposed to be at, ii. 698, 951.
- Sanctorum Quatuor, cardinal, *v.* Sanctiquatro and Pucci.
- Sancto Vito, Porto di, ii. 705.
- San Cosmo e Damiano, cardinal of, *v.* Salviati (Giovanni).
- San Damiano e Santo Eustachio, cardinal of, *v.* Farnese.
- Sandes, *v.* Sandys.

- San Donnino, Borgo di, ii. 58, *note*.
 Sandis de Vargas, Ruy, Spanish captain, ii. 697.
 Sandoval, Fr. Prudencio de, bishop of Pamplona, his history of Charles V., *Int.* vi.
, took most of his materials from Simancas, *ibid*.
, quoted and corrected, 692, 842; *Int.* ii. 315.
, y Rojas, D. Bernardo, marquis de Denia, ii. 837.
, Christoval, son of the above, dean of Jaen, *ibid*.
 Sandys, William, lord treasurer of Calais, 76, 95, 209.
 San Firenze (San Fiorenzo), gulf of, in Corsica, the Spanish fleet anchors at, 346.
 San Florencio, in the island of Corsica, *v.* San Firenze.
 Sanga, Giovambattista, secretary to Jacopo Salviati, and papal nuncio in Venice, sent by Clement to Francis, arrives at the court of France, 822.
, to England, to urge Henry to join the league, *ibid*.
, on a mission from the pope to Doria, ii. 758.
, letter to the bishop of Pola, 461.
, sent on a message to Mai, ii. 954.
 San Germano (Lavoro, Naples), 1007; ii. 610, 612, 693, 703.
 San Gervasio (Rom. Stat.), 386, 389.
 San Giorgio, village 10 miles from Bologna, Bourbon's army at, ii. 96.
, close to Milan, the confederates encamped at, 824.
, cardinal of, ii. 200.
, order of, 865; ii. 734.
 San Giovanni, *v.* Castel.
 San Giovanni di Maurienna (Savoy), bishop of, *v.* Gattinara.
, del Poggio, abbey of, 663, 697.
 San Giuro, Castello di (San Giorio, in Naples), the marquis of Saluzzo joins the French camp at, in the Terra di Lavoro, ii. 663.
 Sangro, Gonsalvo di, bishop of *Leece*, in Naples, pope's chamberlain, sent to Spain to demand the release of the three cardinals kept as hostages at Naples, ii. 707, 763.
, his report to Miçer Mai, ii. 933.
, count di (Sarno?), attacks and takes Nola, 773.
 San Isidro [de Leon], collegiate church in Spain, negotiations at Rome respecting the, 697.
 San Juan de la Peña, abbey of, in Aragon, 697.
, del Poya, abbey of, 609.
 San Juro (San Giorio or Saniorio?) castle of, in Savoy, 663.
 San Leo, castle of, in the Florentine territory, claimed by the duke of Urbino, ii. 44.
 San Lorenzo, three miles from Montefalcone, the imperialists under Bourbon at, ii. 177.
 San Marçal, priorate of, in Navarre, 610, 664, 697.
 San Marcello, cardinal of, *v.* Vich.
 San Matheo, cardinal of, *v.* Egidius.
 San Michael, Porta, one of the gates of Cremona, the confederates defeated at, 877.
 San Miguel de Esfay, priory of, in Catalonia, the pope disposes of, in favour of one of his courtiers, ii. 757.
 San Martino, La Montagna di, close to Naples, Guasto in charge of, ii. 671.
 San Pablo, college of, at Valladolid, meeting of the cortes at, ii. 59.
, the christening of prince Philip takes place in, ii. 220.
 San Pancrazio, gate of, at Rome, ii. 195.
 Sanper, in Piedmont, Spanish infantry defeated at, 803.
 San Piero, San Pietro, di Arena, or dell' Arena, della Rena, &c., near Genoa, ii. 347.
, Philippino Doria lands on the coast of Genoa, and visits, ii. 368.
 San Pietro Inyessa, name of a suburb in Milan, the marquis de Pescara first buried in a benedictine convent at, 512.
 San Remo, watch tower of, close to Genoa, belonging to the order of San Giorgio, 269.
, Andrea Doria at, ii. 734.
 San Salvatore, bulwark of, at Pavia, 44.
 San Sebastiano, on the river Pò, 299.
 San Segundo, count Pier Maria de, deserts the league, and goes over to the imperialists, ii. 234-6, 242.
, defeated and taken prisoner by the marquis de Saluzzo, 392.
 San Severino, in Puglia, the confederates take, ii. 663, 675.
, recovered by the imperialists, ii. 774.
 Sanseverino, Miçer Antonio, a Neapolitan, created cardinal, ii. 591-3, 952, 531.
, Ferdinando, and Ferrante di, prince of Salerno, ii. 138, 155, 162, 170, 774.
, made prisoner at the battle of Capri, 678.
, Gian Bernardino, son of the duke of Soma or Somma, in Naples, taken prisoner near Trani, ii. 812.
, Gian Francesco di, count of Gaiazzo, 816.
, Maria, mother of the marquis del Vasto, *Int.* xxxvi.

- Sanseverino, duke of Somma (Alfonso), revolt of, in Calabria, ii. 701.
 appointed viceroy of that province by Lautrec, 704.
 defeated, 769.
 flies to Corfu, 859.
- San Severo, in the Capitanata of Naples, occupied by the confederates, ii. 610.
- San Siveri (?), *v.* San Severino.
- Sansovino, Francesco, Italian genealogist, quoted, ii. *Int.* xxxv.
- Santa Anastasia, cardinal of, *v.* Campeggio (Lorenzo).
 Barbara, Spanish galley, sunk in the gulf of Salerno, ii. 751.
 Christina, priorate of, in Aragon, 160, 248, 306.
 Croce, cardinal of, *v.* Carvajal and Quiñones.
- Santacruz, *v.* Santa Croce.
-, Juan de, Spanish captain at Naples, ii. 697.
- Santa Eufemia, prior of, *v.* Moncada.
- Maria de Guadalupe, Spanish vessel, boarded and taken by a French man-of-war, 338.
 Maria, abbacy of, at Najera in Spain, *Int.* xxxvii.
 Maria in Porticu, cardinal of, *v.* Bibiena.
 Martha, abbacy of, in Galicia, ii. 427.
- Sant Andrea in Savoy, 447.
- Santangelo, Civittà, or Città (Naples), marquis of, *v.* Caracciolo.
 castle of, between Lodi and Pavia, taken by Pescara, 40.
 by the imperialists under Leyva, and its garrison of 800 men put to the sword, ii. 749.
 in Rome, the pope besieged in, ii. 200-1, 211, 213, 217.
 spies from, arrested by the Germans and hung, ii. 225.
 Alarcon made governor of, ii. 234, 236, 243.
- Santarem, in Portugal, ii. 615.
- Santa Severina (Naples), occupied by the confederates, ii. 611.
 count of, *v.* Caraffa.
- Santelmo, castle of, in Naples, governor of, *v.* Piccolomini.
- San Gregorio (San Giorgio?), hospital of, outside of Milan, 824.
- Santi Giulio, a Siennese, arrested, ii. 998.
- Santiago [de Compostella], in Galicia, declaration signed at, ii. 338.
 letter dated from, 161.
 de los Españoles, a church at Rome, ii. 250.
- Santi Quatro, cardinal, *v.* Pucci (Lorenzo).
- Santistevan, *v.* St. Stefanc.
- Sant Lorenzo (Rom. Stat.), Chalon takes refuge in, to escape from the infuriated Germans, ii. 267.
 in Damaso, church at Rome, ii. 945.
- Santo Andrea, imperial galley, sunk in the gulf of Salerno, ii. 751.
 Felice, Miçer Antonio de, president of the Summaria at Naples, deserts to the French (1528), ii. 680.
 his estate confiscated and given to Hieronymo Francesco, ii. 833, 851, 857.
- Sant Olegio, on the Ticino, the confederates retire from, into Piedmont, 1012.
- Santo Stefano, seaport town on the coast of Sienna, arrival of the imperial fleet at, 1029, 1032-3, 1035, 1038, 1054.
 the French fleet at (1525), 104, 106.
 Lannoy lands at, 1032-3, 1035, 1038, 1054.
 bailli of, one of the pope's chamberlains, ii. 326.
 Tomé, priory of, in Segovia, 274.
- Sanuto, Venetian senator, his diary quoted by Rawdon Brown, ii. 544.
- San Vitale e Santa Praxedes, cardinal of, *v.* Monte.
- Saposo, chamberlain to Clement, sent on a mission to the generals of the league, ii. 217.
- Saragossa, *v.* Qaragoza.
- Sardinia, island of, to be attacked by the combined fleets of Venice and France, ii. 238.
- Sarmiento, captain Diego, 232; ii. 828, 839, 856.
 D. Francisco, lieutenant of a company of men-at-arms, 164.
 Juan, ii. 281.
 Pedro, witnesses the reading of the emperor's letters to the pope and cardinals, 1039, 1046.
- Sarno, count, 693, 799.
 attacks and takes Nola, ii. 773.
- Sarrabal (Seravalle), in Lombardy, 1013.
- Sartirana, in the Milanese, count of, *v.* Gattinara.
- Sarzana, captain, writes from Siena, announcing the defeat of the Florentines, 821.
- Sassatello (Zuanne Saxadello?), the castle of Imola taken from, ii. 544.
- Sasso, in Tuscany, Bourbon to march on Florence by way of, and Barbarino, ii. 130.
- Sauli, Domenico, Genoese, dealings of, with the duke of Milan and Morone, 238, 341, 364, 390-1, 460-1.
 on intimate terms with the datary, 384.
 his flight to Venice, 397, 514.

- Sauli, Domenico, Genoese, in correspondence with the emperor's enemies, 992.
- Savello, *v.* Sabelli.
- Savoie, Mr. de, *v.* Carlo, duke of Savoy.
-, Louise de, *v.* Savoy.
- Savoy, Louise of, mother of Francis I., queen regent of France, 99, 100, 145, 205.
-, requests the signory of Venice to be the mediator of peace, and procure the liberty of her son Francis, 363.
-, collects a large sum of money during her son's captivity in Spain, 647.
-, letter to her ambassadors in England, 265, 281, 283, 296.
-, Philibert of, 998.
-, Philip of, count of *Geneva*, sends one of his servants to Spain with the news of the battle of Pavia, 137.
-, negotiates with Pescara and Hurtado for the withdrawal of the imperial troops quartered in Piedmont, 223-4, 267-8, 312, 315, 317, 322, 790.
- René de Savoie, bastard son of duke Filippo, grand master of France, dies in consequence of wounds received at Pavia (March 1525), 104, 106, 150.
-, duke of, *v.* Carlo III.
-, duchess of, *v.* Beatrix.
-, dowager of, *v.* Margaret of Austria.
- Savona, differences between, and Genoa, 149, 154, 428-9.
-, the harbour of, filled up by the Genoese, 469.
-, the French flag hoisted at, 847.
-, Renzo da Ceri in, 1048.
-, attack on, considered dangerous unless it be seconded by a powerful fleet, ii. 257.
-, the French take possession of, ii. 734.
- to be reduced, as before, under the dominion of Genoa, ii. 765, 828.
-, Doria takes possession of, ii. 824, 852.
-, letters dated from, ii. 575.
- Sayavedra, Spanish captain, ship in which he was sunk before Genoa, 1033.
-, Hernando de, gentleman-in waiting (*maestresala*) to the archduke Ferdinand, ii. 60.
- Saxadello, *v.* Sassatello.
- Saxafino a Trano recovered by the imperialists, ii. 785.
- Saxony, Frederic, duke and elector of, competitor for the empire, 907.
-, peasants rise in arms against, *ibid.*
-, death of, 174.
- Saxony, George, son of Albaro, duke of, prepares to attack the marquis of Brandenburg, ii. 680.
-, John, prince elector of, and his son John Frederic, join the landgrave of Hesse at the head of their forces, ii. 796-7.
-, competitor for the crown of Bohemia, 968.
- Scalenga, imperial captain, taken prisoner, ii. 59, 72.
- Scales, lord, signory of Padua granted to, 454.
- Scarpinello, Agostino, Milanese ambassador in England, 1, 11, 23, 146, 150-1, 628.
- Scepperus, Pierre Corneil Duplicius, imperial ambassador to Denmark, Poland, Brunswick, Scotland, &c., ii. 577-9, 688-9.
-, instructions and credentials to, ii. 323-6, 329-32.
-, letters to Alfonso de Valdés, 431.
- Schala, Santa Maria della, inside Milan, 762.
- Schlesswig, duke of, *v.* Frederic.
- Schomberg, Fr. Nicolas, cardinal archbishop of Capua, detained at Narbonne by order of king Francis, 2.
-, bearer of propositions of peace, 20.
-, reported to be in Lyons, 25.
-, in London with new overtures of peace between England, France, and the empire, 79.
-, to be thanked in the emperor's name, 118.
-, unwilling to accept the pope's legacy to Spain, 203.
-, managing all state business at Rome, 160, 240, 262.
-, to be persuaded not to quit Rome until the negotiations with the pope are brought to a close, 696.
-, sent by Clement to Gaeta to negotiate with Lannoy, 1047-8; ii. 42.
-, in Rome after the sack, ii. 227.
-, treats with the imperial commanders in the pope's name, ii. 212.
-, with the Germans, ii. 239.
-, not allowed to return to Sant Angelo, *ibid.*
-, memorandum of, whilst at the imperial court, 313.
- Schuete, near Brussels, testimonial in favour of Grunenberg, signed by the prior of, ii. 500.
-, letter of the prior and convent of, to Gattinara, ii. 264.
- Scilly, *v.* Cilly.
- Scipione (Cipione), physician to Francesco Sforza, sent on a message to Pescara, 472.

- Slavonia, the nobles of, hold a diet and offer the crown to the archduke Ferdinand, 968.
 Scosso, captain, in the service of the pope, joins Malatesta Raglione in a successful attack upon Lodi, 765; ii. 1002.
 Scotland, the duke of Albany's party very strong in, 17.
, imperial ambassador to, ii. 688, *v.* Scepperus.
, ambassador of, in London, attends the Christmas festivities at Greenwich, 1.
, ..., proposals made by the, to Wolsey, 4, 91, 111, 124.
, ..., reported to have left England, *ibid.*, 153.
 Scotto, count Cesare, Italian condottiere, Leyva tries to gain him over to the imperial service, ii. 380.
 Sdrava, *v.* Drava.
 Sebenico, bishop of, *v.* Stafileo.
 Sedan, sieur de, *v.* La Mark.
 Segovia, a town of New Castille, the emperor at, ii. 72, 97.
 Seine, river, 81.
 Selve, chevalier Jean [Odet] de, sieur de Cromyères, first president of the parliament of Paris, sent on a mission to Spain, 275, 483, 826.
 Semel, Thomas, English merchant, decision given in Flanders in favour of, 94.
 Sena (Sienna?), bishop of, sent to Venice by the vayvod of Transylvania, 1055.
 Senis, prothonotary Philippo di, recommended by the abbot of Najera, 630, 693.
 Senoncensis (archbishop of Sens, in France), *v.* Prat.
 Sepontino, l'arciepiscono. See *Monte* and *Manfredonia*.
 Sepuse, or Joannis Sepusius or comes *Seepulsiensis*, otherwise called *Zapol*, vayvod of Transylvania, *v.* Zapolski.
 Serans, Mossen, captain of the imperial galley "Santa Barbara," ii. 751.
 Sere, De le, barony of, confiscated from count Gaiazzo and sold to count Burrello, ii. 349.
 Sermoneta in Campania, also called *Salmoneta* and *Sulmoneta*, threatened by the leaguers, ii. 561, 1048.
, relieved by the Spaniards, ii. 562.
, lord of, *v.* Gaetano.
, the pope and his cardinals to be removed from Sanct Angelo to, ii. 269.
 Serna, *v.* La Serna.
 Seron, Juan, secretary at Naples, 204.
, ..., in Rome, 233, 235; ii. 119, 125, 161, 173, 216.
, ..., embarks for Spain, 249.
, ..., at Asti and Genoa, 704, 706.
, ..., made prisoner at Salerno, ii. 672, 674-5.
 Seron, Juan, delivered to Lautrec, ii. 700, 712.
, ..., recovers his liberty, ii. 753.
, ..., death of, ii. 834, 838.
, ..., letters to the emperor (1527), ii. 59, 508.
 Serveglione, Cecilia, wife of Bernardo de' Medici, ii. 317, *v.* Cerbellon.
 Sessa, the prince of Melfi occupies Le Fratte, Traietto, and other places close to, ii. 732.
, duke of, *v.* Fernandez de Cordova (D. Luis).
, duchess of, *v.* Cordoba y Figueroa (Elvira).
 Sessia, river of Sardinia, 983.
 Sestri, Sextri, di Ponente, on the coast of Genoa, letters dated from, 131, 158-9, 171, 179, 180, 192, 212, 243.
 Seteg, Marc, *v.* Sitig.
 Settimo, count di, *v.* Lignani.
 Severino, Girolamo, heads the revolution of Siena, 149, 159.
, ..., goes as ambassador to Charles, 246, 259, 264, 269, 404.
, ..., returns with a confirmation by the emperor of the privileges of the republic, 742.
, ..., called erroneously *San Severino*, 247.
, ..., closely watched by Doria, 802.
 Seville, in Andalucia, the emperor at, (March 1526,) 463.
, archbishop of, *v.* Manrique.
, arrival at, of the Milanese ambassadors, 665.
, letters dated from, 376-8, 400-2, 409-11, 420-1.
 Sforza, Bona, queen of Poland, ii. 579.
, ..., letter to, from the emperor, 330.
, Flippo Maria, 910-11.
, Francesco I., 910.
, Galeazzo Maria, 254, 910.
, Gian Paolo, bastard brother of Francesco, duke of Milan, 392, 430.
, ..., wounded at Marignano, ii. 281.
, ..., his overtures to Leyva, ii. 305.
, Giovanni Galeazzo, 910.
, Lodovico, surnamed "Il Moro," 910; ii. 306.
, Ottaviano, bishop of Lodi, son of Galeazzo, informs Alonso Sanchez of Morone's conspiracy, 232, 254, 372, 483, 531, 577, 587.
, ..., in treaty with the Grisons to obtain the dukedom of Milan in the event of Francesco's death, 364.
, ..., suspected of double dealing, 424, 587.
, ..., goes to the Switzers on a mission from Venice, 710, 739, 744.

- Sforza, Ottaviano, one of his spies slain, 772.
, ..., in the service of the league, 807.
, ..., letters to Sanchez, 147, 214, 218, 232.
, Visconti, Francesco II., duke of Milan, a courier of, brings to London the news of the battle of Pavia, 82, 96.
, ..., money claimed from, by the emperor's agents in Italy, 104, 105.
, ..., tax imposed by, on the Milanese, 103.
, ..., invested by the emperor with the duchy 22, 383.
, ..., plots against him, 248.
, ..., dangerously ill, 342.
, ..., not expected to live six days, *ibid.*
, ..., dealings and correspondence with Pescara, 457-61.
, ..., interrogated, 466-7.
, ..., the castle of Milan taken from, 806, 815-6, 827.
, ..., offers made by the confederates to, 815.
, ..., at Cremona, ii. 287.
, ..., though almost powerless, doing all the harm he can to the imperial cause, ii. 422.
, ..., at Lodi, ii. 875.
, ..., letter to the emperor (1525), 26.
, ..., to Pescara, 259.
, Maximiliano, son of Ludovico II Moro, French and Venetian intrigues to make him again duke of Milan, 4, 347, 364, 372-3, 384, 482-3, 514-5, 558, 623, 633-4, 911.
, Valentina, wife of Filippo Maria, duke of Milan, 911.
 Sforzescharia, Sforzeschi, Sforzini, the Sforzans or partisans of the Sforza, and principally of Francesco, duke of Milan, 756, ii. 306.
, ..., prepare to invest Milan, ii. 562.
 Sforzino, nephew of Francesco Sforza, 392, 430, 625, 636.
, ..., on a mission to Como, 825.
 Siciliana, Val, *v.* Val Ciciliana.
 Sicily, island of, to be invaded by Vaudemont at the pope's request, ii. 157.
, ..., by the Turks at the instigation of Venice, ii. 870.
, ..., should Naples fall, is sure to go next, ii. 739.
, ..., the "Conservatore" of, in command of imperial infantry during the Calabrese war, ii. 978.
, ..., 14 ships laden with wheat from, captured by the confederated fleet, 904.
, ..., viceroy of, *v.* Pignatello.
 Sidich or Sittich Damps (Mark), *v.* Sittig of Ems.
 Siena, erroneously written *Sienna*, joins the league against the emperor (January 1525), 25.
, ..., money to be claimed from, after the battle of Pavia, 104.
, ..., rising at, in favour of the emperor, and against the governors appointed by the duke of Albany, 149, 159-60.
, ..., murder of Alessandro Bichi and others at, 138, 149, 159, 247.
, ..., Sessa's opinion of the affairs at, 203.
, ..., Girolamo Severino all powerful at, 264, 269.
, ..., conspiracy at, 325, 998.
, ..., articles proposed to, by Moncada, 312.
, ..., measures suggested for keeping, in its attachment to the emperor, 404.
, ..., division of, into three monti, 405.
, ..., papal and Florentine troops march on, 793, 818.
, ..., negotiations with the pope respecting, 804.
, ..., fuorusciti of, defeated before its walls, 823, 830, 832, 893.
, ..., new disturbances at, promoted by the "fuorusciti," ii. 158.
, ..., landing of Lannoy on the coast of, ii. 3, 168, 217.
, ..., favours the imperial cause, ii. 168.
, ..., keeps faithful from fear of the Florentines, but requires looking after, ii. 265.
, ..., conspiracy detected at (1527), ii. 312, 325, 360, 998.
, ..., to be attacked by the marquis of Saluzzo and the leaguers, ii. 581.
, ..., Lutheran friar arrested at (1529), ii. 986.
, ..., cardinal archbishop of, *v.* Petrucci and Piccolomini.
, ..., letters dated from, 54; ii. 108.
 Sieneſe refuse to obey orders and to suspend judicial proceedings against their "fuorusciti," 356.
, ..., defeat the Florentines, 862.
, ..., on the approach of Lautrec to their territory apply to the prince of Orange for help, ii. 536.
, ..., but refuse to pay the sum agreed, ii. 558.
, ..., and to furnish money to the imperialists, or return the confiscated property, ii. 158.
, ..., supply Bourbon with artillery, ii. 169.
, ..., ambassador of the, at the camp of Bourbon, ii. 161.
, ..., another, to Spain, recommended by Alarcon, ii. 322.
, ..., the, have no reason to be discontented with the emperor, ii. 898.

- Sigismund, king of Poland, competitor for the crown of Hungary, 1031.
, death of, falsely reported, ii. 533.
, shelters the vayvod Zapolsky in his estates, ii. 737.
, letters to, ii. 329.
 Sigismundino, also called *Gismondo*, and *Gismondino*, secretary to Alberto Pio, conte di Carpi, sent by pope Clement on a mission to the queen regent of France, 248, 258-9, 261, 263, 267, 282-4, 305, 322, 372, 392.
, murdered in Venetian territory, 322.
 Sigismondo, Ferrarese gentleman, takes to Naples letters from Fruntsperg, ii. 693, 700.
 Siguença, in Castille, bishop of, *v.* Portugal.
 Silesia, ambassadors from Moravia and, come to offer the crown of Bohemia to Ferdinand, 1050.
, duke of, *v.* Louis and Ludwig.
 Silva, D. Alfonso de, a Portuguese noble, ii. 1006.
, D. Miguel de, bishop of *Viseu*, in frequent communication with the pope, ii. 920, 1006.
 *v.* Sylva.
 Silveira, *v.* Sylveira.
 Silvestrin, *v.* Sylvestrino.
 Silvio Passerino, Giovanni, cardinal of Cortona, *v.* Passerino.
 Simancas, castle of, in Old Castille, archives at, *Int.* i.
, spoliation of, by the French, *Int.* v.
, papers at, scattered in various directions, *Int.* vii.
 Simery, count, takes service with the French, ii. 869.
 Simone, Romano, *v.* Tebaldi.
 Simonetta, Jacopo, bishop of Pesaro, ii. 974, 980, *note*.
 Simonte, baron de, a Neapolitan, goes to Spain, 334.
 Sinigaglia, Lautrec reported to be at, ii. 569.
, the estate of, claimed by the duke of Urbino, 44.
 Sirapan, Jacopo, an intimate friend of Fabricio Marramao, the colonel of Italian infantry, in correspondence with count Guido Rangone, 683.
 Sithio, *v.* Sittig.
 Sittig, George, captain of German infantry, 840, 896.
, also called *Citi*, *Sitig*, and *Seteg*, 939; ii. *Int.* xxxvi.
, Marc (of Ems), captain, brother of the preceding, 57, 676, 817, 896, 939, 945, 896; ii. *Int.* xxxvi.
, German infantry under, sent to Vienna, 939.
 Slavonia, a son of Andrea Gritti, the doge of Venice, about to invade, at the head of 20,000 Turks, ii. 796.
 Soardino, Mantuan envoy at the court of Charles, 775, 933.
 Sobtello (Sotelo?), sent by the duke of Urbino to the pope, ii. 44.
 Só, Castro y Pinós, Alonso de, abbot of Montaragon, 645.
 Soderini, Francesco, cardinal of Volterra or Volaterranus, imprisoned by pope Adrian at the emperor's request, 908.
, Giovambattista, dies at Naples (1528), ii. 828.
, Julianio or Giuliano, bishop of Xaintes, Florentine ambassador in France, writes an account of the audience given by Francis to Perrenot de Granvelle, ii. 637.
, family of the, at Florence, ii. 88.
 Solferino, duke of, *v.* Gonzaga.
 Soliers, Charles de, sieur de Morette, on a mission from Louise de Savoie to her son king Francis, 180.
, ... to the Switzers under the name of "Il Morletto (?)," 616.
, ... French ambassador in England, ii. 44, 247, 1004.
 Solis, Dr., bishop of Bagnorea and Alger, ii. 689, 694.
, letter to Perez, 433.
 Solorzano, imperial courier, 667.
 Solyman II., surnamed *The Magnificent*, son of Selim, emperor of Turkey, writes to king Francis, 801.
, Hungary invaded by, 1009.
, reported rebellion in the estates of, turns out untrue, ii. 57.
, sends an embassy and presents to Venice, ii. 150.
, an uncle of, rebels against him, ii. 392.
, letter written to, by the signory of Venice, promising that by Michaelmas of 1528 the emperor Charles shall be destroyed, or dead from poison, ii. 815.
, imposes a capitation tax in his dominions preparatory to an invasion of Christian Europe, ii. 593.
 Soma, in Naples, city of, surprised by the imperialists, 770.
, duke of, *v.* Sanseverino.
 Somaglia, countess, 714.
 Somme, river, territory about the, claimed by Charles, 62, 81, 97.
 Somosierra, in the Guadarrama, north of Madrid, letters dated from, ii. 4, 5.
 Sora, in Naples, the dukedom of, to be given to Pescara, 303, 318.
, the Colonnese under Ascanio encamp at, 898.
, to be attacked by the marquis of Saluzzo, ii. 610.
, town of Naples, a division of the papal army encamped at, 898.
, the dukedom of, offered by Charles to the marquis de Pescara, 303, 315.

- Sora threatened by the marquis of Saluzzo, ii. 610.
- Soracte, mountain district in the territory of Rome, 242.
- Soria, Alfonso de, imperial secretary, *Int.* xxviii, 677, 693; ii. iv.-v.
-, the priory of Belchite in Aragon conferred on, 416, 609, 663.
-, letters to, ii. 247, 260.
-, countersigned by, 492.
-, Diego de, *Int.* xxviii.
-, Lope de, imperial ambassador in Genoa:
-, his opinion of the Genoese union, 60; ii. 862.
-, of the doge Antoniotto Adorno, 289, 332, 341, 367, 427, 469, 622, 940.
-, the castle of Gavi given to, to hold as a fief of the empire, 669, 846.
-, on the taking of Genoa by the French retires to La Mirandola, ii. 393, 763.
-, by whose lord Giovan Francesco Pico he is kindly received and sheltered, ii. 758.
-, appointed commissary-general to the imperial army in Lombardy, ii. 648; *Int.*
-, his differences with Brunswick, ii. 760-3.
-, threatened by Fruntpersg, ii. 762.
-, negotiates with Ferrara, ii. 754.
-, at Reggio, ii. 759.
-, goes again to Piacenza, ii. 928.
-, visits the German camp, ii. 713, 759.
-, negotiates at Corregio, Mantua, Ferrara, and Lucca, ii. 716-7.
-, his interview with Brunswick at Desenzano, ii. 716, 760-1.
-, badly treated by the Germans, who attempt to arrest him, ii. 763.
-, purposes returning to Genoa, but is not admitted by Doria, ii. 851, 870.
-, returns to Piacenza, ii. 872.
-, his advice respecting Genoa, 872, 928.
-, letters to, from the duke of Bourbon, 132-3.
-, from Alonso Sanchez, 460, 512.
-, letters to the emperor from Genoa (1525), 24, 80, 131, 141, 163, 165, 171, 179, 180, 192, 207, 212, 228, 251, 270, 278, 290-1, 309-10.
- Soria, Lope de, letters to the emperor from Genoa, (1526), 345, 366-7, 373, 392, 404, 406, 408, 414, 416, 424, 433, 438, 440, 445, 456, 467, 472, 479, 489-90, 502-3, 505, 519, 525, 529-31, 549, 571, 607, 614; (1527), ii. 76, 100, 119, 121, 167, 174, 185, 197, 228, 240, 253; (1528), 341, 369, 396, 407, 463, 485, 512, 519-20, 528, 534, 555, 559, 564, 589, 601; (1529), 612, 673.
-, to the marquis de Pescara, 138.
- to chancellor Gattinara, 608; ii. 335, 486, 519, 558.
- to don Ugo de Moncada, ii. 238.
- to the abbot of Najera, 243.
- to Alonso Sanchez, ii. 457.
- to secretary Lallemand, ii. 282.
-, notice of, *Int.* xxviii, 40, 41; ii. iv.
- Sormano, Il, and Gasparo, French agent, sent by Francis to the Switzers, 766, 817.
-, v. Lormano.
- Sosa, v. Lopez de Sosa.
- Spagna, v. España.
- Spain, Charles proposes to hold a congress in, 255.
-, news from the court of (1528), 298.
- Spaniards in Rome hold a meeting and send an appeal to the pope, 1048.
- requested to attend the election of the four deputy cardinals, ii. 39.
- to give security that in case of Rome being attacked, they will not take up arms against the pope, or allow their servants and retainers to go out of the house, ii. 39-40.
- Spanish infantry, three thousand, in guard of the French king, commit depredations in Genoa, 181.
-, ten companies of, from Naples, arrive in Rome (1527), ii. 233-5.
-, services of, commended, ii. 493.
- merchants in London, complain to the imperial ambassador of one of their ships having been captured by the French in sight of the English coast, 402.
- merchant vessels captured by a lieutenant of the admiral of Bretagne within English ports, ii. 182, 206.
-, Don Inigo's protest respecting the seizure of, ii. 187.
- given back to their owners though without their cargoes, ii. 886-7.
- Spatafora, Scipione, field-master of the imperial forces in Calabria, called by the Spaniards *Espadafuera*, ii. 978.
- Spes (Espès), captain Antonio de, in command of Neapolitan infantry, 799, 1052.

- Spezzia, Giuliano or Giulino della, secretary to the doge of Genoa, 341.
, ..., sent on a mission to Spain, ii. 341, 349, 354.
, ..., returns with instructions and money, ii. 644, 646, 649, 667, 674, 760, 906, 999.
, ..., sent again, 672.
, ..., letters to the emperor, ii. 504.
 Spezziano, Giovanni Battista, treasurer of Francesco Sforza, sent on a mission to Don Hugo, 750.
 Spice Islands, *v.* Moluccas.
 Spies of the league taken and hung by the imperialists, ii. 225.
 Spigno, in Calabria, occupied by the prince of Melfi, ii. 732.
 Spina, Leonardo, sent by the pope to the queen regent of France, 390, *note*.
 Spinal, *v.* Espinal.
 Spinalosa, *v.* Peñalosa.
 Spinar, *v.* Espinal.
 Spindola, Stefano, *v.* Spinola.
 Spinelli, Gasparo, Venetian secretary in England, 810, 822, 945, 1010.
, Giovan Battista, *Int.* xvi.
 Spinola, captain Agostino, governor of Genoa, ii. 354, 589, 920.
, Andrea, 147, 151.
, Stephano, 649.
, ..., pension granted to, by the emperor, 920.
 Spinosa, auditor at Rome, death of, ii. 496.
 Spira, Espira (Spires), ii. 796.
, diet held at, ii. 956.
 Spoleto (Rom. Stat.), ii. 120.
, infantry raised at, for the pope, ii. 88.
, Renzo da Ceri attacks, ii. 770, 808.
, Fabian da, disputes the abbacy of Rocadamor, ii. 916.
, the inhabitants of, join the rebellion of L'Amatrice, ii. 959.
 Stafileo, bishop of Sebenico, papal nuncio in England, returns to Rome with sir John Russell, ii. 117.
 Stampa, conte Massimiliano, Milanese or Sforzesco ambassador in Ferrara (1528), ii. 451, 604.
 Standardo, Pietro?, a Neapolitan, goes over to the French and accepts office under Lautrec, ii. 720.
 Stansaert, William, advocate at the court of Brabant, letter to Gattinara, ii. 263.
 Statilis, Matheus de, signs the agreement between Florence, Venice, the marquis of Saluzzo, and the duke of Milan (1527), ii. 163.
 Statilio, Giovanni, bishop of Alba Reale or Alba Regalis (Stuhl Weissenburg), the vayvod's ambassador in France:
, ..., sent by the archduke on a mission to Rome and Spain, 966.
 Statilio, Giovanni, in Venice, ii. 9.
, ..., in Rome, ii. 39, 68.
 Stiria, threatened invasion of, by the Turks, 89.
 Stradella (Lombardy), St. Pol takes up position between, and Alessandria, ii. 768.
 Straëts, Street, Estretes, &c., German bankers, ii. 337, 864.
 Strasburgh (Argentina), in Alsace, loan to be contracted at, for the pay of the Germans under Fruntsperg, 934.
 Strigonia (Gran.), ii. 581, 626.
, letters dated from, 333.
 Strozzi, family of the, at Florence, ii. 88.
, Filippo, the priory of Santo Tomé de Segovia given by the pope to, 274.
, ..., to be given as hostage for the capitulation of Rome on the 21st of September 1526, 928; ii. 1003.
, ..., at Naples, 994.
, ..., attempt to have him released or exchanged, opposed by Don Hugo, 1008, 1018.
 Stuhl-Weissenburg, called also *Alba Regia* and *Alba Reale*, a town of Hungary, 966, 1031; ii. 449.
, ..., erroneously called *Sturk*, ii. 9.
, ..., bishop of, *v.* Statilio.
 Stuart, John, duke of Albany, 4, 6, 17, 24, 28, 71, 88, 96; ii. 613.
, ..., his enterprise on Naples defeated, 50, 59, 65, 123, 187, 247, 793.
, ..., arrival of on the coast of Provence, 101, 104, 145.
, ..., his company of men-at-arms entirely cut to pieces before Pavia (1527), ii. 419.
, ..., letters intercepted by, 666.
, Robert, sieur d' Aubigny, captain of the Scottish body guard of Francis, his name corrupted into *Doben* and *Dau berrin*, *Int.* ii. xxxvi.
, ..., his company cut to pieces by Hernando Gonzaga, ii. 699.
 Suabian league, progress of the, against the Lutheran peasants of Germany, 89-90, 174, 204, 296.
, some of its captains offer their services to Venice, 809, 894.
, in difficulties, ii. 797.
, the members of, hold a diet at Augsburg for the purpose of helping king Ferdinand against the Turk, ii. 874.
 Suarez de Alarcon, don Antonio, count of Torres Vedras, ii. *Int.* xxxiii.
, ..., de Figueroa, Don Gomez, knight commander, sent on a mission to Genoa, 41.

- Suarez de Figueroa, Don Gomez, sent to the emperor, 144.
-, ..., ..., his company of men-at-arms defeated at Sanper, in Savoy, 803.
-, ..., ..., to Spain on a mission from Lannoy, ii. 274, 250, 254, 256, 262, 350.
-, ..., ..., the ambassadors of the league under the custody of, at Poza, ii. 627.
-, ..., ..., instructions to, ii. 644.
- Subiaco (Rom. Stat.), the Colonnese at, waiting for orders, 895, 949, 973.
-, letters dated from, 545, 894.
-, the abbot of Farfa and the Orsini defeated at, by the Colonnese, ii. 748.
-, abbey of, in the Roman states, cardinal Pompeo Colonna at, 643, 851, 973.
- Suchero, Burgundian captain in the imperial service, called also *Çucaro* and *Chucharo*, in the emperor's service, prisoner of war in France, 223, 560, 946, 1012; ii. 281.
- Suffolk, duke of, *v.* Brandom.
- Sulmona, in the Abruzzo Ult., to be attacked by Renzo da Ceri and Orazio Baglione, ii. 87.
-, abandoned by Lautrec, ii. 609.
-, prince of, *v.* Lannoy.
-, princess of, *v.* Montbel.
- Summa, Scipione di, supposed to have deserted the imperialists and gone over to the French, ii. 763.
- Summaria, council and court of La, at Naples, 593; ii. 680.
-, ..., president of, *v.* Mussetola.
-, ..., secretary of, 281.
-, ..., lieutenant of, *v.* Francesco.
- Surrey, earl of, *v.* Howard.
- Susa, in Sardinia, the artillery of France at Embrun, one day's journey from, ii. 308.
- Susanne, sieur de, lieutenant of the master of the French artillery before Pavia, slain, 49.
- Suze, *v.* Susa.
- Switzers, desertion of the, at the battle of Pavia, 618.
- hold a diet to consider whether they will take part with Francis or not, 726, 791-2, 796, 817.
- in the pay of France for the purpose of invading Flanders, 844, 894.
- solicited by the pope and Venice to join the league against Charles, 694.
- descend into Italy, 841, 926.
-, papal army chiefly composed of, 944.
- persuaded to desert from the camp of the confederates, 959.
-, Francis' debt to them to be paid by the emperor if they forsake the alliance of France, ii. 98.
- Switzers, broil at Rome between the, and the pope's guard, ii. 137.
- under Saluzzo desert and go back to their own country, ii. 177.
- Francis again in treaty with the, ii. 282.
-, 15,000, to join the Venetians in an attack upon Milan, ii. 248.
- in the Romagna under Lautrec (1527) ii. 249.
- take Castellazzo close to Alessandria, ii. 310.
-, the, and Grisons defeated by Leyva at Carato, ii. 310, 317.
-, 13 companies of, desert Lautrec for want of pay, ii. 421.
-, 15 of their captains visit Rome, 443.
-, and obtain payment of arrears due to them since the days of pope Leo, 459.
-, letter to the captains of the, at Piacenza, 580.
- Switzerland, differences in, owing to the spreading of the Lutheran sect, 905.
- Sylva, *v.* Silva.
- Sylveira, Luis de, privy councillor to the king of Portugal, Dom João, 369; ii. 619-20.
- Sylvestrino, gentleman-in-waiting to the duke of Milan, sent on a mission to Spain, 396, 471, 473.
- Symery, count of, a Calabrese, *v.* Simery.
- Symon, *v.* Simone Romano.
- Syria, one of Soliman's cousins or nephews revolts against him in, 1031.

T.

- Taberna, *v.* Taverna.
- Tactaro, Tartaro, *Il Tataro*, name given by Sanchez to the Turkish emperor Solyman, ii. 297.
- Tagis, *see* Taxis.
- Tagliacozzo, county of, Renzo penetrates into the Abruzzi by the, ii. 92.
-, ..., overrun by the marquis de Saluzzo and the abbot of Farfa, ii. 559, 611.
-, town of, Ascanio Colonna at, 974.
- Tagliavia, Don Carlos, son of the count of Castel Vetrano, ii. 978.
- Taillecher, *v.* Tayler.
- Talamone, Telamone, seaport in Tuscany, taken by Andrea Doria, 802, 819; ii. 151, 1004.
- Talbot (also written *Tallebault* and *Tailebaut*), lord, privy councillor, 86, 194.
- Talena (?), attacked by Fruntsperg, 300.
- Tallacoz, *v.* Tagliacozzo.
- Tallebault, Tailebaut, *v.* Talbot.
- Tamis, French gentleman of Bourbon's suite, sent on a mission to the Grisons, 855.

- Tançan, *v.* Catançan.
- Tapia, Alonso de, master of a Spanish caravel, ii. 629.
- Tarento, city of, in Naples, successfully defended by count Noia, ii. 592, 712.
-, letters dated from, ii. 344, 459.
-, warder of, *v.* Herrera (Felipe).
-, archbishop of, his death recorded, 529.
- Tarbes, bishop of, *v.* Grammont.
- Tarcagnota, Italian historian, ii. 390, *note*.
- Tardeghen, sieur de, *v.* Laurens.
- Tarragona (Catalonia), the "camareria" of, granted by the pope to an ecclesiastic of the family of Cerbellon, ii. 430.
- Tarsis, Tassi, Tassis, *v.* Taxis.
- Tassone, Galeazzo, sent by the duke of Ferrara to Lautrech, ii. 354, 445.
- Tavera, Don Juan, archbishop of Santiago, 160.
- Taverna, Giovan Francesco, Milanese ambassador in Venice, 201, 648.
-, suspected of being implicated in Morone's conspiracy, 293-4, 307, 382.
-, visits his master at Lodi, 827.
-, at Crema, 834.
-, in Venice treating with the confederates, 1030.
-, on a mission to France, ii. 798.
-, letters to Girolamo Morone (1525), 173, 175.
- Taxis, Antonio de, imperial courier, 463.
-, Bartholomeo de, ii. 497, 507, 582, 685.
-, Donato de, 346, 612, 1000, 1028; ii. 69.
-, Francesco de, ii. 251, *note*.
-, Juan Bautista or Giovan Battista, postmaster-general in Flanders, ii. 66, 251.
-, family of, also called *Tassis* and *Tarsis*, ii. 251, *note*.
-, Lodovico, or Luis de, courier, sent to Flanders, ii. 627, 681-2, 738, 814.
-, Maffeo, imperial postmaster-general in Spain, ii. 66, 135, 251.
-, Simon de, imperial postmaster-general in Milan and Naples, 507.
-, letter to Lope de Soria, 464.
- Taxon, Taxone, *v.* Tassone.
- Taylor, Dr. John, master of the rolls, English ambassador to France, called also *Tail-lecher*, sent with sir William Fitzwilliam for the ratification of the peace with France (1525), 402, 483, 738.
- Tebaldi, Simone, *alias* Romano, slain in Calabria (1528), ii. 869.
- Teguen or Theguene, Grison captain, raises troops for the emperor, 848, 855.
- Termoli, duke of, ii. 172.
- Tella, Scipione della, servant of the duke Francesco Sforza, allowed to leave Milan on a mission to the emperor, 519, 541.
-, to go to Como with the duke Francesco, 815.
- Telles, Ruy or Rodrigo, chief lord steward of Leonor's household in Portugal, 370.
- Tençane, *v.* Catançan.
- Tenteville, a gentleman of Bourbon's suite, sent to Spain, ii. 218.
- Termoles, *v.* Tremoli.
- Terni and Narni, in the Rom. Stat., sacked by the Germans, ii. 411.
- Terracina (Rom. Stat.), 1048.
-, Alarcon to land at, with 6,000 Spaniards, ii. 11.
-, Germans to remain at, ii. 233.
-, the Venetian fleet passes before, ii. 239.
-, bishop of (Antonio Bonsi?), sold by the Germans in the public market at Rome as if he were a slave, ii. 240.
- Terranova, duchess of, *v.* Figueroa (Maria).
- Tesino, river of Lombardy, *v.* Ticino.
- Thamsia, *v.* Theimseke.
- Thasis, *v.* Taxis.
- Theata, *v.* Chieti.
- Theatinus, the bishop of Theata or Chieti, *v.* Felice and Trophimo.
- Theguene, Grison captain, 855, *v.* Teguen.
- Theimseke, Themsike, Georg von, provost of Cassel, ambassador of Maximilian in England (1508), 308.
-, of Charles (1526), 1010, 1040, 1059.
-, replaces Jonglet, ii. 14, 17, 19, 29, 35-6.
-, notice of, *Int.* xix.
- Theobaldo, Jacopo, ambassador of the duke of Ferrara at Venice, his conversation with Sanchez, 830, 896.
- Therbes, *v.* Tarbes.
- Therouanne, in France, to be provisioned against an English invasion (1525), 132, 145, 150, 209.
- Thoulouse, sieur de, *v.* Marnix.
- Thunes (?), letter from, written by Francis, 150.
- Thungen, bishop of Wurtzburg, ii. 796.
- Tiboli, Tibuli, *v.* Tivoli.
- Ticino, river in Lombardy, 58.
-, the French evacuate Milan, and cross the, 58.
-, a division of the confederates to occupy the banks of the, in order to stop the supplies to the imperialists, 983.
- Tipherno or Tiferno, Sant Angelo in Vado, at Umbria, death of cardinal Cortonna in, ii. 1006.

- Tivoli, town in the Rom. Stat., the papal troops quartered at, i. 1048.
, the imperial men-at-arms at, receive orders to fall back on Rome, ii. 427.
, Napoleone Orsino and Stephano Colonna at, ii. 559.
- Tobar, Francisco de, letter to the emperor, ii. 415.
, Fernandez de Velasco D. Juan, marquis de Berlanga, ii. 883, *v.* Tovar.
, ..., letter to, from the emperor, ii. 620.
- Tockay (Tokay), in Hungary, the vayvod of Transylvania flying towards, ii. 362.
- Toco ?, Hernando de, escorts king Francis on his voyage to Spain, 179.
- Todi (Rom. Stat.), ii. 349.
, the duke of Urbino reported to have left, ii. 569.
- Toledo, in New Castille, the imperial court at, 173, 255-6, 260, 411-24, 560-1, 563-70.
, letters dated from, 144-5, 148-9, 151, 227-8, 331-6, 609, 623-4, 626-8.
, letters dated from, 100-1, 148-9, 151, 245-7, 327-8; (1526), 331-6; (1528), 602-3; (1529), ii. 622-3, 626, 633, 637-8.
, D. Garcia de, fourth marquis de Villafranca, prisoner in France, 560.
, Doña Leonor de, sister of D. Garcia, fourth marquis de Villafranca, married to the duke of Tuscany, 560, *note*.
, D. Pedro de, marquis de Villafranca, letter to the emperor (1528), ii. 361.
- Tolosa, Paulo de, Spanish merchant, ii. 851.
- Tordesillas, in Castille, the imperial court at, ii. 50, *note*.
- Torino (Turin), in Piedmont, 650.
, letters dated from, 383, 394, 417.
- Torniello, count Philippo, a Novarese, in the service of Sforza, 983, 1000.
, ..., goes over to the imperialists.
, ..., sent by Leyva to defend Novara, ii. 280, 369, 371.
, ..., holds his ground in the Lomelina, ii. 876.
, ..., asks for the confirmation of certain grants made to him in the emperor's name, ii. 903.
- Torno (?), Mons. de, and his brother made prisoners at Aversa, ii. 778.
- Torpia, Turpya, *v.* Tropea.
, chamberlain to Lannoy, ii. 591.
- Torre, Antonio de la, *v.* La Torre.
- Torre del Greco, the prince of Orange at, ii. 791.
- Torres Novas, in Portugal, the court of João III. at, 371.
, letter dated from, 231.
- Tortona, French bands under the marquis of Saluzzo march on, for the purpose of joining the leaguers, 904.
, recovered by Barnabó Adorno, 993.
, bishop of, *v.* Gambara.
- Tortosa, cardinal of, *v.* Enckwoërt.
- Toscano, Lorenzo, sent by Louise to Rome, 994, *note*.
, ..., papal prothonotary, on a mission to France and England, to be arrested, 636.
- Tournay, in Flanders, negotiations concerning, 142; ii. 283.
- Tournon, Francois de, archbishop of *Embrun*, bishop of *Bourges*, sent by Louise de Savoie to Spain, 142.
, ..., instructions to, on that occasion, 82.
, ..., returns to Toledo, 483.
, ..., in Paris, ii. 799.
- Tovar, Fernandez de Velasco D. Juan, marquis de *Berlanga*, brother of the constable of Castille, letter from the emperor to ii. 620.
- Toyalda, marquis de la, the company of light horse vacant by the death of his brother (Caracciolo) to be given to, 57.
- Trade, intercourse of, between England and the Low Countries discussed, 88, 92; ii. 35.
- Traders, foreign, in England, not allowed to be householders, ii. 878.
- Traietto in Naples, ii. 732.
, duke of, *v.* Gaetano d'Aragona.
- Trani in Puglia, also called Trana, governor of (Francisco Ycart), ii. 402.
, declares for the Venetians, ii. 658, 677.
, and Barletta to be attacked by the imperialists, ii. 825-8, 856.
, Renzo da Ceri, sent to the relief of, 857-8, 866.
, Venetian fleet sent with stores and provisions to, wrecked on the coast, ii. 875.
, cardinal of, *v.* Cupis.
, Giovanni Girolamo da, in command of the artillery at Naples, ii. 703.
- Transteberi, a suburb of Rome, occupied by the imperialists, ii. 213, 216, 240.
- Transylvania, one of the archduke's secretaries, a native of, sent by the emperor to Vienna, ii. 100.
, vayvod of, *v.* Zapolski and Sepusio.
- Trapani, ii. 648.
- Trastamara, count of, *v.* Alvarez y Osorio.
- Tratta, meaning of the word, 297, 1014; ii. 920.
- Treaties, leagues, or truces projected or concluded (1525), draft of, between the pope and the emperor (1st April), 66.
, of league between the pope, the emperor, Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, and the king of England, proclaimed at Rome (30th April), 148.
, the truce between the Low Countries, and France not to Wolsey's taste, 277, 287.

- Treaties of alliance between France and England, 307.
-, publicly proclaimed at all the frontiers of France, 362 ; ii. 61.
-, one of alliance proposed by the emperor to the pope, who objects to some of its articles, 521, 525-8.
-, negotiations for, suddenly broken, 727.
-, (1526), that of Madrid generally called "La Concordia," signed (14th January), 564.
-, frequent allusions to, 552, 554, 559-60, 678, 1003.
-, the news of, received with joy at Milan, 581.
-, text of, to be translated into Latin, and circulated, ii. 98.
-, summary of, 320.
-, terms of truce proposed to Clement by Vespasiano Colonna, 850.
-, accepted by the imperialists, 946.
-, disapproved by the Venetians, 943.
-, not ratified by Bourbon, 977.
-, between the pope and Don Hugo de Moncada in the emperor's name, 556.
-, between Florence and the league independently of the pope (1527), articles proposed by the emperor for the peace with France, 43.
-, added and corrected by Nicolas Perrenot, ii. 128.
-, appointment of commissioners (Bourbon, Lannoy, Moncada, and Fr. Francisco de los Angeles), for the peace with the pope (20th April), 50.
-, agreement for a truce between Quiñones and Ferramosca in the emperor's name, Schomberg and Salviati for the pope, ii. 54.
-, to last for three years, *ibid.*
-, not approved by the Venetians, who refuse signing it under various pretences, ii. 55, 79, 97.
-, capitulation of Rome after the sack, ii. 77.
-, draft of, agreement for the same, ii. 84.
-, reluctantly signed by Clement, ii. 466.
-, of adhesion of Florence to the league, ii. 57.
-, of alliance between France and Venice, ii. 65.
-, ... , England and France, 61, 291.
-, of defensive and offensive alliance proposed to Henry by the emperor, ii. 84, 180, 187.
-, not accepted on account of England being bound to France by a separate stipulation, *ibid.*
-, of truce with the pope, signed 15th October 1526, ii. 119.
- Treaties, the Romans dissatisfied with the, ii. 120.
-, the Ferrarese ambassador (Matheo Cassella), complains of his master not having received previous notice of, *ibid.*
-, (1528-9), truce of six months between the Low Countries and England, ii. 7.
-, proposed by Margaret, ii. 642.
-, concluded against the emperor's will ii. 738.
-, the ratification of, brought by an English messenger from Spain, ii. 784, 791.
-, though highly disapproved by Charles, ii. 815.
-, Wolsey urges the prorogation of the, ii. 886.
-, proposals made to Wolsey for a peace between the emperor and king Francis, ii. 386, 393.
-, the emperor's instructions to Don Iñigo respecting the, ii. 566, 809.
- Trebbia, river of Lombardy, 1037 ; ii. 70-1.
-, Bourbon's letter to Soria dated from the camp on the, ii. 26.
- Treço or Trezzo, on the Adda ; Girolamo Morone at, 815.
-, held by the imperialists, ii. 70, 449.
- Tremoli, duke of, *v.* Termoli, ii. 712.
- Trent, in the Tyrol, 925.
-, bishop of, *v.* Clesis.
-, captain of, in correspondence with Alonso Sanchez, 783, 1030.
-, letters dated from, 102, 178, 181-2, 544.
-, valley of, 57.
-, the Germans pass muster at, ii. 683.
-, letters dated from, 102, 178, 181-2, 544.
- Trentschin, castle of, in Hungary, taken by Ferdinand, king of Bohemia, ii. 816.
- Trequo, *v.* Treço and Trezzo.
- Treveris (Trèves) archbishop and elector of, *v.* Griefenklau.
- Treviso (Venice), the defence of, to be increased against an attack of Brunswick's Germans, ii. 677.
-, Bernardo, bishop of, governor of Rome, 928.
- Trezzo, *v.* Treço.
- Tricarico, bishop of, *v.* Canossa.
- Tripalda, La, in Naples, the confederates encamp at, ii. 654.
-, the imperialists in, ii. 658.
-, marquis de la, governor of Puglia (1527), ii. 221, 608, 812, 825.
-, Rodrigo de, ii. 233.
-, ... , escapes from St. Angelo, 475.
- Triulzio (Triulzo, Triulcis, Trigulzio, &c.), cardinal Agostino, 784, 792.

- Triulzio, cardinal Agostino, hostage for the pope at Naples, ii. 950-1.
, opinion of Mai respecting, *ibid.*
, Theodoro de, 634, 792.
, called also *Tadeo*, in command of the papal forces, 1048.
, the "castelletto" or citadel of Genoa surrenders to, ii. 348.
, governor of Genoa for the French, ii. 649.
, capitulates with Andrea Doria, ii. 824.
, in Alessandria with St. Pol, ii. 852.
 Troia, in the Capitanata of Naples, the imperialists from Rome reach, ii. 611.
, defeated by Lautrec at, and obliged to take refuge in Naples, ii. 625, 663, 675.
 Tronto, river in the Abruzzo ult., Naples invaded by way of, 581, 592, 663, 705, 741.
 Tropea (Turpya, Torpia), in Calabria, ii. 868.
, bishop of, refuses the cardinal's hat offered to him because he cannot procure the price demanded, ii. 520.
, letter dated from, ii. 608.
 Trophino, Felice, bishop of *Chieti*, described as a Spanish renegade Jew, and the confidential servant of cardinal Ancona, ii. 9, *note*.
 Troya, *v.* Troia.
 Tuke, sir Brian, postmaster-general and secretary for the French tongue, ii. 39, 51-2, 148, 204, 206-7.
, suspected by Praet of opening and reading his correspondence, 53.
, recommended for a pension from the emperor, though he gets already one from France, ii. 119, 144, 193, 207-8.
, on good terms with Mendoza, ii. 438.
, confounded with sir Francis Brian, ii. 874.
 Tumbano and Tambano, a measure of wheat used in Sicily, 162; ii. 646.
 Tunstall, Dr. Cuthbert, bishop of London, vice-chancellor and master of the rolls, ambassador to Spain, 52, 86, 94, 97, 99, 111, 114, 206; ii. 25, 105, 192-3.
, pensioned by the emperor, 550.
, to succeed Wolsey as chancellor, ii. 193.
, appointed to be the queen's counsel in the divorce case, ii. 669, 842.
 Turenne, Francis viscount de, French ambassador in England, ii. 83, 109, 825.
, signs the treaty of alliance between France and England in April 1527, ii. 171.
 Turin (Torino), riot at, against the Spaniards, 224.
, Lope Hurtado at, 629.
, letters dated from, 417, 473.
 Turkish, a body of, cavalry in the service of Venice, ii. 796.
, most of them slain at the siege of Pavia, *ibid.*
 Turks threaten to invade Carniola and Stiria, 89.
, raids made by the, in the archduke's dominions, 90.
, threaten the Spanish possessions in Africa, 419.
, prepare to invade Hungary, 593.
, the king of Hungary (Lewis), routed and slain by the, at Mohatz, 895.
, formal invasion of Austria by the, apprehended, 928.
, cross the Danube in the direction of Transylvania, 968.
, evacuate Hungary and retreat into their own country, 988.
, ambassadors of Charles sent to ask for help against the, detained in France, 1025.
, Naples and Sicily in danger of the, 593; ii. 57, 280, 605.
, the cortes of Valladolid grant Charles a service against the, ii. 106.
, preparations made to attack the, in their own country, *ibid.*
, Henry and his allies greatly alarmed, suspecting that Charles' armaments are solely intended for the prosecution of the Italian war, ii. 108.
, prepare again to invade the Austrian dominions, ii. 648, 657, 677.
, invasion of Austria by the, reported by a Franciscan friar, ii. 800, 815.
, emperor of the, *v.* Solymán.
 Turpya, *v.* Torpia and Tropea.
 Tuscany, the kingdom of, to be given by Charles to his brother the archduke, 647.
 Tusignano, Francesco, Genoese secretary and agent at Milan, suspected of being in treaty with Francesco Sforza, and the garrison of the castle of Milan, 667.
, accused by Leyva, leaves Milan secretly and returns to Genoa, 668.
 Tyrol, county of, rising of the peasants in the, owing to the suggestions of the Lutherans (1525), 90.
, a force to be raised for the defence of, 897, 899, 932.
- U.
- Ubauri, *v.* Wauldry.
 Udena, *v.* Udine.
 Udilie, prince, *v.* Odonyll.

Udine, Antonio da, Italian captain in the imperial service, and one of Chalon's retainers:

....., Oneglia sacked by, 299, 328, 330.

....., on a message to Ferrara, ii. 364, 370, 385, 387.

Ulm, in the duchy of Wurtemberg, and other cities of Germany promise their aid to the emperor, ii. 683.

Ulric, duke of Wurtemberg, 89-90; ii. 2, 97, 385, 928.

Urbetanensis, Civitas, *v.* Orbiato.

Urbina, Juan de, Spanish captain, much loved and respected by his men, 585, 674, 699, 797.

....., in Milan under Pescara, 817, 946.

....., with the Colannes at Frosinone, wounded, ii. 71.

....., at the sack of Rome, ii. 219, 243, 248.

....., mutinies of the Spanish infantry frequently put down through the exertions of, ii. 428.

....., his quarrel with captain Salzedo, ii. 646.

....., signs petition of the Spanish infantry to the emperor, ii. 697.

....., eminent services of, in Naples ii. 396, 704, 776-7.

....., at Torre del Greco, ii. 826.

....., often mistaken for the duke of Urbino, *Int.* ii. xx, *note*.

....., letter to the emperor, ii. 538.

Urbino, duke of, *v.* Rovere, Medici (Lorenzo), and (Francesco Maria della).

....., duchess of, *v.* Gonzaga.

Urgel, bishop of, 1004.

....., archdeaconry of, 1004.

Urrea, D. Miguel de, count of *Aranda*, called *Gurrea* by mistake, ii. 594.

....., *v.* Ximenez de Urrea.

....., letter to the emperor, ii. 348.

Urrias, Don Carlos?, secretary at Naples, pension to, ii. 835, 916.

....., or Urries, knight commander, Pedro de, field master of the imperial army, serves under Leyva at Pavia, 164.

....., leaves Rome with a message from Clement, 306.

....., in command at Cremona, 854.

....., at the sack of Rome, ii. 212.

....., governor of Cremona, 1012.

....., taken prisoner at Salerno, ii. 674.

....., letter to the emperor, 480.

....., *v.* Jordan de Urries.

Ursino, *v.* Orsino.

Utrecht, provost of, *v.* Naturelli.

....., bishop of, ii. 896.

....., negotiations at Rome respecting the see of, ii. 982.

Uxeter, *v.* Worcester.

V.

Vadamonte, Valdamonte, *v.* Vaudemont and Lorraine.

Vaina, (Guido) da Forli, instigates the Venetians to make an attempt on Milan, 536.

....., his name written also Bayno, *ibid*.

Valchevek, provost of, 416.

Val Ciciliana, or valley of Saint Cecilia, in Sicily, marquis of, *v.* Alarcon.

Valdemont, *v.* Vaudemont and Lorraine.

Valdés, Alfonso, Latin secretary to Charles, ii. 254, 771.

....., draft of letters by, 65, 409, 921, 923, 937; ii. 134-8.

....., letters to Erasmus, 465, 641.

....., from Maximilian of Transylvania to, ii. 531-2.

....., his quarrel with Lallemand, ii. *Int.* xxvii.

....., notice of, ii. *Int.* xxii, xxiv, xxv.

....., D. Fernando, archbishop of Seville, ii. 254.

... .., Jacobo or Santiago, brother (not cousin) of Alfonso and Juan, 771.

....., Juan de, his dialogue of the sack of Rome, ii. 772.

Valdorba or Vale Dorba, *v.* Rocca di.

Valença, count of, *v.* Gattinara.

..... di Pò, Birago at, 865, 854.

Valencia, city of Spain, 651.

....., Lannoy at, 252.

....., ship from, boarded by Andrea Doria, 651.

....., pageant at, for the reception of Charles, ii. 668, 737.

....., the Moors (Moriscos) of, revolt, 968, 978, 992.

....., Lannoy's force employed against them, *ibid*.

....., sailors from the coasts of, and Andalusia to be enlisted for the fleet at Barcelona, ii. 757.

....., letters dated from (1528), ii. 483.

Valenciennes, in France, the English army to advance as far as, 81.

....., English artillery at, 87.

Valentino, captain, sent to Spain by Leyva, on a mission to the emperor, ii. 754.

Valesians threaten to invade Savoy, 586.

....., 2,000 Switzers and, offer to join camp of the league, 807.

....., 7,000 more join the confederates close to Milan, 853, 855, 883.

Valladolid, in New Castille (Spain), the cortes of general estates to be held at, 1024.

....., plague breaks out at, ii. 381, 425.

....., San Pablo of, monastery, 200.

- Valladolid, the imperial court at, ii. 47-54, 61-6, 101, 204-6, 219-20, 222-5, 245-6, 255, 279, 295, 297-8, 300-4, 308-9, 311-5, 322, 327-8, 333.
-, letters, instructions, &c., dated from, ii. 15-6, 18, 50-2, 72-4, 79, 81, 88, 95, 98-9, 115, 124, 126-8, 131, 134-38, 141-4, 149, 150, 153-4, 159-60, 162.
- Valle, cardinal, his house at Rome sacked by the imperialists, ii. 198.
- Vallecerca, Italian condottiere, attacks Genoa, ii. 867, *note*.
- Vallenchiennes. *v.* Valenciennes.
- Valles, Joan, clerk, 1046.
- Valmontone, lord of, *v.* Conti (Giovanni Battista).
-, the pope's troops at, ii. 38.
-, the abbot of Farfa leaves part of his forces at, ii. 561.
-, Ferrante Gonzaga to lay siege to, ii. 593.
- Valois, Charles de, duke of Alencon, death of (14th April 1525), 150, 293.
-, François de, duke of Bretagne, dauphin of France, 553; ii. 998.
- Valori, Bartolomeo, or Bartholomeus, a Valoribus, signs the adhesion of Florence to the league (1527), ii. 163.
-, Francesco, Florentine orator at the court of Ferrara, ii. 556.
- Valquarnera (Valgornera?) Antonio de, baron of Goderano, ii. 835.
- Valtellina, passes of the, 475, 874.
-, Frunzperg and his Germans ready to cross the, 848.
- Valtkerke, Valtkirch, Valtdtkirch, provost of, ii. 383, 572, *v.* Merklin.
- Vandeness, William, bishop of Elna, ii. 967.
- Vannes, Peter, Latin secretary to Henry, called Pedro Vano by Soria, on a mission to the pope, ii. 874.
- Vara, *v.* Varennes.
- Varaona, Varahona, *see* Barahona.
- Varana, Giovanni or Gian, Maria, duke of Camarino, 835.
-, ... , death of (August 1557), ii. 393.
-, ... , a son of, in the service of Sforza to be dismissed, 584, 597.
-, ... , Ercole, 393, *note*.
-, ... , Giulia, his daughter, *ibid*.
-, ... , Matheo, son of Ercole, *ibid*.
-, ... , Ridolfo, natural son of Gianmaria, *ibid*.
- Varennes (Vara, Varena?) Mr. de, intendent to the duke of Bourbon, 234, 239, 281, 803.
-, ... , money paid to, 289.
-, ... , under the name of Vara, erroneously supposed to be lord high steward of France, ii. 789.
- Vargas, Licentiate Martin de, corregidor of Guipuscoa, ii. 548, 574.
-, letter to the emperor, ii. 318.
-, treasurer to king Ferdinand the Catholic, money borrowed in London by, 98.
-, Rodrigo de, Spanish captain recommended by Leyva, 164.
-, ... , in Cremona, 854.
-, general, sent to chastise Antonio da Udine, for the ravages committed in the Genoese, 328.
-, lays siege to Oneglia, but instead of chastising the delinquents as ordered, wastes the country all round, *ibid*.
- Vasilius, *v.* Basil.
- Vasone, bishop of, *v.* Girolamo.
- Vasto, *v.* Guasto.
- Vaudemont, count of, *v.* Lorraine.
- Vaudemoncio (Vaudemont), *v.* Lorraine.
- Vaultry, *v.* Waudry.
- Vaury, sieur de, *v.* Rup.
- Vaux, lord of, *v.* Passano.
- Vayona, *v.* Bayonne.
- Velas Cayras, meaning of the words, ii. 918.
- Velasco, Arnao de, dean of Santiago in Galicia, 642.
-, ... , Doña Catalina de, mother of Don Iñigo de Mendoza, imperial ambassador in England, *Int.* xix.
- Velasco, doña Maria de, mother of the admiral of Castille, and lady-in-waiting to queen Katharine (Catalina) of Portugal, ii. 99, 621, 629.
-, ... , letter to the emperor, ii. 513.
-, Don Miguel de, ii. 614.
-, (?), captain, signs the capitulation of Rome, ii. 232.
-, *v.* Fernandez de Velasco.
- "Vele quadre," (square sails), a French fleet of, in the port of Villafranca di Niza, 1000.
- Velzer, *v.* Welzer.
- Velinçona, *v.* Belinçona.
- Velletri, Viletri, Vilitri (Rom. Stat.) the imperial men-at-arms assemble at, ii. 248.
-, ... , refuse to march unless their arrears be paid, ii. 536, 541, 546, 568-9.
-, ... , four companies of Spanish infantry reach, ii. 562.
- Venafri, Venafro, Antonio da, governor of Siena, 406.
-, ... , called also *Benaffra* and *Menafra*, sent by Sessa to Siena to report upon the state of affairs in that community, 410.
- Venafro (Lavoro, Naples), ii. 609.
-, ... , the marquis of Saluzzo at, ii. 663.
-, ... , conte or duca di, *v.* Pandone.
- Vendome, duke of, *v.* Bourbon (Charles).

- Venetians, money claimed by Charles from the, 105.
- send troops to Padua, 143.
-, negotiate with Caracciolo and Sanchez respecting the claims of the emperor and of his brother the archduke upon them, 144, 155-7, 181, 239, 265.
- alarmed at Lannoy's departure for Spain, 224, 257.
- solicit the pope to enter into a league against the emperor, 257.
- propose a defensive alliance to Francesco Sforza, 391.
- in treaty with the Turk, 410.
- increase their army, and refuse to settle the emperor's claims, 411.
- said to be again in treaty with the Turk in anticipation of a rupture with the emperor, 444, 450.
- greatly alarmed at Francis' liberation from captivity, as it will facilitate Charles' visit to Italy, which they dread most, 592.
- enlist 300 light horse in Turkey, 695.
- abandon Cassano, and retreat to Bergamo, *ibid.*
-, their army, under the duke of Urbino, to be increased to the number of 15,000 men for the purpose of laying siege to Milan, ii. 421.
- Venice, signory of, delays the fulfilment of its engagements to the emperor, 6, 149, 256, 590-2.
-, the emperor's terms to the, 149.
-, treats secretly with France, 295.
-, negotiations with, to be put an end to, one way or another, 592.
-, as there is danger for the emperor in not concluding the agreement with, 595.
-, will not accept the terms offered except by compulsion, 598.
-, joins the Italian or Clementine league, 665.
-, about to send one of its secretaries to the emperor to apologize for its last acts, and throw all the blame on others, 1032.
-, promises money to the pope, ii. 97.
-, invites the Turk to Italy, ii. 56, 221.
-, to arm 50 galleys for the invasion of Naples in conjunction with the French fleet (1527), ii. 238.
-, sends an embassy and presents to Solymán, 945.
-, and another to Lautrec, ii. 297.
-, alarmed at the arrival of the Germans under Brunswick, ii. 656.
-, scarcity of wheat in, *ibid.* 321.
-, imposes a tax on its clergy without previous consent from the pope, ii. 679.
-, which measure brings forth strong monitory letters from him, *ibid.*
- Venice, fleet of, sent to the relief of Trani and Barletta, wrecked on the coast, 875.
-, proveditor of, for the sea, v. Pesaro and Pisani.
-, letters dated from, 218.
-, v. also Caracciolo and Sanchez.
- Venier, Domenico, Venetian ambassador in Rome (1527), ii. 937.
-, Marco Antonio, Venetian ambassador in England, 893; ii. 25, *note.*
-, ..., taken prisoner by the Grisons, 893, 896, ii. 25.
- Venisló, v. Benisló.
- Venosa, bishop of, 965-6, v. Girolamo.
- Ventimiglia, Vintimiglia, Francesco, marquis d'Irache, his services in Calabria commanded, ii. 978.
- Veoybia, v. (Behorie).
- Vercelli, 313, 315.
-, letters dated from, 185, 193, 196-7, 199.
- Vere, Verrey, Verie, v. Veyre.
- Vergara, captain, a Spaniard, recommended by cardinal Colonna, ii. 728.
- Vergas, v. Bergues.
- Verie, Mons. de, v. Veyre, S.P. vi. 592.
- Vermadois, county of, demanded by Charles, 62.
- Verme, count Federico del, 573.
- Veroli, bishop of, v. Ennio Filonardo.
- Verona, defences of, increased by the Venetians, ii. 665, 677.
-, bishop of, v. Giberti.
- Veronese, 141.
-, Fruntsperg and his Germans enter the, 1006.
- Verticello, also written *Vertillo* and *Berticelo*, a celebrated Neapolitan robber, ii. 701, 1005.
- Verulano el, v. Veroli and Ennio.
- Vesta, v. Vieste.
- Vettori, Paolo, called also *Victoria*, in command of the papal galleys (1525), to escort Bourbon to Spain, 311.
-, ..., sent by the pope to Bayonne to congratulate Francis upon his liberation, 593, 602.
-, ..., dies at Florence, 603, 613.
- Veurre, v. Beurren.
- Veyre, Philibert de la, dit *la Mouche*, knight of the Golden Fleece, *Int.*
-, (Verrey, Vere, &c.), Pierre de, sieur de *Migliau*, baron de Saint Julien, imperial ambassador to Clement VII., credentials and letters to, ii. 135-8.
-, ..., on a mission to Clement, ii. 394-6, 407, 422-3, 508, 533, 536, 546.
-, ..., brother of, assassinated in the streets of Milan, 322.
-, ..., letters to the emperor, ii. 212.
-, ..., slain in battle, ii. 670, 764.
- Via, v. Billia and Viglia.

- Viagrasa (Abbategrassa or Abbiategrasso), 983.
 Venetian army at, 996.
 Lautrec at, ii. 426.
 taken by Leyva (1528), ii. 695.
- Vianoli, Venetian historian, quoted, ii. 657, 1002-3.
- Vic, *v.* Bichi.
- Vicaria, Viqueria, the same as *Voghera*, 386.
- Vicario della Provisiione at Milan, 670; ii. 311.
- Vice-legate, papal, at Pavia, order of the, that no provisions from the lands of the Church be taken to Milan, 685.
- Vicenza in the Venetian, 1014.
 fortified by the duke of Urbino, ii. 665.
 Venetian proveditor in the Veronese and at, ii. 608.
- Vich (Vic, Vique), Guillermo Raymundo, or Guillen Remon de, bishop of *Barcelona* and cardinal of *Sant Marcello*, death of, at Casamare (25th July 1525), 262, 269, 274.
 his bishopric given by the pope to cardinal Cortona, 262, 415-6.
 Hieronymo, Spanish ambassador in Rome, brother of the preceding, 257 *note*, 262; ii. 948.
- Vichardino, II, *v.* Guicciardino.
- Vico, town in Naples, given by Lautrec to Philippino Doria, ii. 700.
- Vico Vado (Vicovaro), in the Campagna of Rome, Stefano Colonna at, ii. 559-60.
- Victoria, *v.* Vitoria.
- Viella, *v.* Biella.
 also written *Viela*, 181.
- Vienna, capital of Austria, ii. 449.
 the archduke Ferdinand at, 736.
 threatened by Solyman, ii. 800, 815.
 letters dated from, ii. 229, 385.
- Vieste, in the Capitanata, Naples, taken by the Venetians (1528), ii. 866, 868, 927.
- Vigebano, castle of, in the Lomellina, given in fief to Guasto, 623; ii. 307.
 taken by Leyva from the confederates (1528), 546.
- Viglia (Billia, Via?), chevalier, governor of Asti, and senator at Milan, deprived of his offices and honours by Bourbon, ii. 307, *v.* Billia.
- Vigisolo (Vighizzolo), in the district of Padua, taken by Barnabó Adorno, 993.
- Vigorniensis, *v.* Ghinucci.
- Vilamarin, Villamarin, D. Bernat, commander of a Spanish galley, ii. 751.
- Vilante (Villanto?), town of Lombardy, 10 miles from Pavia, the imperial army to encamp at, 40.
- Villafranca [del Vierzo], town of Galicia, in Spain, marquis of, *v.* Toledo.
 Micer Gaspar, taken prisoner by Doria, 602, 612.
 di Niça, count Pedro Navarro with 16 galleys at, 845.
 the French fleet said to be at, 1001-2.
 report of contradicted, 1006.
- Villaines d'Humières, seigneur de, *v.* Brinon.
- Villalonga, Pere, of Mallorca, ii. 764.
- Villalpando, castle of, in Old Castile, belonging to the constable Velasco, the sons of Francis confined at, ii. 3.
 the bishop of Tarbes' visit to, ii. 30.
- Villamarin, D. Bernat de, 'captain of the imperial galley "Santo Andrea,"' ii. 751.
- Villanova, Mossen de, a native of Savoy, raises two companies of infantry for the Venetians, 776.
 count, a Portuguese, 369.
- Villar de Cañas, ii. 736.
 letter dated from, 409.
- Villa Real, marquis de, a Portuguese nobleman, ii. 619.
- Villaturiel, captain, governor of Lecco, ii. 307, 1000.
- Villaverde, agent at Rome of the archbishop of Saragossa (D. Alonso de Aragon), much trusted by Giberti, the datary, ii. 920.
 becomes a spy of the imperial ambassador, *ibid.*
 reveals to him the contents of letters and despatches from Francis to the pope, 922.
- Villena, marquis of, *v.* Lopez Pacheco.
- Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Philippe de, grand master of Rhodes (1525-6), 249, 265, 415, 669.
 in Rome, ii. 56.
 goes to Viterbo to celebrate a chapter of his order (1527), ii. 67.
 at Porto Ercole, ii. 391.
- Vimioso, count of, Portuguese nobleman, his title erroneously written *Vimiosa*, 369.
 of king João's privy council, ii. 619-20.
- Vincennes, castle of, Perrenot de Granvelle, the imperial ambassador to Francis, confined at the, ii. 636.
- Vincle Juan, a German, appointed to succeed cardinal Sancti Quatuor in his office, 240.
- Vintemilla, *v.* Vintimiglia.
- Vintimiglia, the passes of, to be occupied by the imperialists, 137.
 don Francisco de, son of the marquis d'Irache, ii. 978.
- Vio Cajetano or *Caetano*, Thomas de, cardinal of Minerva; ill treatment of, during the sack of Rome, ii. 198, 202.
- Vigorine, Vigorne, Wigorn, &c., *v.* Worcester

- Vincennes, castle of, Granvelle arrested and confined in the, ii. 536.
- Vio Gaetano, Thomasso, cardinal of La Minerva, ill-treated by the Germans, ii. 199.
-, to form part of an embassy to Spain, ii. 917.
-, erroneously called *Caetano* and *Cayetano*, ii. 1004.
- Vique, *v.* Bichi and Vich.
- Virago, *v.* Birago.
- Viscay (Vizcaya), ship anchors to be cast in, or Barcelona, ii. 757, *v.* Biscay.
- Viscayno, Juan, Spanish courier, ii. 228, 271.
- Visconti, Bonifazio, 1013.
-, Francesco, deputed by the Milanese, to implore pardon from the imperial generals, after the unsuccessful rising in April 1526, 673.
-, Galeazzo, Milanese refugee in France, 561; ii. 937.
-, Maria Blanca, married to Francesco the first of the Sforza, 910.
-, count Pietro Francesco, a Milanese sent on a mission to the emperor, 596.
- Viseu, in Portugal, bishop of, *v.* Silva.
- Vismont, Vismonte, *v.* Desmond.
- Vistarino, Lodovico, in command of the Italians at Lodi, 773.
-, delivers one of the city gates to the confederates (1526), 763, 860; ii. 1002.
- Viste, *v.* Le Viste.
- Vitelli, Alessandro, in the papal service, goes over to the imperialists, ii. 234-236.
-, Chiapino? ii. 654.
-, Vitello, captain of the Florentines, ii. 769.
- Vitello (?), baron, ii. 242.
- Viterbo, in the Rom. Stat., 43.
-, the confederates encamp at, ii. 214, 235, 238.
-, march to the relief of Rome, 239.
-, the papal court at, ii. 705, 714, 719, 771, 775, 800.
-, letters dated from, ii. 452-3.
- Vitoria, a city of Biscay, 613, 690, 740.
-, Fernando de, Katharine's physician, sent by her on a secret mission to the emperor, ii. 125, 146, 345.
-, letter to, from Fr. Ambrosio de Laserna, ii. 578, 581.
- Vittor, *v.* Vettori.
- Vivaldo, Antonio, Genoese merchant in London, agreement with, for the transmission of money to Italy, 73.
-, called by mistake Messire Anthoine Rinaldi (Vivaldi?) 98.
-, requested by Wolsey to remit money to Venice for the use of the confederates, ii. 533.
- iii. 2.
- Vives, Dr. Juan Luis, a Valencian residing in London, 414-5, *note*.
-, brother of, at Rome, *ibid*.
- Vocher, councillor, at the imperial archives of, *Int.* iii.
- Voghiera, or Voghera, castle of Lombardy, 197.
-, letter dated from, 96.
- Volterra, in Etruria, cardinal of (Volaterranus), *v.* Soderini.
- Voragine, in Liguria, *Int.* i. xxxi.
- Vorschoeq, in the county of Guisnes, 206.
- Vozmediano, Juan de, Spanish banker, ii. 337.
- Vozolo, Federico da, *v.* Bozzolo.
- Vuldry (Vauldry?) arrives from Spain with messages, ii. 289.
-, supposed to be the same individual called by others Waury, Bauri, Baberi, &c., *Int.* ii. xxi.
- Vyngornia, *v.* Worcester.

W.

- Wallain, count of, *v.* Berghes.
- Walle, knight de', an Irish nobleman, ii. 993.
- Wallop, sir John, English ambassador to the Low Countries, ii. 17, *note*, 202.
-, captain Giles (?), 202, 206.
- Waltham, treaty of, 130.
- Warham, William, archbishop of Canterbury, supposed to be Wolsey's rival, 191-2.
-, the inquiry on the divorce case to be committed to Wolsey and, ii. 669.
-, Katharine's counsel in the divorce trial, ii. 842-4.
- Warty, M. de, *v.* Perrot.
- Warwick, the earl of Angus at, ii. 821.
- Watelet, Belgian messenger, 360.
- Waucher (Voysey?), lord, to be made marquis of Exeter, 211.
- Wauldry, or Wauldrey, sieur de, *v.* Rupt?
- Waury, also written Babari, Babri, Bauri, *v.* Rupt.
- Welser, called also Berzer, Velser, &c., German bankers, 73.
-, agent of the, prisoner at Rome, 76.
-, Enrique (Henry), ii. 454, 531.
- Werdenberg, count Felix de, declines the command of the German reinforcements destined to Lombardy, ii. 683, 1000.
- Westminster, the English court at, 84.
-, letters dated from, 37, 127.
- Wheat, very scarce in Rome, ii. 12.
-, Clement retails, at the rate of five ducats per *ruscio*, ii. 31, 38.
-, price of, in Venice, ii. 677.
- White Rose, Biancha Rosa, Blanche Rose, &c., surname of Richard de la Pole.

- White Steed of Naples, to be annually presented to the pope, ii. 457.
- Wigorniensis, episcopus, *v.* Ghinucci.
- Windsor, treaty of, alluded to, 5, 9, 11, 13, 130, 147, 678.
-, to be abrogated, as well as that of London, 345.
-, Henry's court at, 169, 209, 752.
- Wingfield, sir Richard, 86.
-, English ambassador to Spain, 99, 111, 114, 206, 402-3.
-, pension paid by the emperor to, 550.
-, sir Robert, lieutenant of the castle of Calais, English ambassador to the Low Countries, 92, 99, 207-8.
- Wiston, English captain, prisoner in France, knighted at Burgos, 560.
- Wladislas VI., king of Hungary, 611.
-, his agreement with emperor Maximilian, 1050; ii. 999.
- Wolffhart, Richard, bishop elector of Trèves, ii. 796.
-, the emperor's letter to, 624.
- Wolsey, Thomas, cardinal of York (*Eboracensis*), papal legate in England (1525), opinions of Praët respecting, 7.
-, all powerful, and enjoying Henry's favour, *ibid.*
-, the non-payment of his pensions in Spain said to be the cause of his enmity to the emperor, 8.
-, suspected of being in secret correspondence with Louise de Savoie, 24.
-, accused of having spoken slightly of the emperor, the archduke, and the lady Margaret, *Int.* xviii. 54.
-, of the pope, and of the Florentines, 64.
-, charges Praët with sending injurious reports about his person and dealings, 64-5, 78.
-, has his letters to the emperor and Margaret of Austria seized, 62, 63.
-, announces his determination to have him punished in England for his misdemeanours, 52, 74-5.
-, sends to the English ambassadors abroad a vindication of his conduct, 28, 29, 30.
-, complains that false and malicious reports are circulated about his person, 220.
-, produces the abstract of a letter from Bèvres and Laurens to Margaret, wherein he is represented as having used threatening language towards her, 221.
-, arrears of pensions due by the emperor to, 549.
-, an additional one offered on Milan, ii. 24.
- Wolsey, Thomas, cardinal of York, his proposals to Don Inigo for the settlement of the peace with France, ii. iii.
-, sudden change of politics after Francis being conveyed a prisoner to Spain, ii. 143.
-, a rumour prevails in London that Henry is about to relieve, from part of his duties, ii. 190.
-, absents himself from court on the plea of indisposition, but is nevertheless visited by Henry, ii. 191.
-, persuades the king to declare favour of France, and make war the emperor, ii. 192.
-, supported in this scheme by his own enemies anxious to work his ruin, ii. 193.
-, prepares to go to France, ii. 193, 207.
-, Don Inigo complains to, of the warlike preparations in England, ii. 271.
-, answers that no change whatever has taken place in Henry's relations with Spain, ii. 272.
-, and that his own affection for the emperor is unabated, *ibid.*
-, various causes assigned for his intended journey to France, ii. 193, 207.
-, among others that of regaining his lost popularity by the accession of territory, ii. 203.
-, which he owns is his chief aim, ii. 271, 273.
-, the archbishopric of Rouen, in France, promised to, 273, *note.*
-, as well as the patriarchate of England and France, *ibid.*
-, sets out on his journey, accompanied by the papal nuncio in England (Umberto di Gambara), ii. 274.
-, to hold an interview with Francis at Abbeville, ii. 228, 275, 325.
-, his legatine powers to be taken from him at any cost, *ibid.* 277.
-, supposed to be aiming at the pontificate in the event of Clement's death, ii. 896.
-, objects to a separate peace with the emperor, unless it be a general one, including France and Italy, ii. 324.
-, sends Gambara to the pope to ask for the post of vicar-general of the Church, ii. 437.
-, tries to persuade Henry that Charles is fomenting rebellion in England, ii. 441.
-, Don Inigo's attempt to bribe, with promises of new pensions in Spain and Milan, ii. 24, 436, 441, 483.
-, and with helping his election to the pontificate in the event of Clement's death, ii. 273.

Wolsey, Thomas, cardinal of York, apparently in favour of the divorce, though secretly opposed to it from fear of Anne Bouleyn, ii. 790.

....., supposed to have agreed with Campeggio to keep the matter in suspense, *ibid.*

....., to be challenged as one of Katharine's sworn enemies, ii. 811.

....., accused by Henry of not fulfilling his promises respecting the divorce, ii. 877.

....., tries to incite the people of England against the emperor, and win the goodwill of the Commons, ii. 878.

....., considered by Katharine the chief cause of all her misfortunes, ii. 841.

....., no longer received at court as graciously as before, ii. 886, 888.

....., proposes a meeting of Francis, Charles, and the pope at Narbonne, ii. 927.

....., which project is supposed by Don Iñigo to be only a stratagem to prevent the emperor's journey to Italy, *ibid.*

....., confessor of, *v.* Allen.

....., physician, *v.* Agostini.

....., letters to the emperor (1525), 32, 37, 127, 191.

....., negotiations with Praet before the battle of Pavia, 1, 28, 39-42, 50-6.

....., with the commissioners from the Low Countries (Bèvres, Laurrens, and Le Sauch), 76-7, 85, 95-7, 108-13, 123-6, 127-37.

....., with Le Sauch, 211-22.

....., with Jonglet, 211-22, 343-6, 373-6, 575-6.

....., with the provost of Cassel (Theimseke), ii. 17, 308-9.

....., with Don Iñigo de Mendoza (1527), ii. 16-37, 74, 79-86, 101, 19, 121-5, 127-30, 151-6, 178-85, 186-95, 206-9, 271-4, 432-44; (1528), 844; (1529), 980.

Woodstock, in Oxfordshire, Henry going to, 209.

Wool trade with the Low Countries, negotiations respecting the, 147.

Worcester, bishop of, *v.* Ghinucci.

Worms, diet held at, 487.

Wranspergh, 1027-29, *v.* Fruntsperg.

Wurtemberg, duke Ulric of, in league with the French, 89.

....., helps the Lutherans, 90.

....., renounces in favour of his brother the county of Monbelliard, and retires to Venice, ii. 2.

....., to take the command of the Suabian league against the Lutherans, ii. 97.

....., in treaty with the French, ii. 385.

Wurtemberg, duke Ulric of, to lead 12,000 Germans in help of the Italian league, ii. 928.

Wurtzburg (Herbipolis), castle of, besieged by the German peasants, 174.

....., bishop of, *v.* Thungen.

X.

Xabega, meaning of the word, ii. 619.

Xea, in Aragon, *v.* Exea.

Ximenez de Urrea, count of Aranda, letter to the emperor (1525), i. 348.

Y.

Yañez, Hernando, captain of a Portuguese galleon at Genoa, 866.

Ybrea, *v.* Ibrea.

Ycart and Ycarte, commander Luis de, Spanish admiral, 179, 311, 578, 611, 613, 623, 835, 925.

....., lands at Ostia, and wastes the neighbouring country, 949.

....., letter to the emperor, 514, 554.

....., sails from Genoa to Spain, 736.

Yciz or Ciz, Hernando, servant of the marquis del Guasto; sent to Spain on a mission, 669; ii. 1004.

....., *v. also* Hernando.

Yebra, Mendaña (?), de, Spanish captain at Naples, ii. 697.

Yecla, a town in the province of Alicante (Spain), ii. 600.

Yrache (Giracco ?), marquis of, ii. *Int.* xxxv.

Ysasaga, a town of Guipuscoa, in Spain, letter dated from, 370.

....., Ochoa de, his mission to France, ii. 615-7.

....., letter to the emperor, 370.

Yscla, *v.* Ischia.

Yserne, Mons. d', French gentleman, sent by Francis on a mission to the duke of Ferrara, ii. 928.

Ysola ?, *v.* Yschia and Ischia, 694.

Ytri, *v.* Atri.

Ysobio, a native of Savoy, ii. 619.

Ysproug, *v.* Innsbruck.

Ytla, La, ii. 216.

Yeste, knight commander of, *v.* Leyva.

Ynguinos, corrupted name given by Spaniards to the Angevine or "Anjouini" of Naples, ii. 553.

York, cardinal of, *v.* Wolsey.

Yrun-Yranzo (Irun), castle of, on the Spanish frontier, 764.

....., letter dated from, 469.

Yxar y Urrea, Doña Cathalina de, countess of Aranda.

Z.

- Zabra, meaning of the word, ii. 36, 95, 219, 441, 458, 884, *note*.
- Zamora, bishop of, *v. Acuña*.
-, bishopric of, given in administration to Don Francisco de Mendoza y Cordoba, 456; ii. 161, 255.
-, marschal of, Spanish captain, ii. 868.
- Zapata, Pedro, Spanish captain in Cremona, 854.
-, Sancho, takes a message from Don Hugo to the collateral council at Naples, 385, 836.
- Zapoly, *v. Zapolski*.
- Zapolski, Zapoli, Sepusius, &c., vayvod or governor of Transylvania, 897; ii. 665.
-, styled *Il Re moderno d'Ungheria*, 1054.
-, pretender to the crown of Hungary, 944.
-, prepares to defend his country against the Turks, 968.
-, left by Soliman in charge of the kingdom, 1013.
-, opposes Ferdinand and has himself proclaimed, 1051.
-, sends an embassy to Venice and joins the Clementine league, 945, 1055; ii. 99, 1003.
-, Clement about to send a nuncio to, on the plea that the archduke has not announced his own election as king of Bohemia, ii. 68.
-, forms alliance with the Turks, ii. 101.
-, is defeated, ii. 362, 417, 425, 613, 614.
-, takes refuge in Denmark, ii. 737.
-, the Turk about to arm in favour of, ii. 620.
-, ambassador of, in Constantinople, ii. 613.
- Zaragoza, hospital de Nuestra Señora de Gracia at, 357.
-, archbishops of, *v. Aragon and Urries*.
-, letters dated from, ii. 521, 670-1, 681, 684.
- Zealand, ii. 192.
-, the frontiers of, to be placed in a state of defence, ii. 225.
- Zenete, marchioness of, *v. Cenete*.
- Zenque, German captain, 164.
- Zirletti, his edition of Porcacci's collection of letters, *Lettere de' Principi*, &c., ii. 58.
- Zorzo, captain Giorgio (?), *v. Fruntsperg*.
- Zuchero (Sucharo, Çucaro, &c.), Burgundian captain in the service of the emperor, 560.
-, taken prisoner, ii. 59, 72.
- Zuñiga, D. Alvaro de, second duke of *Bejar* and count of *Ledesma*, his letter of congratulation to the emperor, ii. 100.
-, sponsor to prince Philip, 220.
-, dies at Naples of the plague, ii. 770.
-, third duke of *Bejar*, letter to the emperor, 565.
-, D. Francesillo de, buffoon of Charles, ii. 336.
-, Juan de, imperial ambassador in Portugal, 205, 369-71.
-, D. Pedro de, second count of *Miranda*, *Int.* xix.
- y Avellaneda, D. Francisco de, third count of *Miranda*, 205.
-, appointed chief of the empress' household, ii. 738.
-, councillor of state, ii. 818, 925.
- Zurita, Geronimo, royal historiographer for Aragon, *Int.* vi.
- Zurolo, Gio. Bernardino (?), conte di *Montorio*, the two sons of, take possession of *Aquila*, ii. 87, 92, 94.
-, and imprison their own father ii. 120.





